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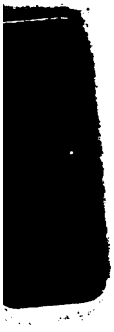

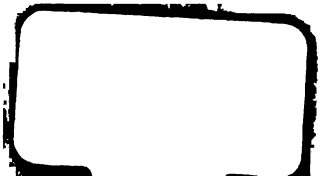

THE

WORKS

OF

FRANCIS BACON.

VOL. VI.

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[illegible],

when a boy.

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London, Longman & Co.

THE

WORKS

OF

FRANCIS BACON

BARON OF VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN,
AND
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY

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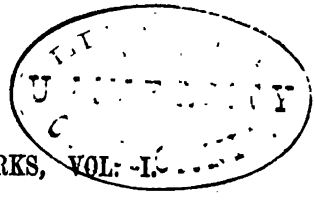

VOL. VI.

LITERARY AND PROFESSIONAL WORKS, VOL. I.

NEW EDITION.

LONDON:
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PREFACE.

AMONG the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum, there is a volume bearing the following title:—"The Writings of Sir Francis Bacon, Knt., the King's Solicitor General, in Morality, Policy, and History." It is only half filled, and contains nothing but essays. We may infer however from the title-page that it was at that time Bacon's intention to gather his writings of that class into a separate collection; and I suppose that if it had been continued and completed according to that intention, it would have contained all such pieces as are here collected under the title of Literary Works; by which I mean works which were intended to take their place among *books;* as distinguished from writings of business, which though they may be collected into books afterwards, were composed without reference to anything beyond the particular occasion to which they relate. The Philosophical Works contained in the first three volumes of this edition belong of course to this class; and next to them in order of importance come the Historical, Moral, and Political Works, of which this volume contains the most considerable.

For the particular history of each piece, and the manner in which I have dealt with it, I refer to the several prefaces. Those which are written in Latin, are followed by English translations; for which, as indeed for everything in this volume, I am alone and entirely responsible.

The engraving which stands as frontispiece is a very correct representation of a bust belonging to the Earl of Verulam, to

whose kindness I am indebted for permission to have a drawing made of it for this purpose, as well as for the facilities given to the artist. It is a coloured bust in terra-cotta, and is one of a set of three, done in the same style and material, and apparently by the same hand; said to be portraits of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Anne, his second wife, and their son Francis, when twelve years old. I regret that I could not learn anything more about them. They must have been done about the year 1572, by an artist of no ordinary skill, and have probably been at Gorhambury ever since. They show, among other things, that Bacon's likeness was to his mother; a fact, I believe, not otherwise known.

J. S.

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THE

LITERARY AND PROFESSIONAL WORKS

OF

FRANCIS BACON.

LITERARY WORKS.

PREFACE

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII.

THE history of the reign of King Henry the Seventh was the first work composed by Bacon after his fall; the fruit of his first few months of leisure. The subject indeed of which it forms the opening chapter—viz. a History of England from the Union of the Roses to the Union of the Crowns—was one which he had long before pointed out as eminently worth handling; but until the time when he saw his retirement from public life inevitable, and that (to use his own words) "being no longer able to do his country service it remained to him to do it honour," he does not seem to have thought of undertaking any part of it himself. And though it may appear from a letter to the king that he had conceived the purpose as early as the 21st of April 1621, when he was in the middle of his troubles, it is not before the 4th of June, when he was released from the Tower,—hardly perhaps before the 22nd, when he returned to Gorhambury,—that he can be supposed to have commenced the work. By the end of the following October, or thereabouts, he had finished this portion of it in its present form, and sent a fair transcript to the king. It may be regarded therefore as the labour of a long vacation.

To say that such a work was executed in four or five months by a man who was excluded (except during the last six weeks) from London, where all the unpublished materials were, is to say that it is in many ways imperfect. The original records of the time had not been studied by any man with a genius for writing history, nor gathered into a book by any laborious collector. The published histories were full of inaccuracies and

omissions, which it was impossible to correct or supply without much laborious research in public archives and private collections. The various studies of his civil life had made him acquainted no doubt with many things illustrative of his subject; but for these he must have trusted to the fidelity of his memory. What Sir Robert Cotton could supply was liberally communicated; but Cotton House was within the forbidden precinct, and any man who has attempted this kind of work knows how imperfect a substitute another man's eyes and judgment are for his own. For the rest of his raw material he must have trusted entirely to the published histories then extant; to Fabyan, who furnished only a naked and imperfect chronicle of London news; to Polydore Vergil, who supplied a narrative, continuous indeed and aspiring to be historical, but superficial and careless and full of errors; to Hall and Holinshed, who did little more than translate and embellish Polydore; to Stowe, whose independent and original researches had only contributed a few additional facts and dates; and to Speed, whose history, though enriched with some valuable records and digested with a more discriminating judgment than had been brought to the task before, was yet composed for the most part out of the old materials, and retained almost all the errors.

From these imperfect, unskilful, and inaccurate outlines, aided by the fruits of his own former reading and observation, by a learned acquaintance with the statutes of the realm, and by such original documents as Sir Robert Cotton could supply, to educe a living likeness of the man and the time, to detect the true relations of events, and to present them to the reader in their proper succession and proportions, was the task which he now undertook.

In this, which under such conditions was all he could attempt, he succeeded so well that he has left later historians little to do. Subsequent researches have but confirmed and illustrated the substantial truth of his history in all its main features. The portrait of Henry as drawn by him is the original, more or less faithfully copied, of all the portraits which have been drawn since. The theory of the events of Henry's reign as formed and expounded by him has been adopted by every succeeding historian as the basis of his narrative. Those who have most slighted his authority have not the less followed his guidance and drawn their light from him. Those who have aspired to

correct his work have only turned a likeness into a caricature and history into invective. The composition bears indeed some traces of the haste with which it was written: but if that be the best history which conveys to a reader the clearest conception of the state and progress of affairs during the period of which it treats, not one of the histories of Henry the Seventh that have been written since can bear a comparison with this. The facts he was obliged, for the reasons above stated, to take and leave almost as he found them; but the effect of his treatment of them was like that of bringing a light into a dark room: the objects are there as they were before, but now you can distinguish them.

In superintending a new edition of this history I have aimed chiefly at four things. 1st, to obtain a correct text. 2nd, to ascertain as far as possible whether the statements in the text are accurate; and to point out in footnotes all inaccuracies, however trivial. 3rd, to supply omissions, where they seemed important. And lastly, to notice all passages in which the Latin translation (which was prepared under Bacon's own eye some years after) varies in meaning from the original English.

1. For the text, there are only two authorities of any value: the original manuscript, which was submitted to the king in the autumn of 1621, and is preserved (all but a few leaves) in the British Museum; and the original edition, which was printed in the following March. Which of these two is the best authority, it is not easy to decide. The print, as being the later, may be supposed to have the last corrections. But the manuscript, as having certainly been looked over and corrected by Bacon himself (which it is not certain that the proof-sheets were), may be supposed to have the fewest errors. I do not know how far it was usual in those days for the author to meddle with his work after it was in the printer's hands; but in this case, from a careful comparison of the two, I am inclined to think that where the print varies from the manuscript, it is generally by mistake. It is from the manuscript therefore that I have printed the text. The various readings of the printed copy I have quoted in the notes: neglecting however all varieties of mere form, such as the introduction of capital letters, of italics, and of inverted commas; which, as there is no direction for them in the manuscript, I ascribe to the printer's fancy and the typographical fashion of the day. In the division of the para-

graphs I have also silently followed the manuscript; without noticing the places where the printed copy gives a different one, unless there be a doubt which is right. The spelling is modernised throughout: and I have used my own judgment as to the punctuation; — observing always the spirit and intention of the punctuation in the manuscript.

This manuscript may be seen in the British Museum; Additional MSS. vol. 7084. It is a fair transcript in a very clear hand. Bacon's own pen may be recognised here and there throughout, sometimes in the alteration of a stop, sometimes in the insertion of a parenthesis, sometimes in the correction of a letter, sometimes in the interlineation of two or three words. A few leaves are wanting, which are noticed in the places.

The printed copy is a tall quarto of 248 pages, with the following title, *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh, written by the Right Honourable Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban. London. Printed by W. Stansby for Matthew Lownes and William Barret,* 1622. A portrait of Henry, with sceptre and ball, is prefixed; harshly engraved by John Payne; with the inscription *cor regis inscrutabile.* The face,—thoughtful, anxious, lean, and furrowed,—seems to be the original of the comely, grave, well-fed gentleman with whom we are familiar in Vertue's engraving. The book was printed and ready for publication on the 20th of March 1621-2; and "the printer's fingers itched to be selling."[1] Some delay seems to have been caused by a scruple of the Bishop of London; but it was published soon after.[2]

2. In order to detect inaccuracies, I have endeavoured (besides consulting the more recent histories) to determine, wherever I could do so from authentic sources, the exact dates of the transactions related; and where I have found them inconsistent with the narrative, or have otherwise detected or seen reason to suspect any error, I have noticed the fact; not confining myself to cases in which the error seems to be of consequence; but correcting positive misstatements of every kind; for it is impossible to say of any fact that it is of no consequence, unless you could know how it may be combined with other facts and what inferences it may be made to support.

[1] See a letter from Meautys, which appears to have been written on that day.

[2] It was out on the 6th of April. See a letter from Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville. — *Court and Times of James I.*, vol. ii. p. 303.

3. With regard to the supply of *omissions*, on the contrary, I have taken pains to distinguish the important from the unimportant. Clearness of narrative depends upon nothing more than upon the rejection of what is immaterial; and innumerable particulars were no doubt omitted by Bacon on purpose. Nevertheless many facts have come to light since Bacon's time which he would have introduced into his narrative if he had been aware of them; and whatever has seemed to me to be of this nature, I have not hesitated to introduce in the notes. So that I hope this history may now be recommended not only as the richest, clearest, and liveliest narrative, and in general effect the most faithful portraiture, of the time (which with all its defects it always was); but also as the most complete in details and the most accurate in information.

4. Lastly, with regard to the Latin translation. This edition being intended especially for English readers, it has not been thought desirable to increase its size and cost by reprinting translations which were intended only for foreigners; and which, being for the most part *mere* translations, no English reader would prefer to the original. It was to be remembered however that they were made either by Bacon himself or under his eye and direction ("Historiam Henrici Septimi, *quam etiam in Latinum verti*," is his own expression in the dedication prefixed to the *Sermones Fideles*); and therefore that where they differ in meaning or effect more than the different idiom of the language seems to require, the Latin must pass for the later and better authority. I have therefore compared the two sentence by sentence, and wherever I have found that the Latin version contains any meaning that is not fully or exactly represented by the English,—that it explains an obscure, decides a doubtful, or corrects an inaccurate expression,—I have quoted the Latin words.

This I think is all I need say in explanation of my own part in the revision and elucidation of this work. A few words as to the character of the work itself. For it will be seen that, while admitting and accounting for its imperfections, I have ascribed to it a substantial excellence far higher than it has credit for; and I may be expected to give a reason for dissenting from the popular judgment, supported as it is by some eminent authorities.

In so far as the difference is a matter of taste, I can only say that since the proper object of history is to reproduce such an image of the past that the actors shall seem to live and the events to pass before our eyes, that style of historical composition should be the best in which this is most completely accomplished; and that I have met with no history of the reign of Henry the Seventh, nor indeed of any other English king, in which such an effect is produced in a degree at all comparable to this. Indeed if the question could be made to turn upon that point, I almost think that such would be the general opinion. But it is true that during the last century popular taste in this kind of composition ran another way; forsaking the model of Thucydides, in whose pages the events of the Peloponnesian war still live as fresh as those which we follow day by day in the newspapers; and declining to that of the Annual Register, where the events of 1848, so strange, so interesting, so agitating, as we read of them while they were passing, may be seen laid up in 1849 as dead and dry as mummies. In so far as it is a question of taste, Bacon's history, tried by such a standard, must of course fail.

It is not however to a difference of taste merely, that the low place which it holds in popular estimation must be attributed. It is connected no doubt with a very prevalent, though a very erroneous, impression, that it is *not* a true portraiture of the time; that it was written with other objects than those of a faithful historian; written not to reproduce a true image of Henry the Seventh, but to flatter the humour of James the First by drawing such a picture of his ancestor as should indirectly reflect honour on himself. I do not know into whose imagination this idea first entered, but it lies at the bottom of most modern criticisms, and is set forth at large by Sir James Mackintosh in a note appended to the second volume of his History of England, in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia. The question being too serious to be passed over, and the authority too respectable to be overruled without showing reasons, I shall quote his note at length.

"Lord Bacon was the man of highest intellect among the writers of history; but he was not the greatest historian. History ought to be without passion; but if it be without feeling, it loses the interest which bestows on it the power of being useful. The narrative of human actions would be thrown aside as a mere catalogue of names and dates,

if it did not maintain its sway by inspiring the reader with pity for the sufferer, with anger against the oppressor, and with earnest desires for the triumph of right over might. The defects of Bacon's nature conspired with the faults of his conception of history to taint his work with lukewarm censure of falsehood and extortion, with a cool display of the expedients of cunning, and with too systematic a representation of the policy of a monarch in whose history he chose to convey a theory of king-craft and the likeness of its ideal model. A writer who has been successful in unravelling an intricate character often becomes indulgent to the man whose seeming inconsistencies he has explained, and may at length regard the workings of his own ingenuity with a complacency which prevails over his indignation. Aristotle, who first attempted a theory of usurpation, has escaped the appearance of this fault, partly because sensibility is not expected, and would displease in a treatise on government. Machiavel was unhappily too successful in silencing his abhorrence of crimes; but this fault is chiefly to be found in "The Prince," which is a treatise on the art of winning and keeping tyrannical power; which was destined by the writer neither to instruct tyrants nor to warn nations against their arts, but simply to add the theory of these arts to the stock of human knowledge; as a philosophical treatise on poisons might be intended only to explain their nature and effects, though the information contained in it might be abused by the dealer in poison, or usefully employed for cure or relief by the physician.

Lord Bacon displayed a much smaller degree of this vice, but he displayed it in history, where it is far more unpardonable. In the singular passage where he lays down the theory of the advancement of fortune (which he knew so well and practised so ill), he states the maxim which induced the Grecian and Italian philosophers to compose their dissertations, "that there be not anything in being or action which should not be drawn into contemplation or doctrine." He almost avows an intention of embodying in the person of his hero (if that be the proper term) too much of the ideal conception of a wary, watchful, unbending ruler, who considers men and affairs merely as they affect him and his kingdom; who has no good quality higher than prudence; who is taught by policy not to be cruel when he is secure, but who treats pity and affection like malice and hatred, as passions which disturb his thoughts and bias his judgment. So systematic a purpose cannot fail to distort character and events, and to divest both of their power over feeling. It would have been impossible for Lord Bacon, if he had not been betrayed by his chilling scheme, to prefer Louis XI. to Louis XII., and to declare that Louis XI., Ferdinand the Catholic, and Henry VII., were the "*three magi*

among the kings of the age;" though it be true that Henry was the least odious of the three royal sages.

"It is due in the strictest justice to Lord Bacon not to omit, that the history was written to gratify James I., to whom he was then suing for bitter bread, who revised it, and whom he addressed in the following words:—"I have therefore chosen to write the reign of Henry VII., who was in a sort your forerunner; and whose spirit as well as his blood is doubled upon your majesty." Bacon had just been delivered from prison: he had passed his sixtieth year, and was galled by unhonoured poverty. What wonder if in these circumstances even his genius sunk under such a patron and such a theme!"[1]

Now setting aside for the present the general question as to the spirit in which history *ought* to be written, and the particular question as to the spirit in which this history *is* written, upon both which points I shall have a word to say presently, let us first consider the more positive and definite imputations contained in the foregoing passage. That Bacon wrote the book to gratify James; that in order to gratify James he represented Henry as a model of king-craft; and that the systematic purpose of so representing Henry as a model of king-craft "distorted character and events;"—this is what the charge amounts to. And it is important to know how far it is true. For if it were so, to set about detecting and rectifying historical inaccuracies would be a mere waste of time and a mistaking of the proper duty of an editor. In that case the book as a history would be merely worthless. It would be curious only as a record of Bacon's idea — or rather of what he supposed to be James's idea — of a model king, and should be treated accordingly.

It seems to me however that the hypothesis is not only uncalled for, but utterly untenable.

That he "wrote the book to gratify James I." is indeed in one sense true enough. He wanted to do some service which James would appreciate, and he knew that a good history of so important a reign was one of the best services he could perform, and one the most certain to be appreciated. But it is plain that Sir J. Mackintosh meant something more than this; and if he meant, as I presume he did, that Bacon *chose the subject* because it gave him an opportunity for *flattering* James,

[1] Lardner's Cyclopædia, Hist. of England, vol. ii. p. 362.

— I would first ask, why any body should think so? Is it not the very same subject which at least fifteen years before he had wished *some one else* to undertake for the simple purpose of supplying a main defect in our national literature? Did not the defect still remain? And was he not now at leisure to undertake the subject himself? Why then seek any further for his motive in choosing it?

But suppose he did choose the subject for the purpose of flattering James, how did he propose to treat it, so as to produce that effect? By setting up Henry the Seventh (we are told) as the model of a king! Now Henry was in his entire character and in all his ways, both as a man and as a king, the very contrast and opposite to James himself. Both indeed professed to love peace; and both were constant, without being uxorious, to their wives. But there the resemblance ends. In all other respects, to set up either as the model of what a king should be is little less than to point out the other as the model of what a king should not be. Neither was this a difficulty inherent in the subject. For however obvious and ineffaceable those features of Henry's character may appear *to us*, which mark him as so peculiarly the opposite of James, we are to remember that we read it by the light which Bacon himself threw upon it; that it was Bacon himself who brought them to light, — brought them to light in this very history for the first time. Henry's character as drawn by preceding historians might have been used for purposes of flattery well enough. "He was a Prince," says Stowe, reporting the substance, without the flourishes, of what he found in Hall and Polydore, "of marvellous wisdom, policy, justice, temperance, and gravity, and notwithstanding many and great occasions of trouble and war he kept his realm in right good order, for the which he was greatly reverenced of foreign princes." Such a passage would have been a very fair foundation in fact for a fancy-portrait of a great and wise king. A man combining in himself all the cardinal virtues and reigning in a continued succession of victorious achievements in peace and war (so history reported him) might easily

[1] See his "Letter to the Lord Chancellor touching a History of Britain;" the original of which, preserved at Bridgwater House, is dated 2 April, 1605. — Collier's Descriptive Catalogue, p. 17. See also *Advancement of Learning*, vol. iii. p. 336. of this edition.

by a less skilful hand than Bacon's, using a very little of the novelist's or rhetorician's licence, have been turned into a handsome likeness of James — or of anybody else. And who can believe that if Bacon had been really studying, not to draw the man as he was, but to produce such a representation of him as should seem to reflect honour upon his descendant, he would have introduced into the portrait those traits of coldness, reserve, suspicion, avarice, parsimony, party-spirit, partiality in the administration of justice when he was himself interested, finesse which was not policy, strength of will which blinded judgment, closeness and darkness which bred danger; — traits which are *now* inextricably interwoven with our idea of the man; but for traces of which the pages of Fabyan, of Polydore Vergil, of Hall, of Holinshed, and of Stowe, will be searched in vain? If it were necessary to believe that in introducing such features into the portrait he was thinking to gratify James at all, we must suppose that it was not by *raising* Henry to an ideal eminence which did not belong to him, but by *degrading* him from that ideal eminence which he enjoyed; and thereby relieving the reigning Solomon from his great rival for that title. But the thing seems to me altogether incredible.

If it be urged on the other hand that the character of Henry as interpreted by Bacon, however unlike it may be to James, is not so unlike Bacon himself; and that he was therein delineating his own ideal; it is enough to say that many of the peculiarities which he detects and points out in Henry's mind and ways, are noticed as weaknesses and errors, derogatory to his judgment and injurious to his fortunes. Many of his difficulties, for instance, are attributed to the shortness of his foresight, which prevented him from seeing distant dangers in time to prevent them. Who can suppose that that entered into Bacon's idea of a politic king? His "settled determination to depress all eminent persons of the house of York," might perhaps, upon Machiavel's principle that in order to secure a conquest it is necessary to extirpate the reigning family, have been reconciled with the proposed ideal. But Bacon expressly notices it as an error in his policy arising from a weakness in his mind; and the cause in fact of almost all his troubles. The severity of his exactions again is excused by Polydore Vergil as a politic art to keep turbulent subjects in obedience.

Bacon imputes it to a vice of his nature in coveting to accumulate treasure, and represents it as procuring him the hatred of his people to such a degree that his state was insecure even in the height of his felicity. In the matter of Brittany, Bacon represents him as outwitted by the French king: and how? not (as Polydore would have it) from reposing too much trust in the promises of his confederates; but simply because the French king understood the case, and he did not. His system of secret espionage is indeed justified, as necessary to protect him against secret machinations; but the darkness and closeness with which he conducted all his affairs is censured, as creating general diffidence and alarm which bred danger. His discountenancing of the nobility, which has been regarded by some historians as a stroke of profound policy to which the subsequent settlement of the kingdom was chiefly owing, is considered by Bacon "as one of the causes of his troublesome reign." And generally the many difficulties with which he had to contend are expressly mentioned as not inherent in the case, but as the consequence of "some grand defects and main errors in his nature, customs, or proceedings." Nay, the sum total of his achievements is evidently regarded by Bacon as hardly worthy of him; and the short-coming is ascribed not to any want of opportunity or untowardness of fortune, but to a deficiency in himself,—a deficiency fatal to all heroic pretensions,—a want of worthier aims. "If the king (he says) did no greater matters, it was long of himself; for what he minded he compassed." Who can suppose that in such a representation he meant "to convey a theory of kingcraft and the likeness of its ideal model"?

But we are told that he almost owns as much himself—"almost avows an intention of embodying in the person of his hero too much of the ideal conception" &c. &c. Where such an avowal is to be found we are not informed; and I cannot myself discover any passage in which he speaks of what he intends to do. When he speaks of what he *has* done, he certainly makes an avowal of a very different kind. "I have not flattered him" (he says in his dedicatory letter), "but took him to the life, as well as I could, sitting so far off and having no better light." And certainly this is the short and true account of the whole matter. Whoever will take the trouble to compare this history with those that went before, will be

convinced that the portrait of Henry is a true study from nature, and one of the most careful, curious, and ingenious studies of the kind ever produced. It is important too that this should be understood; because upon this it is that the main interest of the work depends. For it must be confessed that Henry's reign, though entertaining from the bustle and variety of incidents, and important for some of its results, includes but few matters which for themselves are much worth remembering. The subjects of all those negotiations and treaties retain no interest for us. The wars and the warriors have alike passed and left no trace. The story of Perkin Warbeck has the interest only of a great romance. The laws did indeed print their footsteps deeper; but the progress of knowledge and the changes of time have gone over them too, and they remain only as curiosities of the past. But as the memory runs back along the surface of English history from the last of the Georges to the first of the Plantagenets, the reign of Henry the Seventh still presents one conspicuous object;—an example of a king who was also prime minister; a king, not indeed of ideal wisdom or virtue, but yet of rare sagacity industry and courage, who for twenty-three years really governed the country by his own wit and his own will. Bacon has accordingly treated the history of his reign as a history of the administration of affairs in England from 1485 to 1509, and represented Henry as what he really was during all that time, the sole and real minister, conducting in person the affairs of each several department.

In what *spirit* he has executed the work, what kind of moral impression the narrative is made to suggest, is a question difficult to answer, because different readers will be differently affected by it. I would only say that those readers who, like Sir James Mackintosh, rise from the perusal of the narrative full of passionate pity for the oppressed, and resentment against the oppressor so vehement that it overflows even upon the innocent historian whose faithful report has excited it, are the last persons who ought to complain of the writer for telling his story in such a way as *not* to produce such impressions. If strong disapprobation and dislike of Henry be the feeling which his history properly written ought to excite, there is scarcely a writer that has touched the subject since who may not be called as an unconscious witness that Bacon's history has

in that respect done its office. We do not blame a painter for flattery because he does not write under his picture "this is the portrait of an ugly man;" enough if he paints him as he sees him. Why blame a historian because, content with describing his hero as he is, he abstains from calling him names?

Passing from the particular to the general question, there is no doubt a real and considerable difference between Bacon's conception of the proper office of history and Mackintosh's. According to Bacon, "it is the true office of history to represent the events themselves, together with the counsels; and to leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the liberty and faculty of every man's judgment."[1] According to Mackintosh, history so written "loses the interest which bestows on it the power of being useful:" it must "maintain its sway" by inspiring feelings of pity, anger, &c.

Now that the reader, in order to derive any benefit from history, must *feel* as he reads, Bacon I suppose would not have denied; but he would have said that the reader should be able to feel without being told when and how; that when an object of emotion is truly represented to a capable mind, the emotion will follow of itself; that a man who is affected by the sight of good and bad in nature, will be affected in the same way when he sees them in a book; that if he be not, it is for want not of epithets and exclamations and notes of admiration in the history, but of moral sensibility in himself, and he should be referred to the preacher or moralist for his cure before he comes to the secular historian. The duty of the historian, being first of all to set forth the truth of the case upon which judgment is to pass, bears a very close analogy to the duty of the judge in summing up. The summing up of the judge is truly the history of the case; it is meant not only to inform the jury as to the facts, but also to guide their judgment. Now we see that in performing this part of his duty the judge is expected carefully to abstain from all expressions which address themselves to the feelings of the jury as distinguished from their judgment; which are calculated "to inspire pity for the sufferer, anger against the oppressor, or earnest desires for the triumph of right over might." The common sense of Englishmen (guided in this

[1] Adv. of Learn. vol. iii. p. 339.

case more perhaps than in any other by real earnestness and sincerity) has established this as a rule; the clear purposes of justice manifestly requiring that such feelings should not be allowed to mix with the consideration of the case, but be left to follow the judgment; as (if the case be truly judged) they inevitably will. And the historian would do well to remember, whatever his personal feelings may be, that his is the part, not of the counsel on either side, but (as I said) of the judge when he is expounding the case to the jury so that they may be best able to come to a just opinion on it.

Or if this example be objected to as not strictly parallel, (because the purposes of justice are satisfied if the jury come to a correct opinion as to the fact, whereas the purposes of history require that a correct opinion as to the fact should be followed by just feelings as to the right and the wrong,) and if an example be called for of some real history maintaining its proper sway over the reader's feelings without the aid of epithets exclamations or comments to direct and stimulate his sensibility; it is enough to say that in that book which all who profess and call themselves Christians are bound to acknowledge as the highest authority, the most odious of all treasons, the most unjust of all judgments, the most pathetic of all tales of martyred innocence, is related four times over without a single indignant comment or a single vituperative expression.

I have dwelt on these points longer perhaps than I need have done in so plain a case. But the error of supposing that Bacon's history was written to flatter Henry has done much mischief. Almost all our modern historians, in trying to correct the supposed flattery, have in fact spoiled the likeness, and so in effect blotted out of that chapter of our history the very thing which was most memorable in it.

In speaking of the character of Henry as described by the writers who preceded Bacon, it will be seen that I have quoted Stowe, and said nothing of Speed, whose history was published in 1609, some years after Stowe's death. But the truth is, that though Bacon's history of Henry's reign was not written till 1621, he had drawn up a slight sketch of Henry's character many years before, of which Speed had a copy, and knew the value and made the right use. He quotes it at the outset of

his history of this reign; "being fit," as he says, "to be set in front to his actions, as certain lights of the mind by which to discern the fountain of counsels and causes." As far therefore as the character of Henry is concerned, and so much of the interpretation of his actions as depends upon a true insight into his character, Speed is not to be reckoned among the historians who preceded Bacon.

The sketch I speak of concludes a short historical fragment, entitled, *The History of the reigns of K. Henry the VIII, K. Edward, Q. Mary, and part of Q. Elizabeth*, of which there is a fair MS. in the Harleian collection (532. fo. 45.) The name of the writer is not given; but, even without Speed's authority, who quotes it as "fragm. MS. of Sr. Fr. B." there would be no doubt whatever that it is Bacon's. It was afterwards printed, very inaccurately, in the Cabala, Ed. 1663, p. 254., but without any suspicion as to the author; and it is rather singular that, being extant in so common a book, it has never been claimed or noticed by any of Bacon's numerous editors and commentators. It contains indeed little that may not be found elsewhere in his works, yet like all his other fragments and rudiments it is well worth preserving; and there is no fitter place for it than at the end of this preface. It was written, it will be seen, while Elizabeth was still reigning; and his intention then was to begin with the accession of Henry the Eighth, or rather perhaps with a sketch of the condition in which Henry the Seventh left the kingdom. The idea of beginning with the accession of Henry the Seventh occurred to him afterwards in 1605; as may be seen by comparing his well known letter to Lord Chancellor Egerton, which was written on the 2nd of April in that year, with the passage on the same subject in the Advancement of Learning.

The History of the reign of K. Henry the Eighth, K. Edward, Q. Mary, and part of the reign of Q. Elizabeth.

THE books which are written do in their kinds represent the faculties of the mind of man: Poesy his imagination; Philosophy his reason; and History his memory. Of which three faculties least exception is commonly taken to memory; because imagination is oftentimes idle, and reason litigious. So

likewise History of all writings deserveth least taxation, as that which holdeth least of the author, and most of the things themselves. Again, the use which it holdeth to man's life, if it be not the greatest, yet assuredly is the freest from any ill accident or quality. For those which are conversant much in poets, as they attain to great variety, so withal they become conceited; and those that are brought up in philosophy and sciences do wax (according as their nature is) some of them too stiff and opinionate, and some others too perplexed and confused. Whereas History possesseth the mind of the conceits which are nearest allied unto action, and imprinteth them so, as it doth not alter the complexion of the mind neither to irresolution nor pertinacity. But this is true, that in no sort of writings there is a greater distance between the good and the bad, no not between the most excellent poet and the vainest rhymer, nor between the deepest philosopher and the most frivolous schoolmen, than there is between good histories and those that bear the same or the like title. In which regard, having purposed to write the History of England from the beginning of the reign of K. Henry the eighth of that name near unto the present time wherein Q. Elizabeth reigneth in good felicity, I am delivered of the excuse wherewith the best writers of history are troubled in their proëms, when they go about without breaking the bounds of modesty to give a reason why they should write that again which others have written well or at least tolerably before. For those which I am to follow are such as I may rather fear the reproach of coming into their number, than the opinion of presumption if I hope to do better than they. But in the mean time it must be considered, that the best of the ancient histories were contrived out of divers particular Commentaries, Relations, and Narrations, which it was not hard to digest with ornament, and thereof to compound one entire Story. And as at the first such writers had the ease of other's labours, so since they have the whole commendation; in regard these former writings are for the most part lost, whereby their borrowings do not appear. But unto me the disadvantage is great, finding no public memories of any consideration or worth, in sort that the supply must be out of the freshness of memory and tradition, and out of the acts, instruments, and negotiations of state themselves, together with the glances of foreign histories; which though I do

acknowledge to be the best originals and instructions out of which to write an history, yet the travel must be much greater than if there had been already digested any tolerable chronicle as a simple narration of the actions themselves, which should only have needed out of the former helps to be enriched with the counsels and the speeches and notable particularities. And this was the reason why I mought not attempt to go higher to more ancient times, because those helps and grounds did more and more fail; although if I be not deceived I may truly affirm that there have no times passed over in this nation which have produced greater actions, nor more worthy to be delivered to the ages hereafter. For they be not the great wars and conquests (which many times are the works of fortune and fall out in barbarous times) the rehearsal whereof maketh the profitable and instructing history; but rather times refined in policies and industries, new and rare variety of accidents and alterations, equal and just encounters of state and state in forces and of prince and prince in sufficiency, that bring upon the stage the best parts for observation. Now if you look into the general natures of the times (which I have undertaken) throughout Europe, whereof the times of this nation must needs participate, you shall find more knowledge in the world than was in the ages before, whereby the wits of men (which are the shops wherein all actions are forged) are more furnished and improved. Then if you shall restrain your consideration to the state of this monarchy, first there will occur unto you changes rare, and altogether unknown to antiquity, in matters of religion and the state ecclesiastical. Then to behold the several reigns, of a king that first, or next the first, became absolute in the sovereignty: of a king in minority: of a queen married to a foreigner: and lastly of a queen that hath governed without the help either of a marriage, or of any mighty man of her blood: is no small variety in the affairs of a monarchy, but such as perhaps in four successions in any state at any time is hardly to be found. Besides there have not wanted examples[1] within the compass of the same times neither of an usurpation, nor of rebellions under heads of greatness, nor of commotions merely popular, nor of sundry desperate conspiracies (an unwonted thing in hereditary monarchies), nor of foreign wars of all

[1] This word is omitted in the MS. and supplied from the Cabala.

sorts; invasive, repulsive of invasion, open and declared, covert and underhand, by sea, by land, Scottish, French, Spanish, succors, protections, new and extraordinary kinds of confederacies with subjects. Generally without question the state of this nation never had a larger reach to import the universal affairs of Europe; as that which was in the former part of the time the counterpoise between France and Spain, and in the latter the only encounter and opposition against Spain. Add hereunto the new discoveries and navigations abroad, the new provisions of laws and precedents of state at home, and the accidents memorable both of state and of court; and there will be no doubt but the times which I have chosen are of all former times of this nation [the fittest[1]] to be registered; if it be not in this respect, that they be of too fresh memory, which point I know very well will be a prejudice, as if this story were written in favour of the time present. But it shall suffice unto me, without betraying mine own name and memory or the liberty of a history, to procure this commendation to the time with posterity, namely, that a private man living in the same time should not doubt to publish an history of the time which should not carry any show or taste at all of flattery; a point noted for an infallible demonstration of a good time.

King Henry, the seventh of that name, after he had lived about fifty-two years, and thereof reigned twenty-three and some months, deceased of a consumption the 22nd day of April, in the palace which he had built at Ritchemount, in the year of our Redemption 1509.[2] This king attained unto the crown, not only from a private fortune, which mought endow him with moderation, but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry. His times were rather prosperous than calm, for he was assailed with many troubles, which he overcame happily; a matter that did no less set forth his wisdom than his fortune; and yet such a wisdom as seemed rather a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers when they pressed him, than any deep foresight to prevent them afar off. Jealous he was over the greatness of his Nobility, as remembering how himself was set up. And much

[1] These words are supplied from the Cabala.

[2] Both the MS. and the copy in the Cabala have 1504: an error probably of the transcriber: 4 carelessly written being very like 9.

more did this humour increase in him after he had conflicted with such idols and counterfeits as were Lambert Symnell and Perkin Warbeck: the strangeness of which dangers made him think nothing safe. Whereby he was forced to descend to the employment of secret espials and suborned conspirators, a necessary remedy against so dark and subtle practices; and not to be reprehended, except it were true which some report, that he had intelligence with confessors for the revealing of matters disclosed in confession. And yet if a man compare him with the kings his concurrents in France and Spain, he shall find him more politic than Lewis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain, upon whom notwithstanding he did handsomely bestow the envy of the death of Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick. Great and devout reverence he bare unto religion, as he that employed ecclesiastical men in most of his affairs and negotiations; and as he that was brought hardly and very late to the abolishing of the privilege of sanctuaries in case of treason, and that not before he had obtained it by way of suit from Pope Alexander; which sanctuaries nevertheless had been the forges of most of his troubles. In his government he was led by none, scarcely by his laws, and yet he was a great observer of formality in all his proceedings, which notwithstanding was no impediment to the working of his will; and in the suppressing and punishing of the treasons which during the whole course of his reign were committed against him, he had a very strange kind of interchanging of very large and unexpected pardons with severe executions; which (his wisdom considered) could not be imputed to any inconstancy or inequality, but to a discretion, or at least to a principle that he had apprehended, that it was good not obstinately to pursue one course, but to try both ways. In his wars, he seemed rather confident than enterprising, by which also commonly he was not the poorer; but generally he did seem inclinable to live in peace, and made but offers of war to mend the conditions of peace; and in the quenching of the commotions of his subjects he was ever ready to achieve those wars in person, sometimes reserving himself, but never retiring himself, but as ready to second. Of nature he coveted to accumulate treasure, which the people (into whom there is infused for the preservation of monarchies a natural desire to discharge their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of

their counsellors and ministers,) did impute unto Cardinal Morton and Sir Reignold Bray, who (as it after appeared) as counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so second his humour as they tempered and refrained it. Whereas Empson and Dudley that followed (being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise than the servile following of his own humour) gave him way and shaped him way to those extremities, wherewith himself was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor disavowed. In expending of treasure he never spared charge that his affairs required, and in his foundations was magnificent enough, but his rewards were very limited; so that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory than towards the deserts of others. He chose commonly to employ cunning persons, as he that knew himself sufficient to make use of their uttermost reaches, without danger of being abused with them himself.

Here the MS., which is in a fair Roman hand, carefully written and punctuated, ends in the middle of the page, without any remark, and without any appearance of being finished,—just as if the transcriber had left off at the end of a sentence, intending to go on. I have no reason however to suppose that Bacon proceeded any further with the work. His increasing business as a lawyer, and perhaps also an increasing apprehension of the magnitude of his undertakings in philosophy, led him probably to relinquish it. The fragment remains however to show that his conception of the character of Henry in all its principal features was formed in his earlier life and under another sovereign; and therefore if it stands in need of excuse, we must seek for it elsewhere than in the circumstances suggested by Sir James Mackintosh. For my own part, I am satisfied with the conjecture that he thought it the true conception.

THE

HISTORIE OF THE RAIGNE

OF

KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

WRITTEN BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

FRANCIS LORD VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

LONDON:
Printed by W. Stansby, for Matthew Lownes and William Barret.

1622.

TO THE

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE

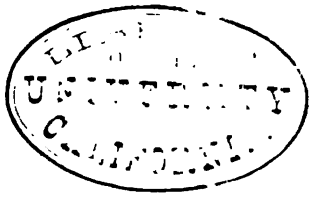
CHARLES,

PRINCE OF WALES, DUKE OF CORNWALL, EARL OF CHESTER, ETC.

It may please your Highness,

In part of my acknowledgment to your Highness, I have endeavoured to do honour to the memory of the last King of England that was ancestor to the King your father and yourself; and was that King to whom both Unions may in a sort refer: that of the Roses being in him consummate, and that of the Kingdoms by him begun. Besides, his times deserve it. For he was a wise man, and an excellent King; and yet the times were rough, and full of mutations and rare accidents. And it is with times as it is with ways. Some are more up-hill and down-hill, and some are more flat and plain; and the one is better for the liver, and the other for the writer. I have not flattered him, but took him to life as well as I could, sitting so far off, and having no better light. It is true, your Highness hath a living pattern, incomparable, of the King your father. But it is not amiss for you also to see one of these ancient pieces. God preserve your Highness.

Your Highness's most humble
and devoted servant,
FRANCIS ST. ALBAN.



THE

HISTORY OF THE REIGN

OF

KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

AFTER that Richard, the third of that name, king in fact only, but tyrant both in title and regiment, and so commonly termed and reputed in all times since, was by the Divine Revenge, favouring the design of an exiled man, overthrown and slain at Bosworth Field[1]; there succeeded in the kingdom the Earl of Richmond, thenceforth styled Henry the Seventh. The King immediately after the victory, as one that had been bred under a devout mother, and was in his nature a great observer of religious forms, caused *Te deum laudamus* to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole army upon the place, and was himself with general applause and great cries of joy, in a kind of militar[2] election or recognition, saluted King. Meanwhile the body of Richard after many indignities and reproaches (the dirigies and obsequies of the common people towards tyrants) was obscurely buried. For though the King of his nobleness gave charge unto the friars of Leicester to see an honourable interment to be given to it, yet the religious people themselves (being not free from the humours of the vulgar) neglected it; wherein nevertheless they did not then incur any man's blame or censure. No man thinking any ignominy or contumely unworthy of him, that had been the executioner of King Henry

[1] August 22nd, 1485.

[2] *Militar* is the reading of the original edition: and is the form of the word which Bacon always, I believe, employed. He sometimes spells it *militare*, sometimes *militar*, but I think never *militarie*.

the Sixth (that innocent Prince) with his own hands; the contriver of the death of the Duke of Clarence, his brother; the murderer of his two nephews (one of them his lawful King in the present, and the other in the future, failing of him); and vehemently suspected to have been the impoisoner of his wife, thereby to make vacant his bed for a marriage within the degrees forbidden.[1] And although he were a Prince in militar virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the English nation, and likewise a good law-maker for the ease and solace of the common people; yet his cruelties and parricides in the opinion of all men weighed down his virtues and merits; and in the opinion of wise men, even those virtues themselves were conceived to be rather feigned and affected things to serve his ambition, than true qualities ingenerate in his judgment or nature. And therefore it was noted by men of great understanding (who seeing his after-acts looked back upon his former proceedings) that even in the time of King Edward his brother he was not without secret trains and mines to turn envy and hatred upon his brother's government; as having an expectation and a kind of divination, that the King, by reason of his many disorders, could not be of long life, but was like to leave his sons of tender years; and then he knew well how easy a step it was from the place of a Protector and first Prince of the blood to the Crown. And that out of this deep root of ambition it sprang, that as well at the treaty of peace that passed between Edward the Fourth and Lewis the Eleventh of France, concluded by interview of both Kings at Piqueny, as upon all other occasions, Richard, then Duke of Gloucester, stood ever upon the side of honour[2], raising his own reputation to the disadvantage of the King his brother, and drawing the eyes of all (especially of the nobles and soldiers) upon himself; as if the King by his voluptuous life and mean marriage were become effeminate, and less sensible of honour and reason of state than was fit for a King. And as for the politic and wholesome laws which were enacted in his time, they were interpreted to be but the brocage of an usurper[3], thereby to woo and win the hearts of the people, as being conscious to himself that the true obli-

[1] *i. e.* with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. The Latin translation has *incestuosas cum nepti nuptias.*

[2] *Pacem pro viribus impugnasset, et a parte honoris stetisset.*

[3] *Inescationes et lenocinia*: baits and panderings.

gations of sovereignty[1] in him failed and were wanting. But King Henry, in the very entrance of his reign and the instant of time when the kingdom was cast into his arms, met with a point of great difficulty and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the wisest King in the newness of his estate; and so much the more, because it could not endure a deliberation, but must be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his lot, and concurrent in his person, three several titles to the imperial crown. The first, the title of the Lady Elizabeth, with whom, by precedent pact[2] with the party that brought him in, he was to marry. The second, the ancient and long disputed title (both by plea and arms) of the house of Lancaster, to which he was inheritor in his own person.[3] The third, the title of the sword or conquest, for that he came in by victory of battle, and that the king in possession was slain in the field. The first of these was fairest, and most like to give contentment to the people, who by two-and-twenty years reign of King Edward the Fourth had been fully made capable[4] of the clearness of the title of the White Rose or house of York; and by the mild[5] and plausible reign of the same King towards his latter time, were become affectionate to that line. But then it lay plain before his eyes, that if he relied upon that title, he could be but a King at courtesy, and have rather a matrimonial than a regal power; the right remaining in his Queen, upon whose decease, either with issue or without issue, he was to give place and be removed. And though he should obtain by Parliament to be continued[6], yet he knew there was a very great difference between a King that holdeth his crown by a

[1] *Verum obedientiæ subditorum vinculum: jus scilicet ad regnum legitimum:* the true bond which secures the obedience of subjects — a right to the throne.

[2] Such pact implying that it was in her right he should reign; as is more fully expressed in the Latin translation. *"Primus erat titulus reginæ suæ Elizabethæ: cui etiam accesserat pactum illud, quo se proceribus quorum auxiliis regnum adeptus est obstrinxerat, de nuptiis cum illa contrahendis, quod illum in jure ejus regnaturum haud obscure subinnuebat."*

[3] In the Latin translation this expression is materially qualified. *Quarum alteri, Lancastriæ scilicet, ipse se pro hærede gerebat:* to which he considered himself as heir.

[4] *Opinionem penitus imbiberant.*

[5] Sir T. Meautys, in a letter to Bacon of 7th Jan. 1621-2, mentions, as one of the verbal corrections made in the MS. by the King, "*mild* instead of *debonnaire.*" This is probably the place. Compare the expression in Perkin's proclamation further on, "the blessed and debonair government of our noble father King Edward in his last times."

[6] *Licet magna spes subesset quod comitiorum suffragiis regnum in persona sua durante vita sua continuare et stabilire posset.*

civil act of estates, and one that holdeth it originally by the law of nature and descent of blood. Neither wanted there even at that time secret rumours and whisperings (which afterwards gathered strength and turned to great troubles) that the two young sons of King Edward the Fourth, or one of them, (which were said to be destroyed in the Tower,) were not indeed murdered but conveyed secretly away, and were yet living: which, if it had been true, had prevented the title of the Lady Elizabeth. On the other side, if he stood upon his own title of the house of Lancaster, inherent in his person, he knew it was a title condemned by Parliament, and generally prejudged in the common opinion of the realm, and that it tended directly to the disinherison of the line of York, held then the indubiate[1] heirs of the crown. So that if he should have no issue by the Lady Elizabeth, which should be descendants of the double line, then[2] the ancient flames of discord and intestine wars, upon the competition of both houses, would again return and revive.

As for conquest, notwithstanding Sir William Stanley, after some acclamations of the soldiers in the field, had put a crown of ornament[3] (which Richard wore in the battle and was found amongst the spoils) upon King Henry's head, as if there were his chief title; yet he remembered well upon what conditions and agreements he was brought in; and that to claim as conqueror was to put as well his own party as the rest into terror and fear; as that which gave him power of disannulling of laws, and disposing of men's fortunes and estates, and the like points of absolute power, being in themselves so harsh and odious, as that William himself, commonly called the Conqueror, howsoever he used and exercised the power of a conqueror to reward his Normans, yet he forbare to use that claim in the beginning[4], but mixed it with a titulary pretence, grounded upon the will and designation of Edward the Confessor. But the King, out of the greatness of his own mind, presently cast the die; and the inconveniences appearing unto him on all parts, and knowing there could not be any interreign or suspension of title, and preferring his affection to his own line and blood, and

[1] So in original.

[2] The original edition has *when*, which is manifestly wrong.

[3] *Non imperialem illam, sed quam ornamenti et ominis causa Ricardus secum in bellum attulerat.*

[4] *Verbo tamen abstinuerit, neque hoc jure se regnum tenere unquam professus sit, sed illud titulari quodam prætextu velaverit.*

liking[1] that title best which made him independent, and being in his nature and constitution of mind not very apprehensive or forecasting of future events afar off, but an entertainer of fortune by the day, resolved to rest upon the title of Lancaster as the main, and to use the other two, that of marriage and that of battle, but as supporters, the one to appease secret discontents, and the other to beat down open murmur and dispute; not forgetting that the same title of Lancaster had formerly maintained a possession of three descents in the crown; and might have proved a perpetuity, had it not ended in the weakness and inability of the last prince. Whereupon the King presently that very day, being the two and twentieth of August, assumed the style of King in his own name, without mention of the Lady Elizabeth at all, or any relation thereunto. In which course he ever after persisted: which did spin him a thread of many seditions and troubles. The King, full of these thoughts, before his departure from Leicester, despatched Sir Robert Willoughby to the castle of Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire, where were kept in safe custody, by King Richard's commandment, both the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward[2], and Edward Plantagenet, son and heir to George Duke of Clarence. This Edward was by the King's warrant delivered from the constable of the castle to the hand of Sir Robert Willoughby; and by him with all safety and diligence conveyed to the Tower of London, where he was shut up close prisoner. Which act of the King's (being an act merely of policy and power) proceeded not so much from any apprehension he had of Dr. Shaw's tale at Paul's Cross for the bastarding of Edward the Fourth's issues, in which case this young gentleman was to succeed[3], (for that fable was ever exploded,) but upon a settled disposition to depress all eminent persons of the line of York. Wherein still the King, out of strength of will or weakness of judgment, did use to shew a little more of the party than of the king.

For the Lady Elizabeth, she received also a direction to repair with all convenient speed to London, and there to remain with the Queen dowager her mother; which accord-

[1] In the translation it is put thus: *Sive amori erga familiam suam reliqua posthabens, sive &c.*

[2] Whom he had agreed to marry: — *Edwardi filia ad nuptias Henrico destinata.*

[3] *Proximus fuisset regni hæres:* would have been next heir of the Crown.

ingly she soon after did, accompanied with many noblemen and ladies of honour. In the mean season the King set forwards by easy journeys to the City of London, receiving the acclamations and applauses of the people as he went, which indeed were true and unfeigned, as might well appear in the very demonstrations and fulness of the cry. For they thought generally that he was a Prince as ordained and sent down from heaven to unite and put to an end the long dissensions of the two houses; which although they had had, in the times of Henry the Fourth, Henry the Fifth, and a part of Henry the Sixth on the one side, and the times of Edward the Fourth on the other, lucid intervals and happy pauses; yet they did ever hang over the kingdom, ready to break forth into new perturbations and calamities. And as his victory gave him the knee, so his purpose of marriage with the Lady Elizabeth gave him the heart; so that both knee and heart did truly bow before him.

He on the other side with great wisdom (not ignorant of the affections and fears of the people), to disperse the conceit and terror of a conquest, had given order that there should be nothing in his journey like unto a warlike march or manner; but rather like unto the progress of a King in full peace and assurance.[1]

He entered the City upon a Saturday, as he had also obtained the victory upon a Saturday; which day of the week, first upon an observation, and after upon memory and fancy, he accounted and chose as a day prosperous unto him.

The mayor[2] and companies of the City received him at Shoreditch; whence with great and honourable attendance, and troops of noblemen and persons of quality, he entered the City; himself not being on horseback, or in any open chair or throne, but in a close chariot; as one that having been sometimes an enemy to the whole state, and a proscribed person, chose rather to keep state and strike a reverence into the people than to fawn upon them.

He went first into St. Paul's Church, where, not meaning that the people should forget too soon that he came in by battle, he made offertory of his standards, and had orizons and *Te*

[1] *Sed potius itineris pacifici, quali reges animi causa provincias suas peragrantes uti solent.* "Progress" is used in its technical sense.

[2] *Major* in original.

Deum again sung; and went to his lodging prepared in the Bishop of London's palace, where he stayed for a time.

During his abode there, he assembled his counsel[1] and other principal persons, in presence of whom he did renew again his promise to marry with the Lady Elizabeth. This he did the rather, because having at his coming out of Brittaine given artificially for serving of his own turn some hopes, in case he obtained the kingdom, to marry Anne, inheritress to the duchy of Brittaine, whom Charles the Eighth of France soon after married, it bred some doubt and suspicion amongst divers that he was not sincere, or at least not fixed, in going on with the match of England so much desired: which conceit also, though it were but talk and discourse, did much afflict the poor Lady Elizabeth herself. But howsoever he both truly intended it, and desired also it should be so believed (the better to extinguish envy and contradiction to his other purposes), yet was he resolved in himself not to proceed to the consummation thereof, till his coronation and a Parliament were past. The one, lest a joint coronation of himself and his Queen might give any countenance of participation of title; the other, lest in the entailing of the crown to himself, which he hoped to obtain by Parliament, the votes of the Parliament might any ways reflect upon her.

About this time in autumn, towards the end of September, there began and reigned in the city and other parts of the kingdom a disease then new[2]: which by the accidents and manner thereof they called the *sweating-sickness*. This disease had a swift course, both in the sick body and in the time and period of the lasting thereof.[3] For they that were taken with it, upon four-and-twenty hours, escaping were

[1] In the edition of 1622 this word is in this place spelt *counsell*: in other places it is spelt *councell*; which is almost always the spelling of the MS. According to modern usage it would of course be spelt here *council*. But the modern distinction between *council* and *counsel*, *councillor* and *counsellor*, was not observed in Bacon's time; at least not marked in the spelling. Some wrote both words with an *s*; some both with a *c*; some either with either. But the rule by which the several forms of the word are appropriated to its several meanings, — *counsel* being used for advice, *counsellor* for a person who gives advice, *council* for a board of counsellors, *councillor* for a member of such board, — this rule was not yet established; and as it sometimes happens that the point or effect of the sentence depends upon the ambiguity, and is lost by marking the distinction, I have thought it better to retain the same form in all cases: and I have chosen that form which represents in modern orthography the original word.

[2] *Morbus quidam epidemicus, tunc temporis novus; cui ex naturâ et symptomatibus ejus, &c.*

[3] *Tum in morbi ipsius crisi, quam in tempore durationis ipsius.*

thought almost assured. And as to the time of the malice and reign of the disease ere it ceased, it began about the one and twentieth of September, and cleared up before the end of October; insomuch as it was no hinderance to the King's coronation, which was the last of October; nor (which was more) to the holding of the Parliament, which began but seven days after. It was a pestilent fever, but as it seemeth not seated in the veins or humours; for that there followed no carbuncle, no purple or livid spots[1], or the like, the mass of the body being not tainted; only a malign vapour flew to the heart, and seized the vital spirits; which stirred nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme sweat. And it appeared by experience that this disease was rather a surprise of nature, than obstinate to remedies, if it were in time looked unto. For if the patient were kept in an equal temper, both for clothes, fire, and drink moderately warm, with temperate cordials, whereby nature's work were neither irritated by heat nor turned back by cold, he commonly recovered. But infinite persons died suddenly of it, before the manner of the cure and attendance was known. It was conceived not to be an epidemic disease[2], but to proceed from a malignity in the constitution of the air, gathered by the predispositions of seasons[3]; and the speedy cessation declared as much.

On Simon and Jude's Even the King dined with Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal: and from Lambeth went by land over the bridge to the Tower, where the morrow after he made twelve knights-bannerets. But for creations, he dispensed them with a sparing hand. For notwithstanding a field so lately fought and a coronation so near at hand, he only created three: Jasper Earl of Pembroke (the King's uncle) was created Duke of Bedford; Thomas the Lord Stanley (the King's father-in-law) Earl of Derby; and Edward Courtney Earl of Devon; though the king had then

[1] The Latin translation adds *non pustula*.

[2] The word *epidemic* is mentioned by Sir T. Meautys as one of the verbal corrections made by the King in the original MS. This part of the MS. is unluckily lost; we cannot therefore ascertain whether this be the place where that word was introduced, or what the word was for which it was substituted. Bacon's meaning however is fully explained in the Latin translation, in which it has already been described as an epidemic disease. *Opinio erat morbum istum neutiquam ex epidemicis illis qui simul contagiosi sunt et de corpore in corpus fluunt fuisse: sed a malignitate quadam in ipso aere, &c.* Using the words in their modern sense, we should say that it was thought not to be a contagious but an epidemic disease.

[3] The translation adds "and frequent and unhealthy changes of weather."

nevertheless a purpose in himself to make more in time of Parliament; bearing a wise and decent respect to distribute his creations, some to honour his coronation, and some his Parliament.

The coronation followed two days after, upon the thirtieth day of October in the year of our Lord 1485. At which time Innocent the Eighth was Pope of Rome; Frederick the Third Emperor of Almain; and Maximilian his son newly chosen King of the Romans; Charles the Eighth King of France; Ferdinando and Isabella Kings of Spain; and James the Third King of Scotland: with all of which kings and states the King was at that time in good peace and amity.[1] At which day also (as if the crown upon his head had put perils into his thoughts) he did institute for the better security of his person a band of fifty archers under a captain to attend him, by the name of Yeomen-of-his-Guard: and yet that it might be thought to be rather a matter of dignity, after the imitation of that he had known abroad, than any matter of diffidence appropriate to his own case, he made it to be understood for an ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succession for ever after.

The seventh of November the King held his Parliament at Westminster, which he had summoned immediately after his coming to London. His ends in calling a Parliament (and that so speedily) were chiefly three. First, to procure the crown to be entailed upon himself. Next to have the attainders of all his party (which were in no small number) reversed, and all acts of hostility by them done in his quarrel remitted and discharged; and on the other side, to attaint[2] by Parliament the heads and principals of his enemies. The third, to calm and quiet the fears of the rest of that party by a general pardon[3]; not being ignorant in how great danger a King

[1] There seems to have been a doubt at first how he stood with regard to Scotland; for on the 25th of September, 1485, commissions were issued to the Sheriffs of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, and Nottingham, "to hold in array the men of those counties in readiness for an anticipated invasion of the Scots," &c. See Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1 Hen. VII. Rolls Chapel.

[2] In the original it is spelt "attaine;" probably a misprint.

[3] This is explained in the translation to mean such a general pardon as was usual after a Parliament. *Ut inferioris conditionis homines qui Richardo adhæserant (ne forte novis motibus materiam præberet) remissionem generalem, qualis in fine comitiorum a rege emanare solet, consequerentur.* The nature of this general pardon is further explained in the *Index vocabulorum* appended to the translation. It is defined, *indulgentia Regis, qua et crimina omnia (exceptis quæ in instrumento remissionis speciatim recen-*

stands from his subjects, when most of his subjects are conscious in themselves that they stand in his danger.[1] Unto these three special motives of a Parliament was added, that he as a prudent and moderate prince made this judgment, that it was fit for him to haste to let his people see that he meant to govern by law, howsoever he came in by the sword; and fit also to reclaim them to know him for their King, whom they had so lately talked of as an enemy or banished man. For that which concerned the entailing of the crown (more than that he was true to his own will, that he would not endure any mention of the Lady Elizabeth, no not in the nature of special entail[2]), he carried it otherwise with great wisdom and measure. For he did not press to have the act penned by way of declaration or recognition of right; as on the other side he avoided to have it by new law or ordinance; but chose rather a kind of middle way, by way of establishment, and that under covert and indifferent words[3]; *that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the King, etc.:* which words might equally be applied, That the crown should continue to him[4]; but whether as having former right to it (which was doubtful), or having it then in fact and possession (which no man denied), was left fair to interpretation either way. And again for the limitation of the entail, he did not press it to go farther than to himself and to the heirs of his body, not speaking of his right heirs[5]; but leaving that to the law to decide; so as the entail might seem rather a personal favour to him and

sentur) et mulctæ, aliæque solutiones Regi debitæ, abolentur. And it is added that it may proceed either from the King alone or from the King and Parliament. *Illa quandoque a Rege solo emanat, quandoque a Rege addita auctoritate Parliamenti.* It seems that Henry's first intention was to take the latter method; but that he changed his mind. See p. 39.

[1] In the MS. the sentence stood originally thus,—"that they stand in danger from him." The alteration (which I think is no improvement) is not in the transcriber's hand nor in Bacon's; but apparently in the same in which the direction with regard to the omitted passage in the next page is written. I suppose it was one of the verbal corrections dictated by the King.

From this place to the middle of page 42. I have corrected the text from the MS. The leaves which preceded are lost.

[2] *Imo nec quod minimum erat permittens, ut liberi ex eâ suscepti primi ante omnes succederent.*

[3] *Verbis tectis et utrinque nutantibus.*

[4] The meaning is more accurately expressed in the Latin translation: *Quæ verba in utrumque sensum trahi poterant; illud commune habentia, ut scilicet corona in eo stabiliretur; sed utrum, &c.* The words might be taken two ways; but either way they must be taken as establishing the crown upon him.

[5] *Omissâ hæredum generalium mentione, sed illud legis decisioni, qualis ex verbis antedictis elici poterat, subjiciebat.*

his children, than a total disinherison to the house of York. And in this form was the law drawn and passed. Which statute he procured to be confirmed by the Pope's Bull the year following, with mention nevertheless (by way of recital) of his other titles both of descent and conquest. So as now the wreath of three was made a wreath of five. For to the three first titles, of the two houses or lines and conquest, were added two more; the authorities Parliamentary and Papal.

The King likewise in the reversal of the attainders of his partakers, and discharging them of all offences incident to his service and succour, had his will; and acts did pass accordingly. In the passage whereof, exception was taken to divers persons in the House of Commons, for that they were attainted, and thereby not legal, nor habilitate to serve in Parliament, being disabled in the highest degree[1]; and that it should be a great incongruity to have them to make laws who themselves were not inlawed. The truth was, that divers of those which had in the time of King Richard been strongest and most declared for the King's party, were returned Knights and Burgesses of the Parliament; whether by care or recommendation from the state, or the voluntary inclination of the people; many of which had been by Richard the Third attainted by outlawries, or otherwise. The King was somewhat troubled with this. For though it had a grave and specious show, yet it reflected upon his party. But wisely not shewing himself at all moved therewith, he would not understand it but as a case in law, and wished the judges to be advised thereupon, who for that purpose were forthwith assembled in the Exchequer-chamber[2] (which is the counsel-chamber of the judges), and upon deliberation they gave a grave and safe opinion and advice, mixed with law and convenience[3]; which was, that the knights and burgesses attainted by the course of law should forbear to come into the house till a law were passed for the reversal of their

[1] This is rather fuller and clearer in the Latin. *Cum vero Statutum illud esset sub incude, intervenit quæstio juris satis subtilis. Dubitatum est enim, utrum suffragia complurium in inferiori consessu tunc existentium valida essent et legitima, eo quod proditionis tempore Richardi damnati fuissent; unde incapaces et inhabiles redditi essent in summo gradu.*

[2] The *index vocabulorum* explains, for the benefit of foreigners, that the exchequer chamber was *locus in quo judices majores conveniunt; cum aut a rege consuluntur; aut propter vota æqualia in curiis minoribus, omnes deliberant et suffragia reddunt; aut minorum curiarum judicia retractant.*

[3] *Ex legum normâ et æquitate naturali temperatam.*

attainders. [But the judges left it there, and made no mention whether after such reversal there should need any new election or no, nor whether this sequestering of them from the house were generally upon their disability, or upon an incompetency that they should be judges and parties in their own cause. The point in law was, whether any disability in their natural capacity could trench to their politic capacity, they being but procurators of the commonwealth and representatives and fiduciaries of counties and boroughs; considering their principals stood upright and clear, and therefore were not to receive prejudice from their personal attainders.[1]]

It was at that time incidentally moved amongst the judges in their consultation, what should be done for the King himself who likewise was attainted: but it was with unanimous consent resolved, that the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood: and that from the time the King did assume the crown, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of blood discharged.[2] But nevertheless, for honour's sake, it was ordained by Parliament, that all records wherein there was any memory or mention of the King's attainder should be defaced, cancelled, and taken off the file.

But on the part of the King's enemies there were by parliament attainted[3], the late Duke of Gloucester, calling himself

[1] The passage within brackets is taken from the MS.; where it is crossed out; and against the last sentence is written in the margin, in a hand which I do not know (not Bacon's, as it is supposed to be by Sir Frederic Madden, Archæol. 27, 155), "This to be altered, as his Matie told Mr. Mewtus."

Mr. Meautys, in a letter to Bacon, 7th Jan. 1621-2, says, "Mr. Murray tells me that the King hath given your book to my Lord Brooke, and enjoined him to read it, commending it much to him, and then my Lord Brooke is to return it to your Lp. and so it may go to the press when your Lp. please, with such amendments as the King hath made, which I have seen, and are very few, and these rather words, as *epidemic*, and *mild* instead of *debonnaire*, &c. Only that, of persons attainted enabled to serve in Parliament by a bare reversal of their attainders without issuing any new writs, the King by all means will have left out." This is what Lord Campbell alludes to where he says that James made Bacon "expunge a *legal axiom*, 'that on the reversal of an attainder the party attainted is restored to all his rights.'" — *Lives*, iii. 122. 4th ed.

[2] The translation adds *ut Regi operâ Parliamentariâ non fuisset opus.*

[3] It is remarkable that in the act of attainder the 21st of August (the day *before* the battle of Bosworth) is spoken of as being in the first year of Henry's reign; and that, a few lines further on, the 22nd of August is called "the *said* 22nd day of the said month then following." The expressions are plainly irreconcilable; but I suppose it is only a clerical error or a misprint, and that "the said 22nd day of the said month" should have been "the 22nd day of the said month," &c.

The author of the *Pictorial History of England* (book vi. cap. i.) thinks that the date of Henry's accession was thus antedated by a day, because if he was not king on the 21st, acts done on the 21st could not have been treason against him. The truth is, it mattered little by what fiction the law chose to bring within its forms a case in itself so utterly irreconcilable with law as a successful rebellion against the *de facto*

Richard the Third, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, Viscount Lovell, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Zouch, Richard Ratcliffe, William Catesby, and many others of degree and quality. In which bills of attainders nevertheless there were contained many just and temperate clauses, savings, and provisoes; well shewing and fore-tokening the wisdom, stay, and moderation of the King's spirit of government. And for the pardon of the rest that had stood against the King, the King upon a second advice thought it not fit it should pass by Parliament[1], the better (being matter of grace), to impropriate the thanks to himself: using only the opportunity of a Parliament time, the better to disperse it into the veins of the kingdom. Therefore during the Parliament he published his royal proclamation, offering pardon and grace of restitution to all such as had taken arms or been participant of any attempts against him, so as they submitted themselves to his mercy by a day, and took the oath of allegiance and fidelity to him, whereupon many came out of sanctuary, and many more came out of fear, no less guilty than those that had taken sanctuary.

As for money or treasure, the King thought it not seasonable or fit to demand any of his subjects at this Parliament; both because he had received satisfaction from them in matters of so great importance, and because he could not remunerate them with any general pardon (being prevented therein by the coronation pardon passed immediately before); but chiefly, for that it was in every man's eye what great forfeitures and confiscations he had at that present to help himself; whereby those casualties of the crown might in reason spare the purses of the subject; specially in a time when he was in peace with all his neighbours. Some few laws passed at that Parliament, almost for form sake: amongst which there was one, to reduce aliens being made denizens to pay strangers' customs; and another, to draw to himself the seizures and compositions of Italians' goods, for not employment[2]: being points of profit to his

king. To suppose that Henry had assumed the crown from the day when he was prepared to contest it in the field, was perhaps that form of fiction which came nearest to the truth.

For a fuller account of the discrepant evidence as to the commencement of Henry's regnal year, see Sir Harris Nicolas's *Chronology of History*, pp. 328–333.

[1] *A Parliamentarid auctoritate promanaret.* See note 3. p. 35.

[2] *i. e.* for not being employed upon the purchase of native goods; that being the condition upon which the importation was allowed.

The Latin translation, being addressed to foreigners, gives a fuller and more exact

coffers, whereof from the very beginning he was not forgetful; and had been more happy at the latter end, if his early providence, which kept him from all necessity of exacting upon his people, could likewise have attempered his nature therein. He added during parliament to his former creations the ennoblement or advancement in nobility of a few others. The Lord Chandos of Brittaine was made Earl of Bath; Sir Giles Dawbigny was made Lord Dawbigny; and Sir Robert Willoughby Lord Brooke.

The King did also with great nobleness and bounty (which virtues at that time had their turns in his nature) restore Edward Stafford eldest son to Henry Duke of Buckingham, attainted in the time of King Richard, not only to his dignities, but to his fortunes and possessions, which were great; to which he was moved also by a kind of gratitude, for that the Duke was the man that moved the first stone against the tyranny of King Richard, and indeed made the King a bridge to the crown upon his own ruins. Thus the Parliament brake up.

The Parliament being dissolved, the King sent forthwith money to redeem the Marquis Dorset and Sir John Bourchier, whom he had left as his pledges at Paris for money which he had borrowed when he made his expedition for England; and thereupon he took a fit occasion to send the Lord Treasurer and Mr. Bray (whom he used as counsellor) to the Lord Mayor of London, requiring of the City a prest of six thousand marks. But after many parleys he could obtain but two thousand pounds; which nevertheless the King took in good part, as men use to do that practise to borrow money when they have no need.

About this time the King called unto his Privy Counsel John Morton and Richard Foxe, the one Bishop of Ely, the other Bishop of Exeter; vigilant men and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else. They had been both versed in his affairs before he came to the crown, and were partakers of his adverse fortune. This Morton soon after, upon the death of Bourchier, he made Archbishop of Canterbury.

description of many of these laws than was then necessary for English readers. English readers want the explanation now as much as foreigners; and therefore I shall in most cases give the Latin words by way of commentary.

Una fuit, ut exteri licet civitate donati nihilominus vectigalia qualia imponi solent meris exteris solverent: altera, ut mulctæ mercatorum Italorum propter pecunias quæ proveniebant ex mercibus suis venundatis in nativas regni merces non impensas, fisco regio applicarentur.

And for Foxe, he made him Lord Keeper of his Privy Seal; and afterwards advanced him by degrees, from Exeter to Bath and Wells, thence to Durham, and last to Winchester. For although the King loved to employ and advance bishops, because having rich bishoprics they carried their reward upon themselves; yet he did use to raise them by steps; that he might not lose the profit of the first fruits[1], which by that course of gradation was multiplied.

At last upon the eighteenth of January was solemnised the so long expected and so much desired marriage between the King and the Lady Elizabeth; which day of marriage was celebrated with greater triumph and demonstrations (especially on the people's part) of joy and gladness, than the days either of his entry or coronation; which the King rather noted than liked. And it is true that all his life-time, while the Lady Elizabeth lived with him (for she died before him), he shewed himself no very indulgent husband[2] towards her though she was beautiful

[1] *i. e.* the portion of the profit which he contrived to secure for himself. The first-fruits at that time went to the Pope, as is noticed in the Latin translation, which adds, "*Licet enim tunc temporis reditus ille ex primitiis reditibus regiis non fuisset annexus, sed tributo papali cesserat; attamen ipse ita cum collectoribus Papæ se gerere solebat, ut haud parvum inde commodum sibi redundaret.*"

[2] So again farther on: "Towards his queen he was nothing uxorious, nor scarce indulgent; but companiable and respective, and without jealousy."

I am not aware that any evidence is now extant from which it could be inferred that Henry was wanting in indulgence to his wife: but these words are evidently chosen with care and delicacy, and we need not doubt that Bacon had good grounds for what he said. These passages are, I believe, the sole foundation of the statements made by later historians on this point; a few of which (to show how little the copy can be trusted for preserving the characteristic features of the original) it may be worth while to quote, according to the order of their date. The successive pictures are not however copies from each other, but all *meant to be* copies direct from Bacon.

1. Rapin (A. D. 1707–25). "Henry did not like to see the people's joy for this marriage. He perceived Elizabeth had a greater share in it than himself, and consequently he was thought really king only in right of his queen. This consideration inspired him with *such a coldness for her, that he never ceased giving her marks of it so long as she lived.* He deferred her coronation two whole years, and doubtless would have done so for ever, if he had not thought it prejudicial to him to persist in refusing her that honour. Nay *perhaps he would have dealt with her as Edward the Confessor had formerly done by his queen, daughter of Earl Goodwin, had not the desire of children caused him to overcome his aversion.*"

2. Hume (1759). "Henry remarked with much displeasure the general favour which was borne the house of York. The suspicions which arose from it not only disturbed his tranquillity during his whole reign, but *bred disgust towards his spouse herself, and poisoned all his domestic enjoyments* Though virtuous, amiable, and obsequious to the last degree, she never met with a proper return of affection, *or even of complaisance*, from her husband; and the malignant ideas of faction still, in his sullen mind, prevailed over all the sentiments of conjugal tenderness."

3. Henry (1790). "Henry did not relish these rejoicings; on the contrary they gave great disgust to his jealous and sullen spirit; as they convinced him that the house of York was still the favourite of the people, and that his young and beautiful consort possessed a greater share of their affections than himself. This, it is said,

gentle and fruitful. But his aversion toward the house of York was so predominant in him, as it found place not only in his wars and counsels, but in his chamber and bed.

Towards the middle of the spring[1], the King, full of confidence and assurance, as a prince that had been victorious in battle, and had prevailed with his Parliament in all that he desired, and had the ring of acclamations fresh in his ears, thought the rest of his reign should be but play, and the enjoying of a kingdom. Yet as a wise and watchful King, he would not neglect anything for his safety, thinking nevertheless to perform all things now rather as an exercise than as a labour. So he being truly informed that the northern parts were not only affectionate to the house of York, but particularly had been devoted to King Richard the Third, thought it would be a summer well spent to visit those parts, and by his presence and application of himself[2] to reclaim and rectify those humours. But the King, in his account of peace and calms, did much over-cast his fortunes; which proved for many years together full of broken seas, tides, and tempests. For he was no sooner come to Lincoln, where he kept his Easter, but he received news that the Lord Lovell, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, who had formerly taken sanctuary at[3] Colchester, were departed out of sanctuary, but to what place no man could tell. Which advertisement the King despised, and continued his journey to York. At York[4] there came fresh and more certain advertisement that the Lord

deprived her of the affections of her husband, who *treated her unkindly during her life*."

4. Thomas Heywood (Preface to the *Song of the Lady Bessy*, p. 15.), (1829). "It was a match of policy; and the gentle and unoffending queen, *after a life rendered miserable by the dislike in which the king held her* in common with the whole of the house of York, and having given birth to three sons and four daughters, died in the Tower, A. D. 1503, in the 37th year of her age," &c.

"I have not met" (says Dr. Lingard, after quoting a passage of opposite tendency) "with any good proof of Henry's dislike of Elizabeth, so often mentioned by later writers. In the MS. of André and the journals of the Herald they appear as if they entertained a real affection for each other." (Vol. v. p, 328.)

If Bacon be, as I suppose he is, the sole authority upon which these later writers speak, proof was not to be expected. Bacon does not say that Henry was either neglectful or unkind, but only that he was not very indulgent.

[1] In the Latin, *jam autem*. Easter-day fell that year on the 26th of March; and by that time the king had advanced in his northern progress as far as Lincoln.

[2] *Præsentiaque sua, et majestate simul ac comitate.*

[3] Several pages of the MS. that followed here are lost.

[4] So Polydore Vergil. According to the journal of a herald who accompanied the progress (printed in Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv., from Cott. MSS. Jul. B. xii.), which is better authority, news reached the king at Pontefract that Lord Lovel had passed him on the road, and was preparing to surprise him at York.

Lovell was at hand with a great power of men, and that the Staffords were in arms in Worcestershire, and had made their approaches to the city of Worcester to assail it. The King, as a prince of great and profound judgment, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a rag or remnant of Bosworth Field, and had nothing in it of the main party of the house of York. But he was more doubtful of the raising of forces to resist the rebels, than of the resistance itself[1]; for that he was in a core of people whose affections he suspected. But the action enduring no delay, he did speedily levy and send against the Lord Lovell to the number of three thousand men, ill armed but well assured (being taken some few out of his own train, and the rest out of the tenants and followers of such as were safe to be trusted), under the conduct of the Duke of Bedford. And as his manner was to send his pardons rather before the sword than after, he gave commission to the Duke to proclaim pardon to all that would come in: which the Duke, upon his approach to the Lord Lovell's camp, did perform. And it fell out as the King expected; (the heralds were the great ordnance.) For the Lord Lovell, upon proclamation of pardon, mistrusting his men, fled into Lancashire, and lurking for a time with Sir Thomas Broughton, after sailed over into Flanders to the Lady Margaret. And his men, forsaken of their captain, did presently submit themselves to the Duke. The Staffords likewise, and their forces, hearing what had happened to the Lord Lovell (in whose success their chief trust was), despaired and dispersed; the two brothers taking sanctuary at Colnham, a village near Abingdon; which place, upon view of their privilege in the King's bench, being judged no sufficient sanctuary for traitors, Humphrey was executed at Tyburn; and Thomas, as being led by his elder brother, was pardoned. So this rebellion proved but a blast, and the King having by this journey purged a little the dregs and leaven of the northern people, that were before in no good affection towards him, returned to London.

In September following, the Queen was delivered of her first son, whom the King (in honour of the British race, of which himself was) named Arthur, according to the name of that ancient worthy King of the Britons; in whose acts there is

[1] *i. e.* than that the rebels might easily be resisted. "*Magis autem solicitum eum habuit copiarum delectus quibus resisteret rebellibus quam ipsorum rebellium debellatio.*"

ruth enough to make him famous, besides that which is fabu-
ous.[1] The child was strong and able, though he was born in
he eighth month, which the physicians do prejudge.[2]

There followed this year, being the second of the King's
eign, a strange accident of state[3], whereof the relations which
ve have are so naked, as they leave it scarce credible; not for
he nature of it, (for it hath fallen out oft,) but for the manner
nd circumstance of it, especially in the beginnings. Therefore
'e shall make our judgment upon the things themselves, as
hey give light one to another, and (as we can) dig truth out
f the mine. The King was green in his estate; and contrary
o his own opinion and desert both, was not without much
atred throughout the realm. The root of all was the discoun-
enancing of the house of York, which the general body of the
ealm still affected. This did alienate the hearts of the subjects
rom him daily more and more, especially when they saw that
fter his marriage, and after a son born, the King did neverthe-
ess not so much as proceed to the coronation of the Queen[4],
ot vouchsafing her the honour of a matrimonial crown; for
he coronation of her was not till almost two years after, when
anger had taught him what to do. But much more, when it
as spread abroad (whether by error or the cunning of mal-
ontents) that the King had a purpose to put to death Edward
'lantagenet closely in the Tower: whose case was so nearly
aralleled with that of Edward the Fourth's children, in respect
f the blood, like age, and the very place of the Tower, as it
id refresh and reflect upon the King a most odious resemblance,
s if he would be another King Richard. And all this time it
as still whispered everywhere, that at least one of the
hildren of Edward the Fourth was living. Which bruit was
unningly fomented by such as desired innovation. Neither was
ie King's nature and customs greatly fit to disperse these
ists; but contrariwise he had a fashion rather to create
oubts than assurance. Thus was fuel prepared for the spark:

[1] *In cujus rebus gestis asserendis satis invenitur in historia vera et monumentis
itiquis, quod illum, demptis fabulis, magnâ gloriâ regnasse testetur.*
[2] *De quo medici et astrologi male ominantur.*
[3] *Mirum quoddam facinus et audacia plenum, quodque statum regis et regni vehe-
enter perturbavit.*
[4] *Nihilominus coronationem reginæ suæ (quæ conjunctim cum coronatione propria ab
uibus primo erat spect.ta) adhuc distulisse.*

the spark, that afterwards kindled such a fire and combustion, was at the first contemptible.

There was a subtile priest called Richard Simon, that lived in Oxford, and had to his pupil a baker's son [1] named Lambert Simnell, of the age of some fifteen years; a comely youth, and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect. It came into this priest's fancy (hearing what men talked, and in hope to raise himself to some great bishoprick) to cause this lad to counterfeit and personate the second son of Edward the Fourth, supposed to be murdered; and afterward (for he changed his intention in the manage) the Lord Edward Plantagenet, then prisoner in the Tower; and accordingly to frame him and instruct him in the part he was to play. This is that which (as was touched before) seemeth scarcely credible; not that a false person should be assumed to gain a kingdom, for it hath been seen in ancient and late times; nor that it should come into the mind of such an abject fellow to enterprise so great a matter; for high conceits do sometimes come streaming into the imaginations of base persons; especially when they are drunk with news and talk of the people. But here is that which hath no appearance [2]; that this priest, being utterly unacquainted with the true person according to whose pattern he should shape his counterfeit, should think it possible for him to instruct his player, either in gesture and fashions, or in recounting past matters of his life and education, or in fit answers to questions, or the like, any ways to come near the resemblance of him whom he was to represent. For this lad was not to personate one that had been long before taken out of his cradle, or conveyed away in his infancy, known to few; but a youth that till the age almost of ten years had been brought up in a court where infinite eyes had been upon him. For King Edward, touched with remorse of his brother the Duke of Clarence's death, would not indeed restore his son (of whom we speak) to be Duke of Clarence, but yet created him Earl of Warwick, reviving his honour on the mother's side, and

[1] Speed, on the authority it seems of Bernard André, says son of a baker or shoemaker. Archbishop Sancroft, on the authority of the priest's declaration before the convocation of clergy, Feb. 17, 1486 (*Reg. Morton.* f. 34.), says that he was the son of an organ-maker in Oxford, and that the priest's name was William Simonds. See note on this passage in Blackbourne's ed. of Bacon's works, vol. iii. p. 407., said to be from Sancroft's MS. In the act of attainder of the Earl of Lincoln (Rolls of Parl. vol. vi. p. 397.) he is styled "one Lambert Symnell, a child of x yere of age, sonne to Thomas Symnell, late of Oxford, joynoure."

[2] *Quod minime videtur probabile.*

used him honourably during his time, though Richard the Third afterwards confined him. So that it cannot be, but that some great person, that knew particularly and familiarly Edward Plantagenet, had a hand in the business, from whom the priest might take his aim. That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent acts, is, that it was the Queen Dowager from whom this action had the principal source and motion. For certain it is, she was a busy negotiating woman, and in her withdrawing-chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the King against King Richard the Third been hatched; which the King knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely discontent with the King, thinking her daughter (as the King handled the matter) not advanced but depressed: and none could hold the book so well to prompt and instruct this stage-play, as she could. Nevertheless it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and sager sort that favoured this enterprise and knew the secret, that this disguised idol should possess the crown; but at his peril to make way to the overthrow of the King; and that done, they had their several hopes and ways. That which doth chiefly fortify this conjecture is, that as soon as the matter brake forth in any strength, it was one of the King's first acts to cloister the Queen Dowager in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and to take away all her lands and estate [1]; and this by a close counsel, without any legal proceed-

[1] This is distinctly stated by Polydore Vergil, Hall, and Speed. Dr. Lingard disputes the fact, referring to the collection of unpublished Acts by Rymer; Hen. VII. Nos. 29, 39. Her dower (he says), of which she had been deprived by Richard III., had not been restored by Henry's parliament: instead of it the king granted her a compensation. Which is true. From the calendar of the Patent Rolls now deposited in the Rolls Chapel, it appears (p. 160.) that on the 4th of March 1485-6 various lordships and manors were granted to her for life *in part recompence of her dowry*, and that on the following day other lordships and manors, of which the enumeration occupies forty-six lines, together with certain "yearly payments," amounting altogether to 655*l.* 7*s.* 6½*d.*, were in like manner granted to her for life *in recompence of the residue of her dowry*.

Dr. Lingard does not indeed allege any grounds for thinking that this compensation was not now withdrawn; which would justify Polydore's statement in substance. But he does allege good reasons for thinking that Polydore's account of the severity exercised towards the Queen Dowager for the rest of her days is exaggerated; the principal evidence to the contrary being the project of a marriage between her and James III. of Scotland, which was certainly entertained in the following year. See Rymer, xii. 329. It is also certain that on the 19th of February 1490, an annuity of 400*l.* was granted to her (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 5 Hen. VII. p. 38.). But this *may* have been in consideration of the withdrawal of the former grant,—if it was withdrawn.

Bacon does not seem to have had any original information on this matter. He merely repeats the original story as he found it; and we can only infer from his adoption of it that he had seen no reason for doubting its accuracy. It is certainly not

ing, upon far-fetched pretences, — that she had delivered her two daughters out of sanctuary to King Richard, contrary to promise. Which proceeding being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue, both in matter and manner, makes it very probable there was some greater matter against her, which the King upon reason of policy and to avoid envy would not publish. It is likewise no small argument that there was some secret in it and some suppressing of examinations, for that the priest Simon himself after he was taken was never brought to execution; no not so much as to public trial (as many clergymen were upon less treasons); but was only shut up close in a dungeon. Add to this that after the Earl of Lincoln (a principal person of the house of York) was slain in Stoke-field, the King opened himself to some of his counsel, that he was sorry for the Earl's death, because by him (he said) he might have known the bottom of his danger.

But to return to the narration itself: Simon did first instruct his scholar for the part of Richard Duke of York, second son to King Edward the Fourth; and this was at such time as it was voiced that the King purposed to put to death Edward Plantagenet prisoner in the Tower, whereat there was great murmur. But hearing soon after a general bruit that Plantagenet had escaped out of the Tower[1], and thereby finding him so much beloved amongst the people, and such rejoicing at his escape, the cunning priest changed his copy, and chose now Plantagenet to be the subject his pupil should personate, because he was more in the present speech and votes of the people; and it pieced better, and followed more close and handsomely upon the bruit of Plantagenet's escape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking and too much perspective into his disguise[2], if he should shew it here in England; he thought good (after the manner of scenes in stage-plays and masks) to shew it afar off; and therefore sailed with his scholar into Ireland, where the affection to the house of

true that the Queen Dowager was entirely secluded from court for the remainder of her life; for she was with her daughter in November 1489 (Lel. iv. p. 249). It probably is true that she was not much at court, but lived in retirement; for which there may have been many reasons. She was growing old; the King's mother was generally with the Queen; and it often happens that the mother and the mother-in-law can live more comfortably at a little distance from each other. The King may have been obliged to choose which of the two he would have in his house, — his own mother or his wife's.

[1] Polydore says, *in carcere interiisse*. In this Bacon seems to have followed Hall, who says the rumour was that he had *broken out of prison*.

[2] *Minus sibi tutum futurum, et hominum curiositati et inquisitioni magis obnoxium.*

York was most in height. The King had been a little improvident in the matters of Ireland, and had not removed officers and counsellors, and put in their places, or at least intermingled, persons of whom he stood assured; as he should have done, since he knew the strong bent of that country towards the house of York, and that it was a ticklish and unsettled state, more easy to receive distempers and mutations than England was. But trusting to the reputation of his victories and successes in England, he thought he should have time enough to extend his cares afterwards to that second kingdom.

Wherefore through this neglect, upon the coming of Simon with his pretended Plantagenet into Ireland, all things were prepared for revolt and sedition, almost as if they had been set and plotted beforehand. Simon's first address was to the Lord Thomas Fitz-Gerard, Earl of Kildare and Deputy of Ireland; before whose eyes he did cast such a mist (by his own insinuation, and by the carriage of his youth, that expressed a natural princely behaviour) as, joined perhaps with some inward vapours of ambition and affection in the Earl's own mind, left him fully possessed that it was the true Plantagenet. The Earl presently communicated the matter with some of the nobles and others there, at the first secretly. But finding them of like affection to himself, he suffered it of purpose to vent and pass abroad; because they thought it not safe to resolve, till they had a taste of the people's inclination. But if the great ones were in forwardness, the people were in fury, entertaining this airy body or phantasm with incredible affection; partly out of their great devotion to the house of York, partly out of a proud humour in the nation to give a King to the realm of England. Neither did the party in this heat of affection much trouble themselves with the attainder of George Duke of Clarence; having newly learned by the King's example that attainders do not interrupt the conveying of title to the crown. And as for the daughters of King Edward the Fourth, they thought King Richard had said enough for them[2]; and took them to be but as of the King's party, because they were in his power and at his disposing. So that with marvellous consent and applause, this counterfeit Plantagenet was brought with great solemnity

[2] *i.e.* the example of Richard had shown that their claim was no insuperable impediment. The Latin is fuller — *facile innitebantur repulsæ quam a Rege Richardo hæreditate regni summotæ, tulissent.*

to the castle of Dublin, and there saluted, served, and honoured as King; the boy becoming it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the baseness of his condition. And within a few days after he was proclaimed King in Dublin, by the name of King Edward the Sixth; there being not a sword drawn in King Henry his quarrel.

The King was much moved with this unexpected accident, when it came to his ears, both because it struck upon that string which ever he most feared [1], as also because it was stirred in such a place, where he could not with safety transfer his own person to suppress it. For partly through natural valour and partly through an universal suspicion (not knowing whom to trust) he was ever ready to wait upon all his achievements in person. The King therefore first called his counsel together at the Charter-house at Shine [2]; which counsel was held with great secrecy, but the open decrees thereof, which presently came abroad, were three.

The first was, that the Queen Dowager, for that she, contrary to her pact and agreement with those that had concluded with her concerning the marriage of her daughter Elizabeth with King Henry, had nevertheless delivered her daughters out of sanctuary into King Richard's hands, should be cloistered in the nunnery of Bermondsey [3], and forfeit all her lands and goods.

The next was, that Edward Plantagenet, then close prisoner in the Tower, should be, in the most public and notorious manner that could be devised, shewed unto the people: in part to discharge the King of the envy of that opinion and bruit, how he had been put to death privily in the Tower; but chiefly to make the people see the levity and imposture of the proceedings of Ireland, and that their Plantagenet was indeed but a puppet or a counterfeit.

[1] *i.e.* the revival of the York title. *Tituli scilicet Eboracensis familiæ resuscitationem.*

[2] This was soon after Candlemas, 1486-7. See the Herald's narrative, Cott. MSS., Jul. B. xii. fo. 23.; or Leland, IV. p. 208.

[3] This fact is stated by Speed, on the authority probably of Hall; who says that she "lived ever after in the Abbey of Bermondsey at Southwark, a wretched and miserable life, where not long after she deceased." The statement as to her residing there for the rest of her life is confirmed by the fact that her will, which is dated 10th April, 1492, was witnessed by the Abbot of Bermondsey; and it seems that she had a right, under the will of the founder, to accommodation in the state apartments there. If there be any ground for supposing that Henry compelled her to reside there against her will, it may be imputed perhaps to his natural aversion to see a good thing thrown away. Her pension may possibly have been given upon condition that she should not pay for lodgings when she might have them for nothing. See note p. 46.

The third was, that there should be again proclaimed a general pardon to all that would reveal their offences[1] and submit themselves by a day; and that this pardon should be conceived in so ample and liberal a manner, as no high-treason (no not against the King's own person) should be excepted. Which though it might seem strange, yet was it not so to a wise King, that knew his greatest dangers were not from the least treasons, but from the greatest. These resolutions of the King and his counsel were immediately put in execution. And first, the Queen Dowager was put into the monastery of Bermondsey, and all her estate seized into the King's hands: whereat there was much wondering; that a weak woman, for the yielding to the menaces and promises of a tyrant, after such a distance of time (wherein the King had shown no displeasure nor alteration), but much more after so happy a marriage between the King and her daughter, blessed with issue male, should upon a sudden mutability or disclosure of the King's mind be so severely handled.

This lady was amongst the examples of great variety of fortune. She had first, from a distressed suitor and desolate widow, been taken to the marriage bed of a bachelor-King, the goodliest personage of his time; and even in his reign she had endured a strange eclipse, by the King's flight and temporary depriving from the crown. She was also very happy in that she had by him fair issue, and continued his nuptial love (helping herself by some obsequious bearing and dissembling of his pleasures) to the very end. She was much affectionate to her own kindred, even unto faction; which did stir great envy in the lords of the King's side, who counted her blood a disparagement to be mingled with the King's. With which lords of the King's blood joined also the King's favourite the Lord Hastings; who, notwithstanding the King's great affection to him, was thought at times, through her malice and spleen, not to be out of danger of falling. After her husband's death she was matter of tragedy, having lived to see her brother beheaded, and her two sons deposed from the crown, bastarded in their blood, and cruelly murdered. All this while nevertheless she enjoyed her liberty, state, and fortunes.[2] But after-

[1] This condition is not mentioned by the earlier historians. Polydore says, *Qui in officio deinceps permanserint.*

[2] This can hardly be correct. For her marriage having been declared by act of Parliament invalid and her children illegitimate, her inheritance (unless expressly reserved to her by the act, which seems unlikely) must have been taken away. It is true however that on the 1st of March, 1483-4, about eight months after Richard's accession,

wards again, upon the rise of the wheel, when she had a King to her son-in-law, and was made grandmother to a grandchild of the best sex, yet was she (upon dark and unknown reasons, and no less strange pretences,) precipitated and banished the world into a nunnery; where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her or see her; and where not long after she ended her life[1]; but was by the King's commandment buried with the King her husband at Windsor. She was foundress of Queen's College in Cambridge. For this act the King sustained great obloquy, which nevertheless (besides the reason of state) was somewhat sweetened to him by a great confiscation.

About this time also, Edward Plantagenet was upon a Sunday brought throughout all the principal streets of London, to be seen of the people. And having passed the view of the streets, was conducted to Paul's Church in[2] solemn procession, where great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that divers of the nobility and others of quality (especially of those that the King most suspected, and knew the person of Plantagenet best) had communication with the young gentleman by the way[3], and entertained him with speech and discourse, which did in effect mar the pageant in Ireland with the subjects here; at least with so many as out of error, and not out of malice, might be misled. Nevertheless in Ireland (where it was too late to go back) it wrought little or no effect. But contrariwise they turned the imposture upon the King; and gave out that the King, to defeat the true inheritor, and to mock the world and blind the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a boy in the likeness of Edward Plantagenet, and shewed him to the people; not sparing to profane the ceremony of a procession, the more to countenance the fable.

he bound himself to befriend and provide for her daughters as his kinswomen, and to allow her 700 marks (466*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) a year for life, if they would come out of sanctuary. On the accession of Henry she was restored to her rank and style, and the act by which her marriage had been declared illegitimate was reversed without being read, "that the matter might be and remain in perpetual oblivion for the falseness and shamefulness of it." The original was removed from the Rolls and burned, and all copies destroyed. And as the proceeding did not, it seems, involve the restitution of her forfeited lands, Henry, on the 4th and 5th of March, 1485-6, granted her the compensation mentioned in note 1. p. 46,

[1] In 1492.

[2] Here we recover the MS.

[3] This is Polydore's statement. It seems however that besides being thus publicly exhibited, he was kept for some time in the beginning of February, 1486-7, about the court at Sheen. The Herald (Cott. Jul. xii. p. 23.) says that Lord Lincoln "daily spake with him *at Sheen*, afore his departing."

The general pardon likewise near the same time came forth; and the King therewithal omitted no diligence in giving straight order for the keeping of the ports; that fugitives, malcontents, or suspected persons might not pass over into Ireland and Flanders.

Meanwhile the rebels in Ireland had sent privy messengers both into England and into Flanders, who in both places had wrought effects of no small importance. For in England they won to their party John Earl of Lincoln, son of John De la Pole Duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth King Edward the Fourth's eldest sister. This Earl was a man of great wit and courage, and had his thoughts highly raised by hopes and expectations for a time. For Richard the Third had a resolution, out of his hatred to both his brethren, King Edward and the Duke of Clarence, and their lines, (having had his hand in both their bloods), to disable their issues upon false and incompetent pretexts, the one of attainder, the other of illegitimation; and to design this gentleman (in case himself should die without children) for inheritor of the crown. Neither was this unknown to the King (who had secretly an eye upon him): but the King having tasted of the envy of the people for his imprisonment of Edward Plantagenet, was doubtful to heap up any more distastes of that kind by the imprisonment of De la Pole also; the rather thinking it policy to conserve him as a corrival unto the other. The Earl of Lincoln was induced to participate with the action of Ireland, not lightly upon the strength of the proceedings there, which was but a bubble; but upon letters from the Lady Margaret of Burgundy, in whose succours and declaration for the enterprise there seemed to be a more solid foundation, both for reputation and forces. Neither did the Earl refrain the business for that he knew the pretended Plantagenet to be but an idol. But contrariwise he was more glad it should be the false Plantagenet than the true; because the false being sure to fall away of himself, and the true to be made sure of by the King, it might open and pave a fair and prepared way to his own title. With this resolution he sailed secretly into Flanders[1], where was a little before arrived the Lord Lovell,

[1] This must have been a little after Candlemas. "And after Candellmasse the King at Shene had a great counsell of his lords both spüelx and temply . . . and at that counseill was the Erle of Lincoln, which incontinently after the said counseil departed the lande and went into Flaunders," &c. (Cott. MSS., *ubi supra.*)

leaving a correspondence here in England with Sir Thomas Broughton[1], a man of great power and dependencies in Lancashire. For before this time[2], when the pretended Plantagenet was first received in Ireland, secret messengers had been also sent to the Lady Margaret, advertising her what had passed in Ireland, imploring succours in an enterprise (as they said) so pious and just, and that God had so miraculously prospered in the beginning thereof; and making offer that all things should be guided by her will and direction, as the sovereign patroness and protectress of the enterprise. Margaret was second sister to King Edward the Fourth, and had been second wife to Charles surnamed the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy. By whom having no children of her own, she did with singular care and tenderness intend the education of Philip and Margaret, grandchildren to her former husband[3]; which won her great love and authority among the Dutch. This Princess (having the spirit of a man and malice of a woman) abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless and without any nearer care, made it her design and enterprise to see the Majesty Royal of England once again replaced in her house; and had set up King Henry as a mark at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot; insomuch as all the counsels of his succeeding troubles came chiefly out of that quiver. And she bare such a mortal hatred to the house of Lancaster and personally to the King, as she was no ways mollified by the conjunction of the houses in her niece's marriage; but rather hated her niece, as the means of the King's ascent to the crown and assurance therein. Wherefore with great violence of affection she embraced this overture. And upon counsel taken with the Earl of Lincoln and the Lord Lovell, and some other of the party, it was resolved with all speed, the two lords assisted with a regiment of two thousand Almains, being choice and veteran bands, under the command of Martin Swart

[1] *Qui consiliorum suorum veluti procuratorem in Angliâ reliquerat Thomam B. &c.*

[2] The translation adds — (*ut supra diximus*), referring to the messengers mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph. In the MS. the words "(as we said before)" inserted after "Lady Margaret," have a line drawn through them.

[3] An incorrect expression; which is retained in the translation. He meant to say *grandchildren to her husband by his former wife.* They were the children of Maria, Charles's only child by his first marriage. See Polydore Vergil, p. 724.

(a valiant and experimented captain) should pass over into Ireland to the new King; hoping that when the action should have the face of a received and settled regality (with such a second person as the Earl of Lincoln, and the conjunction and reputation of foreign succours), the fame of it would embolden and prepare all the party of the confederates and malcontents within the realm of England to give them assistance when they should come over there. And for the person of the counterfeit, it was agreed that if all things succeeded well he should be put down, and the true Plantagenet received; wherein nevertheless the Earl of Lincoln had his particular hopes. After they were come into Ireland[1], (and that the party took courage by seeing themselves together in a body,) they grew very confident of success; conceiving and discoursing amongst themselves, that they went in upon far better cards[2] to overthrow King Henry, than King Henry had to overthrow King Richard: and that if there were not a sword drawn against them in Ireland, it was a sign the swords in England would be soon sheathed or beaten down.

And first, for a bravery upon this accession of power, they crowned their new King in the cathedral church of Dublin, who formerly had been but proclaimed only; and then sat in counsel what should further be done. At which counsel though it were propounded by some that it were the best way to establish themselves first in Ireland, and to make that the seat of the war, and to draw King Henry thither in person, by whose absence they thought there would be great alterations and commotions in England; yet because the kingdom there was poor, and they should not be able to keep their army together, nor pay their German soldiers; and for that also the sway of the Irishmen and generally of the men of war, which (as in such cases of popular tumults is usual) did in effect govern their leaders, was eager and in affection to make their fortunes upon England; it was concluded with all possible speed to transport their forces into England.[3] The King in

[1] In the beginning of Lent, according to the Herald (Cott. MSS. *ubi sup.*) which would be in the beginning of March. Ash Wednesday fell that year on the 28th of February.

[2] *Copiis multo majoribus instructos.*

[3] On the 4th of March, 1486-7, a commission was issued to Thomas Brandon to take command of "the armed force about to proceed to sea against the king's enemies there cruising." Cal. Pat. Rolls. 2 Hen. VII.

the mean time, who at the first when he heard what was done in Ireland, though it troubled him, yet thought he should be well enough able to scatter the Irish as a flight of birds, and rattle away this swarm of bees with their King; when he heard afterwards that the Earl of Lincoln was embarked in the action, and that the Lady Margaret was declared for it, he apprehended the danger in a true degree as it was; and saw plainly that his kingdom must again be put to the stake, and that he must fight for it. And first he did conceive, before he understood of the Earl of Lincoln's sailing into Ireland out of Flanders, that he should be assailed both upon the east parts of the kingdom of England by some impression from Flanders [1], and upon the north-west out of Ireland: and therefore having ordered musters to be made in both parts, and having provisionally designed two generals, Jasper Earl of Bedford, and John Earl of Oxford (meaning himself also to go in person where the affairs should most require it), and nevertheless not expecting any actual invasion at that time (the winter being far on [2]), he took his journey himself towards Suffolk and Norfolk, for the confirming of those parts. And being come to St. Edmond's-bury, he understood that Thomas Marquis of Dorset (who had been one of the pledges in France) was hasting towards him to purge himself of some accusations which had been made against him. But the King though he kept an ear for him, yet was the time so doubtful, that he sent the Earl of Oxford to meet him and forthwith to carry him to the Tower, with a fair message nevertheless that he should bear that disgrace with patience; for that the King meant not his hurt, but only to preserve him from doing hurt either to the King's service or to himself; and that the King should always be able (when he had cleared himself) to make him reparation.

From St. Edmond's-bury he went to Norwich, where he kept his Christmas.[3] And from thence he went (in a manner

[1] *Factâ invasione a copiis e Flandrid.*

[2] Bacon in all this narrative follows Polydore Vergil; who mistook the time of the year; thinking that all this took place before Christmas. It appears from the Herald's narrative (which may be considered a conclusive authority on such a point) that the King began his journey towards Suffolk in "the second week in Lent:" which was the second week in March. (Cott. MS. *ubi sup.*)

[3] So Polydore: a mistake. It was Easter, not Christmas, that he kept at Norwich. (Cott. MSS. *ubi sup.*) Bacon seems to have felt the difficulty of this date, though he had no authority for correcting it: for in the Latin translation the words are omitted.

of pilgrimage) to Walsingham, where he visited our Lady's church, famous for miracles, and made his prayers and vows for his help and deliverance. And from thence he returned by Cambridge to London.[1] Not long after, the rebels with their King (under the leading of the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Lovell, and Colonel Swart) landed at Fouldrey in Lancashire, whither there repaired to them Sir Thomas Broughton, with some small company of English. The King by that time (knowing now the storm would not divide but fall in one place) had levied forces in good number; and in person (taking with him his two designed generals, the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford) was come on his way towards them as far as Coventry, whence he sent forth a troop of light-horsemen for discovery, and to intercept some stragglers of the enemies, by whom he might the better understand the particulars of their progress and purposes; which was accordingly done; though the King otherways was not without intelligence from espials in the camp.

The rebels took their way towards York without spoiling the country or any act of hostility, the better to put themselves into favour of the people and to personate their King (who no doubt out of a princely feeling was sparing and compassionate towards his subjects). But their snow-ball did not gather as it went. For the people came not in to them; neither did any rise or declare themselves in other parts of the kingdom for them; which was caused partly by the good taste that the King had given his people of his government, joined with the reputation of his felicity; and partly for that it was

Easter day fell that year on the 15th of April. The King had kept his Christmas at Greenwich.

[1] So again Polydore: a mistake; induced probably by the previous one. From Norwich Henry went by Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Northampton to *Coventry*; where he was on the 22nd of April; and where he remained until he heard of the landing of the rebels in Lancashire.

Polydore's mistake of Christmas for Easter is unlucky. It spoils the story of the King's movements. The truth, I suppose, is that at first he thought the danger was most imminent from Flanders, and then he kept near his east coast and went to Norwich; but finding that it did not gather on that side but drew towards Ireland, he proceeded straight towards the west, and took up his position at Coventry, at an equal distance from either coast: and there waited till he should hear at what point he was to be attacked. It was not till the 5th of May that the principal party of the rebels landed in Ireland. (See the King's letter to E. of Ormond, 13th May, Ellis, l. i. 18.) Upon news of which (according to the Herald, *ubi sup.* p. 24.) he licensed divers of his nobles to go to their countries and prepare to return with forces upon a day assigned; and himself rode over to Kenilworth, where the Queen and his mother were; and there he heard of the landing of the rebels in Lancashire; which was (see Rot. Parl. p. 397.) on the 4th of June.

an odious thing to the people of England to have a King brought in to them upon the shoulders of Irish and Dutch, of which their army was in substance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great judgment on the party of the rebels, for them to take their way towards York; considering that howsoever those parts had formerly been a nursery of their friends, yet it was there where the Lord Lovell had so lately disbanded; and where the King's presence had a little before qualified discontents. The Earl of Lincoln, deceived of his hopes of the country's[1] concourse unto him (in which case he would have temporised) and seeing the business past retreat[2], resolved to make on where the King was, and to give him battle; and thereupon marched towards Newark, thinking to have surprised the town. But the King was somewhat before this time come to Nottingham, where he called a counsel of war, at which was consulted whether it were best to protract time or speedily to set upon the rebels. In which counsel the King himself (whose continual vigilance did suck in sometimes causeless suspicions which few else knew) inclined to the accelerating a battle.[3] But this was presently put out of doubt, by the great aids that came in to him in the instant of this consultation, partly upon missives and partly voluntaries, from many parts of the kingdom.

The principal persons that came then to the King's aid were the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Lord Strange, of the nobility, and of knights and gentlemen to the number of at least threescore and ten persons, with their companies; making in the whole at the least six thousand fighting men, besides the forces that were with the King before. Whereupon the King finding his army so bravely reinforced, and a great alacrity in all his men to fight, he[4] was confirmed in his former resolution, and

[1] *Populum enim ad se certatim confluxurum sibi promiserat.* The MS. and Ed. 1622 also have "countries;" meaning I think "of the countrie," not "of the countries."

[2] "Retraict" in the MS.: *sine recepta* in the translation.

[3] This is not stated by Polydore; and I do not know where it comes from. But the Herald's narrative supplies an anecdote illustrative of Henry's proneness to "suspicions which few else knew," which is worth inserting. "And on the morrow, which was Corpus Christi day, after the King had heard the divine service in the parish church, and the trumpets had blown to horse, the King, *not letting his host to understand his intent*, rode backward to see and also welcome the Lord Strange, which brought with him a great host, ... which unknown turning to the host caused many folks for to marvel. Also the King's standard and much carriage followed after the King, unto the time the King was advertised by Garter King of Arms, whom the King commanded to turn them all again," &c. Cott. MS. *ubi sup.* p. 26

[4] The edition of 1622 omits "he."

marched speedily, so as he put himself between the enemies' camp and Newark; being loth their army should get the commodity of that town. The Earl, nothing dismayed, came forwards that day unto a little village called Stoke, and there encamped that night, upon the brow or hanging of a hill. The King the next day[1] presented him battle upon the plain (the fields there being open and champion). The Earl courageously came down and joined battle with him. Concerning which battle the relations that are left unto us are so naked and negligent (though it be an action of so recent memory) as they rather declare the success of the day than the manner of the fight. They say that the King divided his army into three battails, whereof the vant-guard only well strengthened with wings came to fight[2]: that the fight was fierce and obstinate, and lasted three hours before the victory inclined either way; save that judgment might be made by that the King's vant-guard of itself maintained fight against the whole power of the enemies (the other two battails remaining out of action) what the success was like to be in the end: that Martin Swart with his Germans performed bravely, and so did those few English that were on that side; neither did the Irish fail in courage or fierceness, but being almost naked men, only armed with darts and skeins[3], it was rather an execution than a fight upon them; insomuch as the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalment to the rest: that there died upon the place all the chieftains; that is, the Earl of Lincoln, the Earl of Kildare, Francis Lord Lovell, Martin Swart, and Sir Thomas Broughton, all making good the fight without any ground given. Only of the Lord Lovell there went a report, that he fled, and swam over Trent on horseback, but could not recover the further side, by reason of the steepness of the bank, and so was drowned in the river. But another report leaves him not there, but that he lived long after in a cave or vault.[4] The number that was slain in the field, was of the enemies' part four thousand at the least, and of the King's part one half of his vant-guard, besides many hurt, but none of name. There were taken prisoners

[1] Saturday, June 16, 1487.

[2] The translation adds *totumque exercitus hostilis impetum sustinuerat.*

[3] *Ensibus.*

[4] "Towards the close of the 17th century (says Dr. Lingard) at his seat at Minster Lovell in Oxfordshire, was accidentally discovered a chamber under the ground, in which was the skeleton of a man seated in a chair with his head reclined on a table."

amongst others the counterfeit Plantagenet, now Lambert Symnell again, and the crafty priest his tutor. For Lambert, the King would not take his life, both out of magnanimity (taking him but as an image of wax that others had tempered and moulded), and likewise out of wisdom; thinking that if he suffered death he would be forgotten too soon; but being kept alive he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like inchantments of people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court to a base office in his kitchen; so that (in a kind of *mattacina*[1] of human fortune) he turned a broach that had worn a crown; whereas fortune commonly doth not bring in a comedy or farce after a tragedy. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the King's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed close prisoner, and heard of no more; the King loving to seal up his own dangers.

After the battle the King went to Lincoln, where he caused supplications and thanksgivings to be made for his deliverance and victory. And that his devotions might go round in circle, he sent his banner to be offered to our Lady of Walsingham, where before he made his vows.

And thus delivered of this so strange an engine and new invention of fortune[2], he returned to his former confidence of mind, thinking now that all his misfortunes had come at once. But it fell unto him[3] according to the speech of the common people in the beginning of his reign, that said, *It was a token he should reign in labour, because his reign began with a sickness of sweat.* But howsoever the King thought himself now in the haven[4], yet such was his wisdom, as his confidence did seldom darken his foresight, especially in things near-hand; and therefore, awakened by so fresh and unexpected dangers, he entered into due consideration as well how to weed out the partakers of the former rebellion, as to kill the seeds of the like in time to come: and withal to take away all shelters and harbours for discontented persons, where they might hatch and foster rebellions which afterwards might gather strength and motion.

[1] *Insigni humanæ fortunæ ludibrio. Mattacini*, according to Florio, was "a kind of morisco or mattachino dance." He does not give the word *mattacina*. But I take it that *mattacini* were properly the dancers of this dance, and that *mattacina* was a dance of *mattacini*, just as *attelana* was a play of *attelani*.

[2] *Tam insigni fortunæ machina (quæ in eum intentata fuerat).*

[3] So the MS. The edition of 1622 has "fell out."

[4] Ed. 1622 has "*a* haven."

And first he did yet again make a progress from Lincoln to the northern parts, though it were (indeed) rather an itinerary circuit of justice than a progress. For all along as he went, with much severity and strict inquisition, partly by martial law and partly by commission[1], were punished the adherents and aiders of the late rebels; not all by death (for the field had drawn much blood), but by fines and ransoms, which spared life and raised treasure. Amongst other crimes of this nature, there was a diligent inquiry made of such as had raised and dispersed a bruit and rumour (a little before the field fought) that the rebels had the day, and that the King's army was overthrown, and the King fled: whereby it was supposed that many succours which otherwise would have come unto the King were cunningly put off and kept back: which charge and accusation, though it had some ground, yet it was industriously embraced and put on by divers, who (having been in themselves not the best affected to the King's part, nor forward to come to his aid) were glad to apprehend this colour to cover their neglect and coldness under the pretence of such discouragements. Which cunning nevertheless the King would not understand, though he lodged it and noted it in some particulars, as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the roots and causes of the like commotions in time to come, the King began to find where his shoe did wring him; and that it was his depressing of the house of York that did rankle and fester the affections of his people. And therefore being now too wise to disdain perils any longer[2], and willing to give some contentment in that kind (at least in ceremony), he resolved at last[3] to proceed to the coronation of his Queen. And therefore at his coming to London, where he entered in state, and in a kind of triumph, and celebrated his victory with two days of devotion, (for the first day he repaired to Paul's, and had the hymn of *Te Deum* sung, and the morrow after he went in procession, and heard the sermon at the Cross,) the Queen was with great solemnity crowned at Westminster, the twenty-fifth of November[4], in the third year of his

[1] *Partim viâ justitiæ ordinariâ.*

[2] *Factus igitur jam cautior, neque pericula amplius contemnere, aut remedia eorum dedignatione quâdam rejicere volens.*

[3] We learn from the Herald's narrative (Cott. MSS. Jul. xii. fo. 28.) that the resolution was taken at Warwick in September. The King and Queen left Warwick on Saturday, October 27, and entered London on the 3rd of November.

[4] There was a Parliament sitting at the time, which Bacon does not seem to have

reign, which was about two years after the marriage (like an old christening that had stayed long for godfathers); which strange and unusual distance of time made it subject to every man's note that it was an act against his stomach, and put upon him by necessity and reason of state. Soon after, to shew that it was now fair weather again, and that the imprisonment of Thomas Marquis Dorset was rather upon suspicion of the time than of the man, he the said Marquis was set at liberty, without examination or other circumstance.

At that time also the King sent an ambassador unto Pope Innocent, signifying unto him this his marriage; and that now like another Æneas he had passed through the floods of his former troubles and travails and was arrived unto a safe haven; and thanking his Holiness that he had honoured the celebration of his marriage with the presence of his ambassador; and offering both his person and the forces of his kingdom upon all occasions to do him service.

The ambassador making his oration[1] to the Pope in the presence of the cardinals, did so magnify the King and Queen, as was enough to glut the hearers.[2] But then he did again so extol and deify the Pope, as made all that he had said in praise of his master and mistress seem temperate and passable. But he was very honourably entertained and extremely much made on by the Pope, who knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable to the Christian world, was wonderful[3] glad to hear that there were such echoes of him sounding in remote parts. He obtained also of the Pope a very just and honourable Bull, qualifying the privileges of sanctuary (wherewith the King had been extremely galled) in three points.

The first, that if any sanctuary-man did by night or otherwise get out of sanctuary privily and commit mischief and trespass, and then come in again, he should leese the benefit of sanctuary for ever after.

known. We learn from the Herald (Cott. MSS, *ubi sup.* fo. 40. *b.*) that the coronation festivities were ended (27th November) sooner than they would have been, by reason of "the great business of the Parliament." This was Henry's second Parliament. It met on the 9th of the month, and voted (in consideration of the rebellion just suppressed, I suppose, as well as of the Queen's coronation) two fifteenths and tenths. Stowe knew nothing of this Parliament.

[1] The heads of this oration may still be seen among the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum (Cleop. E. iii. f. 123.); and read by any one who thinks it worth while to decipher them.

[2] *Ut fastidio eos qui aderant prope enecaret.*

[3] "Wonderfully." Ed. 1622.

The second, that howsoever the person of the sanctuary-man was protected from his creditors, yet his goods out of sanctuary should not.

The third, that if any took sanctuary for case of treason, the King might appoint him keepers to look to him in sanctuary.[1]

The King also, for the better securing of his estate against mutinous and malcontented subjects (whereof he saw the realm was full) who might have their refuge into Scotland (which was not under key as the ports were), for that cause rather than for any doubt of hostility from those parts, before his coming to London, when he was at Newcastle, had sent a solemn ambassage unto James the Third, King of Scotland, to treat and conclude a peace with him. The ambassadors were, Richard Foxe Bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgcombe comptroller of the King's house, who were honourably received and entertained there. But the King of Scotland labouring of the same disease that King Henry did (though more mortal as afterwards appeared), that is, discontented subjects apt to rise and raise tumult, although in his own affection he did much desire to make a peace with the King, yet finding his nobles averse and not daring to displease them, concluded only a truce for seven years[2]; giving nevertheless promise in private, that it should be renewed from time to time during the two Kings' lives.

Hitherto the King had been exercised in settling his affairs at home. But about this time brake forth an occasion that

[1] *i. e.* keepers *within* the sanctuary. *Custodes ei intra asylum apponere qui ejus dicta et facta observarent.*

[2] This is Polydore Vergil's statement, who seems to have known nothing of the real subject of this treaty. It appears from Rymer that a truce between England and Scotland for three years, counting from the 3rd of July, 1486, had been negotiated during the King's first progress into the northern counties in the spring of that year, when he was engaged in subduing Lord Lovel's rebellion; which truce was still in force. On the 7th of November, 1487, which was a few days after the King's return to London from his second progress into those counties, commissioners were appointed *to treat of certain intermarriages between the two royal families*; it being proposed that the Scotch King should marry Elizabeth, Edward the Fourth's widow; and that the Duke of Rothsay should marry one of her daughters, and the Marquis of Ormond another. By these commissioners a treaty was shortly concluded, by which it was agreed in the first place that the existing truce should be continued to the 1st of September, 1489; and in the next place, that, in order to settle the articles and conditions of these marriages, commissioners on both sides should meet at Edinburgh on the 24th of the following January, and another assembly be held on the same subject in May. So much was concluded on the 28th of November, 1487. The negotiation was afterwards broken off (according to Tytler, who quotes *Rotul. Scot.* vol. ii. p. 483.) upon the question of the surrender of Berwick; upon which James insisted, and to which Henry would not consent. See *Tytler's Hist. of Scot.* vol. iv. p. 305.

drew him to look abroad and to hearken to foreign business. Charles the Eighth, the French King, by the virtue and good fortune of his two immediate predecessors, Charles the Seventh his grandfather and Lewis the Eleventh his father, received the kingdom of France in more flourishing and spread estate[1] than it had been of many years before; being redintegrate in those principal members which anciently had been portions of the crown of France, and were after dissevered, so as they remained only in homage and not in sovereignty, being governed by absolute princes[2] of their own; Anjou, Normandy, Provence, and Burgundy. There remained only Brittaine[3] to be re-united, and so the monarchy of France to be reduced to the ancient terms and bounds.

King Charles was not a little inflamed with an ambition to re-purchase and re-annex that duchy; which his ambition was a wise and well-weighed ambition; not like unto the ambitions of his succeeding enterprises of Italy.[4] For at that time, being newly come to the crown, he was somewhat guided by his father's counsels; (counsels not counsellors, for his father was his own counsel, and had few able men about him;) and that King (he knew well) had ever distasted the designs of Italy, and in particular had an eye upon Brittaine. There were many circumstances that did feed the ambition of Charles with pregnant and apparent hopes of success. The Duke of Brittaine old, and entered into a lethargy, and served with mercenary counsellors, father of two only daughters, the one sickly and not like to continue. King Charles himself in the flower of his age[5], and the subjects of France at that time[6] well trained for war, both for leaders and soldiers (men of service being not yet worn out since the wars of Lewis against Burgundy). He found himself also in peace with all his neighbour princes. As for those that might oppose to his enterprise; Maximilian

[1] *Opibus florentius et ipso territorio amplius.*

[2] This is explained (or corrected) in the Latin translation to mean princes governing in their own right: *cum a principibus propriis jure tanquam regio administrarentur.*

[3] I have retained the spelling of the MS. In the edition of 1622 it is spelt Britaine. In modern histories it is always spelt either Bretagne or Brittany.

[4] The difference is perhaps best explained by supposing that the latter ambitions were his own, while these were his sister's, the princess Anne, Duchess of Bourbon; under whose guardianship Charles, who was only fourteen when he came to the throne in 1483, had been placed by his father; and by whom modern historians suppose him to have been entirely guided during all the early stages of this business.

[5] Rather in the blossom than the flower. In the summer of 1487 he was still only eighteen.

[6] *Pro ratione ejus temporis* in the translation: which would mean "*for* that time."

King of Romans, his rival in the same desires (as well for the duchy as the daughter), feeble in means; and King Henry of England as well somewhat obnoxious[1] to him for his favours and benefits, as busied in his particular troubles at home. There was also a fair and specious occasion offered him to hide his ambition and to justify his warring upon Brittaine[2]; for that the Duke had received and succoured Lewis Duke of Orleans and others of the French nobility, which had taken arms against their King. Wherefore King Charles, being resolved upon that war, knew well he could not receive any opposition so potent as if King Henry should either upon policy of state in preventing the growing greatness of France, or upon gratitude unto the Duke of Brittaine for his former favours in the time of his distress[3], espouse that quarrel and declare himself in aid of the Duke.[4] Therefore he no sooner heard that King Henry was settled by his victory, but forthwith he sent ambassadors unto him to pray his assistance, or at least that he would stand neutral. Which ambassadors found the King at Leicester[5], and delivered their ambassage to this effect: They first imparted unto the King the success that their master had had a little before against Maximilian in recovery of certain towns from him[6]; which was done in a kind of privacy and inwardness towards the King; as if the French King did not esteem him for an outward or formal confederate, but as one that had part in his affections and fortunes, and with whom he took pleasure to communicate his business. After this compliment and some gratulation for the King's victory, they fell to their errand: declaring to the King, that their master was enforced to enter into a just and necessary war with the Duke of Brittaine, for that he had received and succoured those that were traitors

[1] *Sibi non nihil devinctum.* For this word "obnoxious," now no longer used in this sense, though always so used by Bacon, it is not easy to find an exact equivalent. It means rather more than "obliged," and not quite so much as "dependent." When one man stands in such a relation to another that he is not free to act as he otherwise would, Bacon would have said that he is obnoxious to him.

[2] *Belli ansam adversus Britanniam porrigeret.*

[3] *Quod ipse Duci etiam Britanniæ non minus quam sibi ob ejus in rebus suis adversis merita obstrictus fuisset.*

[4] The last clause is omitted in the translation.

[5] In the summer of 1487; probably in September; certainly not later, for the King was at Warwick in September. See note 3, p. 60. The Latin translation has *Lancastriam*, probably a mistake. Polydore Vergil, whose narrative is followed by all the old historians, has *ad Lecestriam.*

[6] *In oppidis quibusdam quæ invaserat Maximilianus recipiendis.* He had retaken St. Omers on the 27th of May, and Therouane on the 26th of July. (*Sism.* xv. p. 99.)

and declared enemies unto his person and state: That they were no mean distressed and calamitous persons that fled to him for refuge, but of so great quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own fortune, but to infest and invade his; the head of them being the Duke of Orleans, the first Prince of the blood and the second person of France: That therefore rightly to understand it, it was rather on their master's part a defensive war than an offensive, as that that could not be omitted or forborne if he tendered the conservation of his own estate; and that it was not the first blow that made the war invasive (for that no wise Prince would stay for), but the first provocation, or at least the first preparation; nay that this war was rather a suppression of rebels than a war with a just enemy; where the case is, that his subjects traitors[1] are received by the Duke of Brittaine his homager: That King Henry knew well what went upon it in example, if neighbour Princes should patronise and comfort rebels against the law of nations and of leagues: Nevertheless that their master was not ignorant that the King had been beholding to the Duke of Brittaine in his adversity, as on the other side they knew he would not forget also the readiness of their King in aiding him when the Duke of Brittaine or his mercenary counsellors failed him, and would have betrayed him; and that there was a great difference between the courtesies received from their master and the Duke of Brittaine, for that the Duke's might have ends of utility and bargain, whereas their master's could not have proceeded but out of entire affection; for that if it had been measured by a politic line, it had been better for his affairs that a tyrant should have reigned in England, troubled and hated, than such a Prince whose virtues could not fail to make him great and potent, whensoever he was comen to be master of his

[1] In the edition of 1622 these words are printed thus: "his subjects, traitors, are received," &c. In the MS. there is no comma before or after traitors. And this I believe expresses the intended construction better. It is the same form which we have further on (pp. 88. 95.), *merchants strangers*; for so it is written in the MS.; the double plural, without any comma between. So it was usual in Bacon's time to say "letters patents;" not "letters patent." In the edition of 1622 "merchants strangers" is printed "merchant-strangers." According to which rule "subjects traitors" would be corrected into "subject-traitors." But I rather think that the true modern equivalents would be "stranger-merchants," and "traitor-subjects."

The anomaly may have arisen either out of the practice (then usual) of placing the adjective after its substantive, (when, in the case of words that might be used either as adjectives or substantives, the plural without the final *s* would sometimes sound odd); or simply from the preservation occasionally of the French form of a phrase with which the ear had become familiar in French.

affairs: But howsoever it stood for the point of obligation which the King might owe to the Duke of Brittaine, yet their master was well assured it would not divert King Henry of England from doing that that was just, nor ever embark him in so ill-grounded a quarrel: Therefore since this war which their master was now to make was but to deliver himself from imminent dangers, their King hoped the King would shew the like affection to the conservation of their master's estate, as their master had (when time was) shewed to the King's acquisition of his kingdom: At the least that according to the inclination which the King had ever professed of peace, he would look on and stand neutral; for that their master could not with reason press him to undertake part in the war, being so newly settled and recovered from intestine seditions. But touching the mystery of re-annexing of the duchy of Brittaine to the crown of France, either by war or by marriage with the daughter of Brittaine, the ambassadors bare aloof from it as from a rock, knowing that it made most against them; and therefore by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced in their conference with the King the assured purpose of their master to match with the daughter of Maximilian; and entertained the King also with some wandering discourses[1] of their King's purpose to recover by arms his right to the kingdom of Naples, by an expedition in person; all to remove the King from all jealousy of any design in these hither parts upon Brittaine, otherwise than for quenching of the fire which he feared might be kindled in his own estate.

The King, after advice taken with his counsel, made answer

[1] This point is not mentioned by Polydore Vergil; who seems to have been the only authority with previous historians for all these transactions. And hence it would appear that Bacon had some independent source of information. The rest he might have *inferred* from Polydore's narrative: but this (unless he had some other authority) he must have *invented*; which he could have no object in doing. The thing is worth remarking; because as Bacon undoubtedly composed the *speeches* in this history on the Thucydidean principle, (ὡς ἂν ἐδόκουν ἐμοὶ ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα μάλιστ' εἰπεῖν, ἐχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων,) it might be suspected that he framed his narrative upon the same principle; and if he had nothing besides Polydore and the old chroniclers (who do little more than translate Polydore) to go upon, it would appear that a good deal of it was mere invention. We know however that in other parts of the history Bacon had independent evidence, which is still extant and accessible; and there is no reason to conclude that what is extant was all he had. The fire in the Cottonian Library in 1731 may easily have destroyed the evidence of those parts of the narrative which are not accounted for, as another such fire would in all probability destroy the evidence of many which are. It is a fact that the volumes relating to the times of Henry VII have suffered much. These remarks apply also to the passage about "*envy*," a little further on, which is not to be found in Polydore.

to the ambassadors. And first returned their compliment, shewing he was right glad of the French King's reception of those towns from Maximilian. Then he familiarly related some particular passages of his own adventures and victory passed. As to the business of Brittaine, the King answered in few words; that the French King and the Duke of Brittaine were the two persons to whom he was most obliged of all men; and that he should think himself very unhappy if things should go so between them, as he should not be able to acquit himself in gratitude towards them both; and that there was no means for him, as a Christian King and a common friend to them, to satisfy all obligations both to God and man, but to offer himself for a mediator of an accord and peace between them; by which course he doubted not but their King's estate and honour both, would be preserved with more safety and less envy than by a war; and that he would spare no cost or pains, no if it were to go on pilgrimage, for so good an effect; and concluded that in this great affair, which he took so much to heart, he would express himself more fully[1] by an ambassage, which he would speedily dispatch unto the French King for that purpose. And in this sort the French ambassadors were dismissed: the King avoiding to understand any thing touching the re-annexing of Brittaine, as the ambassadors had avoided to mention it; save that he gave a little touch of it in the word *envy*. And so it was, that the King was neither so shallow nor so ill advertised as not to perceive the intention of the French for the investing himself of Brittaine. But first, he was utterly unwilling (howsoever he gave out) to enter into a war with France. A fame of a war he liked well, but not an achievement; for the one he thought would make him richer, and the other poorer; and he was possessed with many secret fears[2] touching his own people; which he was therefore loth

[1] So ed. 1622. The MS. omits "fully."

[2] He had also a special reason for delaying a war with France at this time, which is not mentioned in the histories, but may be gathered from the Calendar of Patent Rolls, 3 Hen. VII. During the spring of 1488 some danger was hanging over his own coasts, probably from Ireland. From entries in the Calendar dated the 19th and 20th of February (1487–8) we find that forces were then "about to proceed to sea in three Spanish ships in resistance of the King's enemies," under command of Sir Charles Somerset. And again on the 4th of May following we find writs for the impressment of soldiers, &c.,—"an armed force being about to be sent against the King's enemies congregating on the sea,"— also under command of Sir Charles Somerset. (See vol. ii. p. 130.)

Who these enemies were, the Calendar does not state; but a previous entry in the same volume (p. 105), though of later date, indicates the quarter from which danger

to arm, and put weapons into their hands. Yet notwithstanding, as a prudent and courageous Prince, he was not so averse from a war, but that he was resolved to choose it rather than to have Brittaine carried by France; being so great and opulent a duchy, and situate so opportunely to annoy England either for coast or trade.[1] But the King's hopes were, that partly by negligence, commonly imputed to the French, (especially in the court of a young King[2]); and partly by the native power of Brittaine itself, which was not small; but chiefly in respect of the great party that the Duke of Orleans had in the kingdom of France, and thereby means to stir up civil troubles to divert the French King from the enterprise of Brittaine[3]; and lastly in regard of the power of Maximilian, who was corrival to the

was to be feared. On the 25th of May a writ was issued to Richard Eggecombe, Knt. the King's counsellor and comptroller of his household, empowering him "to assure to *such as come from Ireland to treat on matters concerning the sound rule of peace in that land*, a safe advent, stay, and return;" and further "to admit to the King's grace all subjects of the said land that may submit themselves," &c. And at pp. 108, 9, we find a number of general pardons for Irishmen, bearing the same date. These proceedings indicate probably the suppression of the danger for the time. For during the rest of the summer we learn (Leland, iv. p. 243.) that the King was engaged in hunting and sporting, and in the autumn, he was free, as I shall show a little further on, to take more active measures for the succour of Brittany.

On the 1st of October following, the King's uncle, the Duke of Bedford, was made Lieutenant of Ireland for a year. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, vol. iii. p. 14.)

I am the rather disposed to think that defence against Ireland and not succour to Brittany was the object of this voyage, because it seems to have been at this time that Lord Woodville's project of raising volunteers in aid of the Duke of Brittany (see p. 72) was countermanded. "My lord hath been with the King in Windsor," (says William Paston, writing from Hedingham, the Earl of Oxford's castle, to his brother, on the 13th of May [1488],) "at St. George's feast; and there at the same feast were both the ambassadors of Bretaigne and of Flanders, as well from the King of the Romans as from the young Duke; but I cannot shew you the certain whether we shall have with them war or peace; but I understand for certain that all such captains as went to the sea in Lent, that is to say Sir Charles Somerset, Sir Richard Hawte, and Sir William Vampage, maketh them ready to go to the sea again as shortly as they can; to what intent I cannot say. Also whereas it was said that my Lord Wodevyle and other should have gone over into Bretaigne to have aided the Duke of Bretaigne, I cannot tell of none such aid; but upon that saying there came many men to Southampton, where it was said that he should have taken shipping, to have waited upon him over; and so *when he was countermanded*, those that resorted thither to have gone over with him tarried there still, in hope that they should have been licensed to have gone over; and when they saw no likelihood that they should have license, there was 200 of them that got them into a Bretaigne ship," &c. &c. He goes on to say how these 200 arrived in Brittany, where they then were. — See *Paston Letters*, vol. v. p. 367.

D'Argentré (xiii. 41.) mentions an embassy sent by the Duke of Brittany to England in September, 1487, and adds that Henry who was then very busy (avoit lors bien des affaires) some time after sent some troops to aid him, who were at the battle of St. Aubin, — but not above 500 men; alluding no doubt to Lord Woodville's company.

[1] *Sive bello, sive impediendo commercium.*

[2] This parenthesis is omitted in the translation.

[3] The edition of 1622 has a full stop after Brittaine: obviously a misprint. I have followed the punctuation of the MS.; which certainly has a semicolon, though not clearly written.

French King in that pursuit; the enterprise would either bow to a peace or break in itself. In all which the King measured and valued things amiss, as afterwards appeared. He sent therefore forthwith to the French King, Christopher Urswick his chaplain, a person by him much trusted and employed; choosing him the rather because he was a churchman, as best sorting with an embassy of pacification; and giving him also a commission, that if the French King consented to treat, he should thence repair to the Duke of Brittaine and ripen the treaty on both parts. Urswick made declaration to the French King much to the purpose of the King's answer to the French ambassadors here, instilling also tenderly some overture of receiving to grace the Duke of Orleans, and some taste of conditions of accord. But the French King on the other side proceeded not sincerely, but with a great deal of art and dissimulation in this treaty, having for his end to gain time, and so put off the English succours, under hope of peace, till he had got good footing in Brittaine by force of arms. Wherefore he answered the ambassador, that he would put himself into the King's hands, and make him arbiter of the peace; and willingly consented that the ambassadors should straightways pass into Brittaine to signify this his consent, and to know the Duke's mind likewise; well foreseeing that the Duke of Orleans, by whom the Duke of Brittaine was wholly led, taking himself to be upon terms irreconcileable with him, would admit of no treaty of peace; whereby he should in one both generally abroad veil over his ambition, and win the reputation of just and moderate proceedings; and should withal endear himself in the affections of the King of England, as one that had committed all to his will; nay and (which was yet more fine) make faith in him that although he went on with the war, yet it should be but with his sword in his hand to bend the stiffness of the other party to accept of peace; and so the King should take no umbrage of his arming and prosecution, but the treaty to be kept on foot to the very last instant, till he were master of the field. Which grounds being by the French King wisely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the English ambassador came to the court of Brittaine, the Duke was then scarcely perfect in his memory, and all things were directed by the Duke of Orleans; who gave audience to the chaplain Urswick, and upon his ambassage delivered made

answer in somewhat high terms: That the Duke of Brittaine having been an host and a kind of parent or foster-father to the King in his tenderness of age and weakness of fortune, did look for at this time from King Henry (the renowned King of England) rather brave troops for his succours than a vain treaty of peace. And if the King could forget the good offices of the Duke done unto him aforetime, yet he knew well he would in his wisdom consider of the future, how much it imported his own safety and reputation both in foreign parts and with his own people, not to suffer Brittaine (the old confederates of England) to be swallowed up by France, and so many good ports and strong towns upon the coast be in the command of so potent a neighbour King, and so ancient an enemy: And therefore humbly desired the King to think of this business as his own: and therewith brake off, and denied any farther conference for treaty.

Urswick returned first to the French King, and related to him what had passed. Who finding things to sort to his desire, took hold of them; and said, That the ambassador might perceive now that which he for his part partly imagined before: That considering in what hands the Duke of Brittaine was, there would be no peace but by a mixed treaty of force and persuasion: And therefore he would go on with the one, and desired the King not to desist from the other: But for his own part, he did faithfully promise to be still in the King's power, to rule him in the matter of peace. This was accordingly represented unto the King by Urswick at his return, and in such a fashion as if the treaty were in no sort desperate, but rather stayed for a better hour, till the hammer had wrought and beat the party of Brittaine more pliant; whereupon there passed continually packets and despatches between the two Kings, from the one out of desire[1], and from the other out of dissimulation, about the negotiation of peace. The French King meanwhile invaded Brittaine with great forces, and distressed the city of Nantes with a strait siege[2], and (as one

[1] *Cupide sed candide.*

[2] This is Polydore Vergil's statement; who seems, as I said, to have been the original authority for these transactions; and whose narrative could not then be corrected by comparison with more authentic records. Rymer's Fœdera however and the Rolls of Parliament enable us now to detect inaccuracies of date, which show that his means of information were either imperfect or carelessly used; and the researches of modern historians into the Breton archives supply several material corrections. Bacon seems

who, though he had no great judgment, yet had that, that he could dissemble home[1]) the more he did urge the prosecution of the war, the more he did at the same time urge the solicitation of the peace; insomuch as during the siege of Nantes, after many letters and particular messages, the better to maintain his dissimulation and to refresh the treaty, he sent Bernard Daubigny[2], a person of good quality, to the King, earnestly to desire him to make an end of the business howsoever. The King was no less ready to revive and quicken the treaty; and thereupon sent three commissioners, the Abbot of Abingdon, Sir Richard Tunstall, and Chaplain Urswick formerly employed,

to have taken Polydore's narrative as his ground-work, to have done his best to make out the meaning of it, and then to have told it as plainly and luminously as he could. And the *meaning* of it — the ideas and designs of the parties, the ends they were aiming at, and the issues they brought out — he appears to have divined with great accuracy; insomuch that every correction of his story in its details seems to make the truth of his general interpretation more manifest. But as he was obliged to fit his narrative into Polydore's frame-work, which contains several wrong dates, the details are of course very far from accurate. In a story that hangs well together, a single false date will commonly affect the whole sequence of events; and when that false date happens to separate material points that were in fact connected or to bring together material points that were in fact separate, it may even affect the whole series of causes and effects.

Though I know how inconvenient it is for a reader to be continually called away from the story in the text to listen to a different version of it, I fear that in this case the inconvenience must be submitted to. The corrections would not be intelligible to him if the original story were not fresh in his memory; and if I were to remit them to the appendix, I should be obliged either to repeat the whole or to interrupt him by references to the body of the narrative which would be more troublesome than references from the text to foot-notes. If he wishes therefore to take a true impression of Henry's proceedings in the matter of Brittany, I must ask him to pause at the points which I shall indicate, and hear what I have to say before he goes on.

In the present instance, Bacon, following Polydore Vergil, has misdated the siege of Nantes by eight or nine months. It was commenced (see D'Argentré, xiii. 38.) on the 19th of June, 1487, — only three days after the battle of Stoke; and raised on the 6th of August following, a little before the time when Charles sent his first embassy to Henry. Which if Bacon had known, he would probably have included the fresh failure of this enterprise among Henry's reasons (see pp. 68, 73.) for thinking that Brittany was not in immediate danger from France; especially if he could have connected it with another fact, which he does not seem to have been aware of, though it is mentioned by D'Argentré, xiii. 41., and which Henry must have known, namely, that the Duke of Brittany did at that very time (24th Sept. 1487) formally entertain Maximilian's suit for his daughter.

But though it is not true that Charles was investing Nantes while the negotiations which Bacon is here speaking of were proceeding, it is true that he was preparing a fresh invasion of Brittany. (See Daru, iii. p. 134.) The inaccuracy therefore does not in this case affect the substantial truth of the narrative.

[1] *Sed tamen qui simulationum artes in sinu patris optime didicerat.*

[2] *Bernardum Dobenensem, honestum equitem*, according to Polydore. We learn from the Herald (Lel. iv. p. 236.) that "the Lorde Dawbeney, embassator of Fraunce" was at Windsor on Twelfth Even, 1487–8: which may have been the occasion Polydore was thinking of. The embassy which he represents as sent by Henry in answer (after some delay, it seems, from the illness of one of the commissioners) was despatched on the 17th of March, 1487-8. See Rymer. This *Bernardus Dobenensis* was, I suppose, Bernard Stewart, Lord Aubigny; a gentleman of Scotch extraction; who commanded the body of French soldiers that accompanied Henry to England. See Tytler's *Hist. of Scotl.* vol. iv. p. 296.

to do their utmost endeavour to manage the treaty roundly and strongly.

About this time the Lord Woodvile (uncle to the Queen) a valiant gentleman and desirous of honour, sued to the King that he might raise some power of voluntaries under-hand, and without licence or passport (wherein the King might any ways appear[1]) go to the aid of the Duke of Brittaine. The King denied his request, or at least seemed so to do, and laid strait commandment upon him that he should not stir; for that the King thought his honour would suffer therein, during a treaty to better a party. Nevertheless this lord (either being unruly, or out of conceit[2] that the King would not inwardly dislike that which he would not openly avow,) sailed secretly over into the Isle of Wight whereof he was governor, and levied a fair troop of four hundred men, and with them passed over into Brittaine, and joined himself with the Duke's forces.[3] The news whereof when it came to the French court, put divers young bloods into such a fury, as the English ambassadors were not without peril to be outraged. But the French King, both to preserve the privilege of ambassadors, and being conscious to himself that in the business of peace he himself was the greater dissembler of the two, forbad all injuries of fact or word against their persons or followers. And presently came an agent from the King to purge himself touching the Lord Woodvile's going over, using for a principal argument to demonstrate that it was without his privity, for that the troops were so small, as neither had the face of a succour by authority nor could much advance the Briton affairs. To which message although the French King gave no full credit, yet he made fair weather[4] with the King and seemed satisfied. Soon after the English ambassadors returned, having two of them been likewise with the Duke of Brittaine[5] and found things in

[1] *Absque commeatu aut fide publica.*

[2] *Opinione temeraria.*

[3] Compare W. Paston's letter, 13th May, 1488; quoted in note p. 68.

[4] *Cum serenitate quadam respondit.*

[5] According to Lobineau, I 783, who gives as his authority *Registre*, an embassage consisting of the three commissioners above mentioned; viz. the Abbot of Abingdon, Sir Richard Tunstall, and Chaplain Urswick, — together with Dr. Wardes, — passed from France into Brittany in June, 1488: which agrees with Sismondi's statement, that from the 1st to the 26th of June in that year hostilities were suspended in consequence of Henry's mediation. Polydore adds that the ambassadors, before they returned, renewed the truce between Henry and Charles for twelve months — (*renovatis in duodecim menses cum Carolo induciis*). They probably agreed upon the terms of the truce which was signed by Henry at Windsor on 14th July, 1488, (see Rymer) and

no other terms than they were before. Upon their return they informed the King of the state of the affairs, and how far the French King was from any true meaning of peace, and therefore he was now to advise of some other course. Neither was the King himself led all this while with credulity merely, as was generally supposed. But his error was not so much facility of belief, as an ill-measuring of the forces of the other party. For (as was partly touched before) the King had cast the business thus with himself. He took it for granted in his own judgment that the war of Brittaine, in respect of the strength of the towns and of the party, could not speedily come to a period. For he conceived that the counsels of a war that was undertaken by the French King (then childless[1]) against an heir apparent of France, would be very faint and slow; and besides that it was not possible but that the state of France should be embroiled with some troubles and alterations in favour of the Duke of Orleans. He conceived likewise that Maximilian King of the Romans was a Prince warlike and potent, who he made account would give succours to the Britons roundly. So then judging it would be a work of time, he laid his plot how he might best make use of that time for his own affairs. Wherein first he thought to make his vantage upon his Parliament, knowing that they being affectionate unto the quarrel of Brittaine would give treasure largely. Which treasure as a noise of war might draw forth, so a peace succeeding might coffer up. And because he knew his people were hot upon the business, he chose rather to seem to be deceived and lulled a-sleep by the French, than to be backward in himself; considering his subjects were not so fully capable of the reasons of state which made him hold back. Wherefore to all these purposes he saw no other expedient than to set and keep on foot a continual treaty of peace, laying it down and taking it up again as the occurrence required. Besides he had in consideration the point of honour, in bearing the blessed person of a pacificator. He thought likewise to make use of the envy that the French King met with by occasion of this war of Brittaine, in strengthening himself with

was to continue from that day till the 17th of January, 1489-90. I do not however find any trace of the counterpart signed by Charles: and it is not improbable that it was interrupted before completion by the events which immediately followed.

[1] And unmarried. *Cœlibe et sine liberis.*

new alliances; as namely that of Ferdinando of Spain, with whom he had ever a consent (even in nature and customs); and likewise with Maximilian, who was particularly interessed. So that in substance he promised himself[1] money, honour, friends, and peace in the end.[2] But those things were too fine to be fortunate and succeed in all parts; for that great affairs are commonly too rough and stubborn to be wrought upon by the finer edges or points of wit. The King was likewise deceived in his two main grounds. For although he had reason to conceive that the counsel of France would be wary to put the King into a war against the heir apparent of France; yet he did not consider that Charles was not guided by any of the principal of the blood or nobility[3], but by mean men, who would make it their master-piece of credit and favour to give venturous counsels which no great or wise man durst or would. And for Maximilian, he was thought then a greater matter than he was; his unstable and necessitous courses[4] being not then known.

After consultation with the ambassadors, who brought him no other news than he expected before (though he would not seem to know it till then), he presently summoned his Parliament[5], and in open Parliament propounded the cause of

[1] *Satis indulgenter promiserat.*

[2] *Et in fine pacem qualem optabat.*

[3] The translation has "*a viris e concilio primariis.*" According to Comines, those who governed Charles during the first four years of his reign were "Le Duc et Duchesse de Bourbon, et un Chambellan appelé le seigneur de Graville, et autres chambelans, qui en ce temps eurent grand regne." (Liv. vii. c. 1.)

[4] *Mores ejus instabiles, et conatus ob indigentiam suam fere semper inutiles.*

[5] Polydore Vergil's words are "*suorum principum convocato concilio;*" by which he probably meant, as Hall certainly understood him to mean, that Henry summoned *a Parliament.* But as no Parliament was summoned between the 9th of November, 1487, and the 13th of January, 1488–9; and as the series of negotiations above detailed could not have been gone through between September and November; and as this "*principum concilium*" is expressly mentioned as having met before the battle of St. Aubin, which was fought on the 28th of July, 1488; it is clear that if he supposed it to be a Parliament (as indeed he must have done, for he speaks of *laws* being passed by it) he has made a mistake somewhere. In supposing that the succours which Henry sent to Brittany were despatched immediately after the battle of St. Aubin, and before the death of the Duke of Brittany, he was certainly mistaken. The Duke died on the 8th of September, 1488; the succours did not set out before March, 1488–9.

Modern historians have pointed out or avoided these mistakes; but have not, as it seems to me, discovered the true order and concatenation of events. I think it will be found that this "*principum concilium*" before which Henry propounded the case of Brittany, was not a Parliament, but a "*Great Council;*" (so called in contradistinction to the "ordinary" or "continual council," and in those days well known it seems by that name;) *i. e.* a council consisting not only of lords, spiritual and temporal, joined with the King's privy council (as has been supposed); but also of principal persons of various classes, including lawyers, burgesses, and merchants; composed in short of much the same elements as a Parliament; and specially summoned by the King for

Brittaine to both houses by his chancellor Morton[1] Archbishop of Canterbury, who spake to this effect.

consultation in great affairs (for a fuller justification of which conjecture see Appendix No. I): — that the *occasion* of its being summoned was not the return of the ambassadors out of France just *before* the battle of St. Aubin; but the issue of that battle, with the events which immediately followed, including the Duke's death and the new pretensions of the French King (see note 2. p. 76.): — and that the *time* of its meeting was the beginning of November, 1488, only two months after the Duke's death. We know from the Herald's narrative (Cott. MSS. Jul. xii. fo. 49.) — an evidence almost conclusive on such a point — that after Whitsuntide in that year (which was on the 25th of May), "*all the summer following*" the King "hunted and sported him merely;" but that after keeping his Allhallow-tide (1st November) at Windsor, "he removed to Westminster, to *the gretest conseill that was many yers withoute the name of parliament.*" We know from the same authority that "there were at that season many ambassadors in England from foreign countries." We know from Rymer that on the 11th of December following, ambassadors were despatched from England to France, to Brittany, to Spain, and to Flanders. We know that on the 23rd of December commissions were out for raising a body of archers for the succour of Brittany. We know that Parliament met on the 13th of the following month, and voted liberal supplies for that enterprise. And we know lastly that soon after the Parliament broke up these succours were despatched. If then we suppose that Henry still hoped to carry his ends by negotiation until he heard of the battle of St. Aubin; that the result of that battle was not only unexpected, but so decisive that it did in fact put an end to the war for the time (which is true; for the treaty of Verger, which established Charles in possession of all he had won, was concluded (D'Argentré, xiii. 48.) on the 21st August), and left him no room for action, until the accession of the young Duchess and the questions arising thereupon opened a new chapter; that immediately upon this he summoned a Great Council, partly that he might feel the sense of the nation, and partly that he might pledge them to the support of the war before he committed himself; and that it was to this Great Council that he now (*i. e.* in the beginning of November, 1488) propounded the case and appealed for advice; it will be found I think that the events hang together more naturally, and suit better with the fixed data established by state documents.

[1] This fact is not mentioned by Polydore, nor I think by any of the Chroniclers; from which one may suspect that Bacon had some independent source of information with regard to this speech. The speech itself however is of course to be taken, not as a report of what the Chancellor really said, but as a representation of what Bacon imagined that such a person, in such circumstances, with such ends in view, would or should have said. The same is to be understood of all the speeches in the book; the amount of invention varying inversely as the amount of actual information. If he had had a full report of the speech actually spoken, he would have given, not a transcript certainly, but the substance of it in the best and fewest words; still keeping the form of the first person. Where he had no means of knowing more than the general tenour and purpose of what was spoken, he would fill up the outline from his own head, and *make* a speech of such tenour and purpose, — the best he could. It is this which gives to these speeches their peculiar interest and value: they are so many statements of the case as Bacon conceived it, viewed from the point at which the speakers stood, and presented in a dramatic form.

This, I need hardly add, is according to the old rule of historical composition, practised by all the classical historians, and distinctly explained and avowed by Thucydides, the best and trustworthiest of them all; and Bacon could never have imagined that his speeches would be taken in any other sense. But since I find Dr. Henry gravely recording his *suspicion* "that these speeches were made by the noble historian who hath recorded them;" and the author of the chapter on "National Industry" in the *Pictorial History of England* criticising and commenting upon and drawing inferences from the words of this speech, as if it had been a document of the time; and Lord Campbell treating it as a blemish in the work that it is "filled up with proclamations and long speeches," (as if they were so much rubbish; when the speeches are in fact the most original part of it); — I must suppose that the thing is not so well understood now-a-days as to make this note superfluous.

Whether the practice is a good one or not, is another question. My own opinion is that the reader is less liable to be deceived by history written upon this principle than upon the

"My lords and masters, the King's Grace, our Sovereign Lord, hath commanded me to declare unto you the causes that have moved him at this time to summon this his Parliament; which I shall do in few words; craving pardon of his Grace and you all, if I perform it not as I would.

"His Grace doth first of all let you know that he retaineth in thankful memory the love and loyalty shewed to him by you at your last meeting[1], in establishment of his royalty, freeing and discharging of his partakers, and confiscation of his traitors and rebels; more than which could not come from subjects to their sovereign in one action. This he taketh so well at your hands, as he hath made it a resolution to himself to communicate with so loving and well approved subjects in all affairs that are of public nature at home or abroad.

"Two therefore are the causes of your present assembling: the one a foreign business; the other matters of government at home.

"The French King (as no doubt ye have heard) maketh at this present hot war upon the Duke of Brittaine. His army is now before Nantes[2], and holdeth it straitly besieged, being the

modern plan, though the modern be apparently the more scrupulous. The records of the past are not complete enough to enable the most diligent historian to give a connected narrative, in which there shall not be many parts resting upon guesses or inferences or unauthenticated rumours. He may guess for himself, or he may report other people's guesses; but guesses there must be. And if he be a wise man and curious about the truth, those portions of his narrative which have most of his own will probably be nearest the truth. The advantage of the old practice is, that the invention appears in the undisguised form of invention; whereas the modern practice, by scrupulously eschewing everything like avowed and deliberate invention, leaves it to be supposed that what remains is all fact; that when the writer tells you what this man said or that man thought,—carefully keeping in the third person, or quoting from a previous writer,—he is telling you something that did really happen; whereas in most cases of the kind he is but reporting his own or another man's conjecture, just as much as if he had sate down deliberately to compose a soliloquy or a speech in the first person.

[1] It seems therefore that Bacon believed this to be Henry's *second* Parliament; the Parliament *in* 3 *H. VII.*; under which description he was no doubt familiar with the records of it. But he did not know, and had not perhaps any ready means of ascertaining, in what month of Henry's third year, which extended from August 22, 1487, to August 21, 1488, it met. We have seen that in speaking of the coronation of the Queen (p. 60.) he makes no allusion to the fact that this Parliament was then sitting; which considering its importance both as a legislative and as a money-voting Parliament, (for they granted—in consideration of the rebellion just passed, I imagine, rather than of the war to come—two fifteenths and tenths,) he would naturally have done in that place. I have little doubt that, following Polydore's narrative, as all previous historians had done, and not having access to the Parliament Rolls to correct it by, he believed this second Parliament to have met in the summer of 1488 It must be supposed that authentic records as to the date of Henry's Parliaments were not easily accessible, when so diligent and original an explorer as Stowe failed to detect these errors.

[2] This is consistent with Polydore's narrative: but it is a mistake, whatever date you assign to "now." The siege of Nantes had been raised on the 6th of August.

principal city, if not in ceremony and preeminence, yet in strength and wealth, of that duchy: ye may guess at his hopes, by his attempting of the hardest part of the war first. The cause of this war he knoweth best. He alledgeth the entertaining and succouring of the Duke of Orleans and some other French lords, whom the King taketh for his enemies. Others divine of other matters. Both parts have by their ambassadors divers times prayed the King's aids; the French King, aids or neutrality; the Britons, aids simply; for so their case requireth. The King, as a Christian Prince and blessed son of the holy church, hath offered himself as a mediator to treat a peace between them. The French King yieldeth to treat, but will not stay the prosecution of the war. The Britons, that desire peace most, hearken to it least; not upon confidence or stiffness, but upon distrust of true meaning; seeing the war goes on. So as the King, after as much pains and care to effect a peace as ever he took in any business, not being able to remove the prosecution on the one side nor the distrust on the other caused by that prosecution, hath let fall the treaty; not repenting of it, but despairing of it now, as not likely to succeed. Therefore by this narrative you now understand the state of the question, whereupon the King prayeth your advice; which is no other, but whether he shall enter into an auxiliary and defensive war for the Britons against France?

"And the better to open your understandings in this affair, the King hath commanded me to say somewhat to you from him of the persons that do intervene in this business; and somewhat of the consequence thereof, as it hath relation to this kingdom; and somewhat of the example of it in general; making nevertheless no conclusion or judgment of any point, until his Grace hath received your faithful and politic advices.

"First for the King our sovereign himself, who is the principal person you are to eye in this business; his Grace

1487. (See note 2. p. 70.) The Chancellor however, speaking in November, 1488, had in fact a stronger case than could have been assigned to him at the time Bacon supposed him to be speaking. The victory of St. Aubin had given Charles all, and more than all, he originally pretended. The party of the Duke of Orleans was overthrown; the Duke himself was his prisoner; he had been secured by treaty in the possession of all the places he had won; yet he was now, upon the Duke of Brittany's death, claiming the right of guardianship over the young Duchess, and in the mean time proceeding in his conquests and taking town after town in Brittany. (See Daru, iii. p. 148., and compare the King's letter to Lord Oxford, quoted in note p. 98.; which shows how far the French had advanced into Brittany before the end of March, 1489.)

doth profess that he truly and constantly desireth to reign in peace: but his Grace saith he will neither buy peace with dishonour, nor take it up at interest of danger to ensue; but shall think it a good change, if it please God to change the inward troubles and seditions wherewith he hath been hitherto exercised into an honourable foreign war.

"And for the other two persons in this action, the French King and the Duke of Brittaine, his Grace doth declare unto you, that they be the men unto whom he is of all other friends and allies most bounden; the one having held over him his hand of protection from the tyrant; the other having reached forth unto him his hand of help for the recovery of his kingdom; so that his affection toward them in his natural person is upon equal terms. And whereas you may have heard that his Grace was enforced to fly out of Brittaine into France for doubts of being betrayed; his Grace would not in any sort have that reflect upon the Duke of Brittaine in defacement of his former benefits; for that he is throughly informed that it was but the practice of some corrupt persons about him, during the time of his sickness, altogether without his consent or privity. But howsoever these things do interest his Grace in his particular, yet he knoweth well that the higher bond that tieth him to procure by all means the safety and welfare of his loving subjects, doth disinteress him of these obligations of gratitude, otherwise than thus; that if his Grace be forced to make a war he do it without passion or ambition.

"For the consequence of this action towards this kingdom, it is much as the French King's intention is. For if it be no more but to range his subjects to reason who bear themselves stout upon the strength of the Duke of Brittaine[1], it is nothing to us. But if it be in the French King's purpose, — or if it should not be in his purpose, yet if it shall follow all one as if it were sought, — that the French King shall make a province of Brittaine and join it to the crown of France; then it is worthy the consideration how this may import England, as well in the increasement of the greatness of France, by the addition of such a country that stretcheth his boughs unto our seas, as in depriving this nation and leaving it naked of so firm and assured confederates as the Britons have always been. For

[1] This clause is omitted in the translation.

then it will come to pass that, whereas not long since this realm was mighty upon the continent, first in territory and after in alliance, in respect of Burgundy and Brittaine, which were confederates indeed, but dependent confederates[1]; now the one being already cast partly into the greatness of France and partly into that of Austria, the other is like wholly to be cast into the greatness of France; and this island shall remain confined in effect within the salt waters, and girt about with the coast countries of two mighty monarchs.

"For the example, it resteth likewise upon the same question, upon the French King's intent. For if Brittaine be carried and swallowed up by France, as the world abroad (apt to impute and construe the actions of Princes to ambition) conceive it will, then it is an example very dangerous and universal, that the lesser neighbour estate should be devoured of the greater. For this may be the case of Scotland towards England; of Portugal towards Spain; of the smaller estates of Italy towards the greater; and so of Germany; or as if some of you of the commons might not live and dwell safely besides some of these great lords. And the bringing in of this example will be chiefly laid to the King's charge, as to him that was most interested[2] and most able to forbid it.[3] But then on the other side there is so fair a pretext on the French King's part (and yet pretext is never wanting to power) in regard the danger imminent to his own estate is such as may make this enterprise seem rather a work of necessity than of ambition, as doth in reason correct the danger of the example; for that the example of that which is done in a man's own defence cannot be dangerous, because it is in another's power to avoid it. But in all this business, the King remits himself to your grave and mature advice, whereupon he purposeth to rely."

This was the effect of the Lord Chancellor's speech touching the cause of Brittaine; for the King had commanded him to carry it so as to affect the Parliament towards the business; but without engaging the King in any express declaration.

The Chancellor went on:

"For that which may concern the government at home, the King hath commanded me to say unto you; that he thinketh there was never any King (for the small time that he

[1] *Fœderati ex hujus regni consiliis pendentes.*

[2] So MS.

[3] *Qui illud etiam cum bono republicæ suæ impedire maxime potuisset.*

hath reigned) had greater and juster cause of the two contrary passions of joy and sorrow, than his Grace hath; joy, in respect of the rare and visible favours of Almighty God, in girting the imperial sword upon his side, and assisting the same his sword against all his enemies, and likewise in blessing him with so many good and loving servants and subjects, which have never failed to give him faithful counsel, ready obedience, and courageous defence; sorrow, for that it hath not pleased God to suffer him to sheath his sword (as he greatly desired, otherwise than for administration of justice,) but that he hath been forced to draw it so oft, to cut off traitorous and disloyal subjects, whom it seems God hath left (a few amongst many good) as the Canaanites amongst the people of Israel, to be thorns in their sides, to tempt and try them; though the end hath been always (God's name be blessed therefore) that the destruction hath fallen upon their own heads. Wherefore his Grace saith that he seeth that it is not the blood spilt in the field that will save the blood in the city; nor the marshal's [1] sword that will set this kingdom in perfect peace: but that the true way is to stop the seeds of sedition and rebellion in their beginnings, and for that purpose to devise, confirm, and quicken good and wholesome laws against riots and unlawful assemblies of people and all combinations and confederacies of them by liveries, tokens, and other badges of factious dependence; that the peace of the land may by these ordinances, as by bars of iron, be soundly bound in and strengthened, and all force both in court, country, and private houses be supprest.

"The care hereof, which so much concerneth yourselves, and which the nature of the times doth instantly call for, his Grace commends to your wisdoms.

"And because it is the King's desire that this peace wherein he hopeth to govern and maintain you, do not bear only unto you leaves, for you to sit under the shade of them in safety, but also should bear you fruit of riches, wealth, and plenty; therefore his Grace prays you to take into consideration matter of trade, as also the manufactures of the kingdom, and to repress the bastard and barren employment of moneys to usury and unlawful exchanges; that they may be (as their natural use is) turned upon commerce, and lawful and royal trading; and likewise that our people be set awork in arts and handi-

[1] So ed. 1622. The MS. has "*marshall;*" which is perhaps right.

crafts, that the realm may subsist more of itself, that idleness be avoided, and the draining out of our treasure for foreign manufactures stopped. But you are not to rest here only, but to provide further that whatsoever merchandise shall be brought in from beyond the seas may be employed upon the commodities of this land; whereby the kingdom's stock of treasure may be sure to be kept from being diminished by any overtrading of the foreigner.

"And lastly because the King is well assured that you would not have him poor that wishes you rich; he doubteth not but that you will have care, as well to maintain his revenews of customs and all other natures, as[1] also to supply him with your loving aids, if the case shall so require: the rather for that you know the King is a good husband, and but a steward in effect for the public, and that what comes from you is but as moisture drawn from the earth, which gathers into a cloud and falls back upon the earth again; and you know well how the kingdoms about you grow more and more in greatness, and the times are stirring; and therefore not fit to find the King with an empty purse. More I have not to say to you, and wish that what hath been said had been better expressed: but that your wisdoms and good affections will supply. God bless your doings."[2]

It was no hard matter to dispose and affect the Parliament in this business[3]; as well in respect of the emulation between the nations[4], and the envy at the late growth of the French monarchy; as in regard of the danger to suffer the French to make their approaches upon England, by obtaining so goodly a maritime province, full of sea-towns and havens, that might do mischief to the English, either by invasion or by interruption of traffic.

The Parliament was also moved with the point of oppression; for although the French seemed to speak reason[5], yet arguments are ever with multitudes too weak for suspicions. Wherefore they did advise the King roundly to embrace the Britons' quarrel, and to send them speedy aids; and with

[1] So Ed. 1622. The MS. has "and also."

[2] The Latin translation adds *Hanc orationem Cancellarius habuit, non comptam certe, sed solidam et perspicuam.*

[3] *i. e.* the business of Brittany. *Ad istud Britanniæ negotium.*

[4] *Inter nationes Angliæ et Galliæ.*

[5] This might perhaps have been said in *July*, 1488; but hardly in November, after the Duke of Orleans and all that party were overthrown.

much alacrity and forwardness granted to the King a great rate of subsidy[1] in contemplation of these aids. But the King, both to keep a decency towards the French King, to whom he profest himself to be obliged, and indeed desirous rather to show war than to make it, sent new solemn ambassadors[2] to intimate unto him the decree of his estates, and to iterate his motion that the French would desist from hostility; or if war must follow, to desire him to take it in good part, if at the motion of his people, who were sensible of the cause of the Britons as their ancient friends and confederates, he did send them succours; with protestation nevertheless that, to save all treaties and laws of friendship, he had limited his forces[3], to proceed in aid of the Britons, but in no wise to war upon the French, otherwise than as they maintained the

[1] The Parliament of November, 1487, had granted (though not with any view to the case of Brittany) two fifteenths and tenths. The Parliament of January, 1488–9, granted (and this was expressly for the succours to Brittany) "the tenth penny on men's lands and goods movable"—a rate which was expected to produce 75,000*l.* But what could have been granted in November, 1488, when there was no Parliament but only a Great Council? I take it that though a Great Council could not (properly speaking) *grant* a subsidy, yet the members composing it might have given the King sufficient security, either by promise or by actual loan, that if a Parliament were summoned a subsidy would be granted. In the first year of Henry IV. a Great Council, summoned for advice on a question of peace or war, advised war, and (in order to avoid the necessity of summoning a Parliament and imposing a general tax) agreed upon a *grant* of money from themselves. A Great Council, summoned by Henry VII. in his twelfth year (as we shall see further on) to advise of war with Scotland, advised war, and for means to carry it on, *lent* [prested] the King "every one for his part great sums of ready money;" and recommended, it seems, the raising of 40,000*l.* more by privy seals. That Great Council sat from the 24th of October to the 6th of November, 1496; and was followed by a Parliament, January 16, 1496–7, which granted the King for the Scotch war two aids and two fifteens. That this was the course taken with regard to the Scotch war in 1496, is as certain, though it is not noticed in any of our histories, as anything can be that happened so long ago: and I suppose the same course to have been taken with regard to the case of Brittany, the occasions being in all respects analogous. It is observable that the old chronicler (Cott. Vitel. A. xvi. f. 161.), who was either Fabyan himself or Fabyan's great authority (for Fabyan's printed chronicle of this reign is but an abstract from this MS.), being evidently a contemporary, and a citizen of London, attentive enough to matters of loan and taxation, says expressly that at this Great Council (the nature of which he plainly understood and did not at all confound it with the Parliament which followed, and which he notices in its place) "was *granted* unto the King for the defence of the Scots 120,000*l.*" And therefore it may very well be that in like manner this "great rate of subsidy," that was given to Henry in contemplation of the aids to Brittany, was (popularly speaking) *granted* by the Great Council of November, 1488, though the legal authority for levying it had to wait for the Parliament which met in the following January.

[2] This again comes from Polydore; an error in point of date growing out of the previous error with regard to the Council. There are no traces in Rymer of such an embassy in July, 1488; but on the 11th of December following,—between the breaking up of the Great Council and the issuing of the commission for levying a body of archers for the succour of Brittany,—Christopher Urswick, Thomas Warde, and Stephen Fryon were sent to treat a peace between England and France, and also between France and the Duchess of Brittany. And this was no doubt the solemn embassy here spoken of.

[3] *Copiis suis imperare in animo habere.*

possession of Brittaine.) But before this formal ambassage arrived, the party of the Duke had received a great blow, and and grew to manifest declination. For near the town of St. Alban in Brittaine a battle had been given, where the Britons were overthrown, and the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange taken prisoners, there being slain on the Britons' part six thousand men, and amongst them the Lord Woodvile, and almost all his soldiers, valiantly fighting. And of the French part, one thousand two hundred, with their leader James Galeot a great commander.

When the news of this battle came over into England, it was time for the King (who now[1] had no subterfuge to continue further treaty, and saw before his eyes that Brittaine went so speedily for lost, contrary to his hopes; knowing also that with his people and foreigners both, he sustained no small envy and disreputation for his former delays,) to dispatch with all possible speed his succours into Brittaine; which he did under the conduct of Robert Lord Brooke, to the number of eight thousand, choice men and well armed; who having a fair wind, in few hours landed in Brittaine, and joined themselves forthwith to those Briton forces that remained after the defeat, and marched straight on to find the enemy, and encamped fast by them. The French wisely husbanding the possession of a victory, and well acquainted with the courage of the English, especially when they are fresh, kept themselves within their trenches, being strongly lodged, and resolved not to give battle. But meanwhile to harass and weary the English, they did upon all advantages set upon them with their light horse; wherein nevertheless they received commonly loss, especially by means of the English archers.

But upon these achievements Francis Duke of Brittaine deceased; (an accident that the King might easily have foreseen, and ought to have reckoned upon and provided for;) but that the point of reputation, when news first came of the battle lost, (that somewhat must be done) did overbear the reason of war.

After the Duke's decease, the principal persons of Brittaine, partly bought, partly thro' faction, put all things into confusion; so as the English not finding head or body with whom to join their forces, and being in jealousy of friends as well as

[1] The MS. omits now.

in danger of enemies, and the winter begun, returned home five months after their landing.[1] So the battle of St. Alban, the death of the Duke, and the retire of the English succours, were (after some time) the causes of the loss of that duchy; which action some accounted as a blemish of the King's judgment, but most but as the misfortune of his times.

[1] All this comes from Polydore, and appears to be quite wrong. The true story would have told much better; being much more consistent with Bacon's idea of Henry's character and policy. It is true that Henry had shown some want of foresight in not perceiving the imminence of the danger which threatened Brittany, and that he had thereby let the time slip when he might have interfered most effectually to preserve her against the encroachment of France. But it is not at all true that he allowed himself to be hurried by popular clamour and a desire to save appearances into an ill-considered and fruitless enterprise.

Till he heard of the battle of St. Aubin (28th of July, 1488) he had hoped to save Brittany by negotiation. That battle took him by surprise, not expecting to be called upon for immediate interference by arms, and no way prepared for it (the less because the successful rebellion in Scotland and the accession of a new King in the middle of the preceding month left him in doubt what he was to expect from that side); and it was then too late. The blow was too decisive to be retrieved by an army of assistance; and even if Henry had been disposed to help the Duke of Brittany in that way, it would not have been in his power: before he could have got his army ready, the Duke had bound himself by the treaty of Verger, or Sablé as it is sometimes called, (August 21, 1488), not to call in foreign auxiliaries. It was not till after the Duke's death (September 9, 1488), when the French King had shown himself not content to rest upon his recent advantages, but was evidently aiming to possess himself of the entire duchy, that Henry determined to take more active measures for the purpose of checking him. The winter being then so near that nothing more could be done on either side for that season, he had plenty of time before him; but he used it for preparation, not for delay. He first, by his Great Council, made himself sure of the support of his people. He then proceeded to make his terms with Brittany; careful and rather hard terms, framed to secure him against pecuniary loss. At the same time he gave the French King due warning of his course; and made arrangements with Flanders and Spain for concerted action. Lastly, he summoned his Parliament and obtained a formal vote of supply; and as soon as the season was far enough advanced for a new campaign, he had a body of 6000 archers ready to sail. So that all things were cared for, and yet no time lost.

Nor can it be said that his measures were unsuccessful; as I shall explain in a subsequent note; for to explain it here would confuse our dates by anticipating the events of the next year. It is enough in this place to remember that at the time of which Bacon is now speaking, namely the winter of 1488, the English force, instead of returning unsuccessful, was only preparing to go; and that the matters related in the following pages all took place either before the expedition or while it was going on.

The story of the return of the English succours after an unsuccessful campaign within five months of their setting out, grew probably out of some loose statement or incidental report of a circumstance which we learn from the *Paston Letters* (vol. v. p. 355.). About the end of January, 1488–9, a month or more before the forces under Lord Brooke were ready to sail, some gentlemen did go over to Brittany, but returned to England immediately without having landed; finding the French too strong probably for so small a force. "Those gentlemen" (says Margery Paston, writing from London on the 10th of February, 1488–9 — not 1487–8, as the editor supposes) "that took shipping to have gone over into Bretaigne upon a fortnight ago — that is to say, Sir Richard Edgecomb, the Comptroller, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir John Trobylvylle, and John Motton, serjeant porter, — be arrived again upon the coast of England, save only Sir Richard Edgecomb, who landed in Bretaigne and there was in a town called Morlaix, which anon upon his coming was besieged with the Frenchmen, and so escaped hardly with his life; the which town the Frenchmen have gotten, and also the town called Brest; howbeit the castle holdeth, as we hear say."

But howsoever the temporary fruit of the Parliament in their aid and advice given for Brittaine, took not nor prospered not; yet the lasting fruit of Parliament, which is good and wholesome laws, did prosper, and doth yet continue till this day.[1] For according to the Lord Chancellor's admonition, there were that Parliament[2] divers excellent laws ordained, concerning the points which the King recommended.

First, the authority of the Star-chamber, which before subsisted by the ancient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain cases by act of Parliament.[3] This court is one of the sagest and noblest institutions of this kingdom. For in the distribution of courts of ordinary justice, (besides the high court of Parliament,) in which distribution the King's bench holdeth the pleas of the crown; the Common-place, pleas civil[4]; the Exchequer, pleas concerning the King's revenew; and the Chancery, the Pretorian power for mitigating the rigour of law, in case of extremity, by the conscience of a good man; there was nevertheless always reserved a high and preeminent power to the King's counsel in causes that might in example or consequence concern the state of the commonwealth; which if they were criminal, the counsel used to sit in the chamber called the Star-chamber; if civil, in the white-chamber or White-hall. And as the Chancery had the Pretorian power for equity, so the Star-chamber had the Censorian power for offences under the degree of capital. This court of Star-chamber is compounded of good elements; for it consisteth of four kinds of persons; counsellors, peers, prelates, and chief judges: it discerneth also principally of four kinds of causes; forces, frauds, crimes various of stellionate, and the inchoations or middle acts towards crimes capital or hainous not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this act was force[5], and the two chief

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "to this day."

[2] This is a further proof that Bacon supposed the case of Brittany to have been propounded in Henry's *second* Parliament. Almost all the laws which are mentioned in the following paragraphs were passed by the Parliament which met on the 7th November, 1487: just a year before the meeting of the Great Council.

[3] 3 H. 7. c. 1.

[4] A very politic distribution, according to the translation. *In quâ Curia Banci Regis, criminibus quæ contra coronam committuntur; curia Banci Communis, litibus civilibus; curia Scaccarii, causis quæ ad reditus et proventus regis spectant; et Curiæ Cancellariæ, causis quæ mitigationem rigoris juris ex arbitrio boni viri, ad exemplum juris Prætorii, merentur, politice admodum assignatæ sunt.*

[5] *Suppressio turburum illicitarum.*

supports of force, combination of multitudes, and maintenance or headship of great persons.

From the general peace of the country the King's care went on to the peace of the King's house, and the security of his great officers and counsellors. But this law[1] was somewhat of a strange composition and temper. That if any of the King's servants under the degree of a lord, do conspire the death of any of the King's counsel, or lord of the realm, it is made capital.[2] This law was thought to be procured by the Lord Chancellor, who being a stern and haughty man, and finding he had some mortal enemies in court, provided for his own safety, drowning the envy of it in a general law, by communicating the privilege with all other counsellors and peers; and yet not daring to extend it further than to the King's servants in check-roll, lest it should have been too harsh to the gentlemen and other commons of the kingdom, who might have thought their ancient liberty and the clemency of the laws of England invaded, *if the will in any case of felony*[3] *should be made the deed.* And yet the reason which the act yieldeth (that is to say, that he that conspireth the death of counsellors may be thought indirectly and by a mean to conspire the death of the King himself) is indifferent to all subjects as well as to servants in court. But it seemeth this sufficed to serve the Lord Chancellor's turn at this time; but yet he lived to need a general law; for that he grew afterwards as odious to the country as he was then to the court.

From the peace of the King's house the King's care extended to the peace of private houses and families; for there was an excellent moral law[4] moulded thus: The taking and carrying away of women forcibly and against their will (except female wards and bondwomen) was made capital: the Parliament wisely and justly conceiving, that the obtaining of women by force into possession[5] (howsoever afterwards assent might follow by allurements) was but a rape drawn forth in length, because the first force drew on all the rest.

[1] 3 H. 7. c. 14.

[2] *i.e.* whether it be effected or not — *factum est crimen, licet res peracta non fuerit, capitale*

[3] *i. e.* in any case under the degree of treason — *alias quam in criminibus læsæ majestatis.*

[4] 3 H. 7. c. 3.

[5] *Abripiendi fœminas per vim in possessionem extraneorum.*

There was made also another law [1] for peace in general, and repressing of murders and manslaughters, and was in amendment of the common laws of the realm; being this: That whereas by the common law the King's suit, in case of homicide, did expect the year and the day, allowed to the party's suit by way of appeal [2]; and that it was found by experience that the party was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the suit, so that in the end such suit was let fall; and by that time the matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby prosecution at the King's suit by indictment (which is ever best *flagrante crimine*) neglected; it was ordained [3] that the suit by indictment might be taken as well at any time within the year and the day as after; not prejudicing nevertheless the party's suit.

The King began also then, as well in wisdom as in justice, to pare a little the privilege of clergy; ordaining that clerks convict should be burned in the hand [4] — both because they might taste of some corporal punishment, and that they might carry a brand of infamy. But for this good act's sake, the King himself was after branded by Perkin's proclamation for an execrable breaker of the rites of holy church.

Another law was made for the better peace of the country, by which law the King's officers and farmers were to forfeit their places and holds, in case of unlawful retainer [5] or partaking in routs and unlawful assemblies.

These were the laws that were made for repressing of force, which those times did chiefly require; and were so prudently framed as they are found fit for all succeeding times, and so continue to this day.

There were also made good and politic laws that Parliament against usury [6], which is the bastard use of money; and against unlawful chievances and exchanges [7], which is bastard usury; and also for the security of the King's customs; and for the em-

[1] 3 H. 7. c. 2.

[2] *i. e.* to the wife and heir of the man killed, to prosecute in their own name. *Quod spatium uxori et hæredi occisi datum est ut nomine proprio accusationem peragerent.*

[3] So ed. 1622. The MS. has "ordered."

[4] 4 H. 7. c. 13. This therefore belongs to the year 1489-90. Bacon perhaps confounded these two sessions; there being no hint in Polydore of a Parliament being called in January, '88-9. "Clerks convict" are clergy convicted of capital crimes. *Clerici capitalis criminis convicti.* This act was passed at the last meeting of this Parliament, Jan. 25th—Feb. 27th, 1489-90. See *Stat. of Realm*, p. 524. note.

[5] *Si familitiis nobilium aut aliorum, nisi domestici essent, se aggregarent.* 3 H. 7. c. 15.

[6] 3 H. 7. c. 6.

[7] *Illicita excambia et contractus fictos.* 3. H. 7. c. 7.

ployment of the procedures of foreign commodities, brought in by merchants strangers[1], upon the native commodities of the realm; together with some other laws of less importance.

But howsoever the laws made in that Parliament did bear good and wholesome fruit; yet the subsidy granted at the same time bore[2] a fruit that proved harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the King's barn; but it was after a storm. For when the commissioners entered into the taxation of the subsidy in Yorkshire and the bishoprick of Durham, the people upon a sudden grew into great mutiny, and said openly that they had endured of late years a thousand miseries, and neither could nor would pay the subsidy. This no doubt proceeded not simply of any present necessity, but much by reason of the old humour of those countries, where the memory of King Richard was so strong, that it lay like lees in the bottom of men's hearts, and if the vessel was but stirred it would come up; and no doubt it was partly also by the instigation of some factious malcontents that bare principal[3] stroke amongst them. Hereupon the commissioners, being somewhat astonished, deferred the matter unto the Earl of Northumberland, who was the principal man of authority in those parts. The Earl forthwith wrote unto the court, signifying to the King plainly enough in what flame he found the people of those countries, and praying the King's direction. The King wrote back peremptorily that he would not have one penny abated of that which had been granted to him by Parliament; both because it might encourage other countries to pray the like release or mitigation; and chiefly because he would never endure that the base multitude should frustrate the authority of the Parliament, wherein their votes and consents were concluded. Upon this dispatch from court, the Earl assembled the principal justices and freeholders of the country; and speaking to them in the[4] imperious language wherein the King had written to him, which needed not (save that an harsh business was unfortunately fallen into the hands of a harsh man), did not only irritate the people, but make them conceive by the

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "merchant strangers." See note 1. p. 65.

[2] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "bare." The events which follow were certainly in the spring of 1489. I presume therefore that the tax which caused the combustion was that of the tenth penny upon lands and goods moveable, granted in the Parliament of January, 1488-9, not the two fifteenths and tenths granted in 1487.

[3] So Ed. 1662. The MS. has "principally." [4] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "that."

stoutness and haughtiness of delivery of the King's errand [1], that himself was the author or principal persuader of that counsel: whereupon the meaner sort routed together, and suddenly assailing [2] the earl in his house, slew him [3] and divers of his servants; and rested not there, but creating for their leader Sir John Egremond, a factious person, and one that had of a long time borne an ill talent towards the King [4], and being animated also by a base fellow, called John a Chamber, a very *boutefeu*, who bore much sway amongst the vulgar and populace [5], entered into open rebellion, and gave out in flat terms that they would go against King Henry and fight with him for the maintenance of their liberties.

When the King was advertised of this new insurrection (being almost a fever that took him every year), after his manner little troubled therewith, he sent Thomas Earl of Surrey (whom he had a little before not only released out of the Tower and pardoned, but also received to especial favour) with a competent power against the rebels, who fought with the principal band of them and defeated them, and took alive John a Chamber their firebrand. As for Sir John Egremond, he fled into Flanders to the Lady Margaret of Burgundy, whose palace was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the King. John a Chamber was executed at York in great state; for he was hanged upon a gibbet raised a stage higher in the midst of a square gallows, as a traitor paramount; and a number of his men that were his chief complices were hanged upon the lower story round about him; and the rest were generally pardoned. Neither did the King himself omit his custom to be first or second in all his warlike exploits, making good his word which was usual with him when he heard of rebels, (that he desired but to see them). For immediately after he had sent down the Earl of Surrey, he marched towards them himself in person. And although in his journey he heard news of the victory, yet he went on as far as York [6],

[1] *Ex acerbitate verborum ejus quæ tanquam regis ipsius verba retulerat*

[2] So ed. 1622. The MS. has "assailed."

[3] This, according to Stowe, was on the 28th of April, 1489.

[4] *Regi infensus erat.*

[5] Ed. 1622 has "popular." In the MS. the word seems to have been originally written "populare;" but the *r* has apparently been corrected into *c*. See p. 118. where the same error has been corrected in the same way.

[6] He "departed from Hertford towards the north" on the 22nd of May. (Lel. Iv. p. 246.); about two months after the forces sailed for Brittany. We are to remember

to pacify and settle those countries: and that done, returned to London, leaving the Earl of Surrey for his lieutenant in the northern parts, and Sir Richard Tunstal for his principal commisioner to levy the subsidy, whereof he did not remit a denier.

About the same time[1] that the King lost so good a servant as the Earl of Northumberland, he lost likewise a faithful friend and ally of James the Third King of Scotland by a miserable disaster. For this[2] unfortunate Prince, after a long smother of discontent and hatred of many of his nobility and people, breaking forth at times into seditions and alterations of court, was at last distressed by them, having taken arms and surprised the person of Prince James his son (partly by force, partly by threats that they would otherwise deliver up the kingdom to the King of England) to shadow their rebellion, and to be the titular and painted head of those arms.[3] Whereupon the King (finding himself too weak) sought unto King Henry, as also unto the Pope and the King of France, to compose those troubles between him and his subjects. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediations in a round and princely manner[4], not only by way of request and persuasion, but also by way of protestation and menace, declaring that they thought

therefore that the war in Britanny was going on at the same time with this rebellion. Bacon thought that the forces had returned to England two or three months before, and was not aware that Henry had any other important business on his hands at this time.

[1] This is another error of date, which came from Polydore Vergil, and was adopted by all our old chroniclers. James III. was killed on the 11th of June, 1488, nearly seven weeks before the battle of St. Aubin; while Henry was endeavouring to mediate between the King of France and the Duke of Brittany, and had so far succeeded as to cause a temporary suspension of hostilities. See note 5. p. 72. It is of some importance to remember the true date; because so great a change in Scotland, fraught with such uncertain consequences, obliged Henry to look well to his borders and strengthen Berwick, and materially affected the state of the question with regard to France.

[2] So ed. 1622. The MS. has "the."

[3] In this ambiguous and hardly accurate sentence there are no marks of parenthesis either in the MS. or in the edition of 1622; and the MS. has a comma after "threats" and no stop after "England:" which, if it were right, would suggest a different meaning. But the Latin translation removes the ambiguity, and shows that the punctuation which I have substituted expresses the intended construction. *Siquidem arma contra eum sumpserunt, et Jacobi Principis filii sui personam ex improviso intra potestatem suam redeyerunt, partim vi partim minis; interminantes, se aliter regnum in manus Regis Angliæ tradituros. Eo autem consilio hoc moliebantur, ut rebellionem suam obvelarent, sicque Princeps titulare et pictum quoddam caput rebellionis fieret.* Compare Buchanan, *Rer. Scot. Hist.* xii. 58.

[4] *Modo honorifico et qui reges magnos deceret.* Tytler, who mentions James's application to France and to Rome (vol. iv. p. 317.), says nothing about Henry. The circumstances here detailed come from Speed (p. 735.); who quotes as his authority John Leslie, Bishop of Rosse. A letter in the Paston correspondence, dated the 13th of May, 1488, mentions "an ambassador from the King of Scots, who is now in great trouble about his son and other lords of his land." Vol. v. p. 369.

it to be the common cause of all Kings, if subjects should be suffered to give laws unto their sovereign; and that they would accordingly resent it and revenge it. But the rebels, that had shaken off the greater yoke of obedience, had likewise cast away the lesser tie of respect; and fury prevailing above fear, made answer, that there was no talking of peace except their [1] King would resign his crown. Whereupon (treaty of accord taking no place) it came to a battle at Bannocksbourn by Strivelin. In which battle the King transported with wrath and just indignation, inconsiderately fighting and precipitating the charge before his whole numbers came up to him, was, notwithstanding the contrary express and strait commandment of the Prince his son, slain in the pursuit, being fled to a mill situate in the field where the battle was fought.

As for the Pope's ambassy, which was sent by Adrian de Castello an Italian legate, (and perhaps as those times were might have prevailed more,) it came too late for the ambassy, but not for the ambassador. For passing through England and being honourably entertained and received of King Henry (who ever applied himself with much respect to the see of Rome), he fell into great grace with the King, and great familiarity and friendship with Morton the Chancellor. Insomuch as the King taking a liking to him, and finding him to his mind [2], preferred him to the bishoprick of Hereford, and afterwards to that of Bath and Wells, and employed him in many of his affairs of state that had relation to Rome. He was a man of great learning [3], wisdom, and dexterity in business of state; and having not long after ascended to the degree of cardinal, paid the King large tribute of his gratitude in diligent and judicious advertisement [4] of the occurrents of Italy. Nevertheless in the end of his time he was partaker of the conspiracy which cardinal Alphonso Petrucci and some other cardinals had plotted against the life of Pope Leo. And this offence, in itself so hainous, was yet in him aggravated by the motive thereof; which was not malice or discontent, but an aspiring mind to the papacy. [5] And in this height of impiety there

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "the."

[2] *Et eum rebus suis utilem fore credens.*

[3] The Latin translation goes further and calls him a great man. *Certe vir magnus fuit Adrianus et multa eruditione, &c. præditus.*

[4] A long letter of this kind from Adrian to Henry, dated 4th June, 1504, is still to be seen in the Cotton collection. (Cleo. iii. fo. 171.).

[5] *Ambitione fœda adipiscendi papatum.*

wanted not an intermixture of levity and folly, for that (as was generally believed) he was animated to expect the papacy by a fatal mockery; the prediction of a sooth-sayer; which was, *That one should succeed Pope Leo, whose name should be Adrian, an aged man of mean birth and of great learning and wisdom;* by which character and figure he took himself to be described; though it were fulfilled of Adrian the Fleming, son to[1] a Dutch brewer, cardinal of Tortosa, and preceptor unto Charles the Fifth; the same that, not changing his christen-name, was afterwards called Adrian the Sixth.

But these things happened in the year following, which was the fifth of this King.[2] But in the end of the fourth year the King had called again his Parliament[3], not as it seemeth for any particular occasion of state: but the former Parliament[4] being ended somewhat suddenly (in regard of the preparation for Brittaine), the King thought he had not remunerated his people sufficiently with good laws, (which evermore was his retribution for treasure): and finding by the insurrection in the north, there was discontentment abroad in respect of the subsidy, he thought it good for[5] to give his subjects yet further contentment and comfort in that kind. Certainly his times for good commonwealths laws did excel; so as he may justly be celebrated for the best lawgiver to this nation after King Edward the First. For his laws (whoso marks them well) are deep and not vulgar; not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence of the future; to make the estate of his people still more and more happy, after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times.

First therefore he made a law suitable to his own acts and times. For as himself had in his person and marriage made a final concord in the great suit and title for the crown; so by

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "of."

[2] Henry's fifth year extended from 22nd August, 1489, to 21st August, 1490. "These things" therefore must mean the favour and preferment of Adrian.

[3] Meaning probably the session of October, 1489; and perhaps confounding it with the previous session in the January preceding, of which there is no notice in Polydore or in any of the succeeding chroniclers. That Parliament had been prorogued on the 23rd of February, 1488-9, and met again on the 14th of October following, — the beginning of Henry's fifth year.

[4] Meaning the Parliament which Bacon *supposed* to have been called in June or July, 1488; and to which he refers the acts passed by the Parliament of November, 1487. Understand it of the session of January, '88-9, and the words are correct enough.

[5] So MS. Ed. 1622 omits "for."

this law he settled the like peace and quiet in the[1] private possessions of the subjects: ordaining, That Fines thenceforth should be final to conclude all strangers rights[2]; and that upon fines levied, and solemnly proclaimed, the subject should have his time of watch for five years after his title accrued; which if he forepassed, his right should be bound for ever after; with some exception nevertheless of minors, married women, and such incompetent persons. This statute did in effect but restore an ancient statute of the realm, which was itself also made but in affirmance of the common law. The alteration had been by a statute commonly called the statute of *non-claim*[3], made in the time of Edward the Third. And surely this law[4] was a kind of prognostic of the good peace which since his time hath (for the most part) continued in this kingdom until this day. For statutes of *non-claim* are fit for times of war, when men's heads are troubled, that they cannot intend their estate; but statutes that quiet possessions are fittest for times of peace, to extinguish suits and contentions; which is one of the banes of peace.

Another statute was made of singular policy; for the population apparently[5], and (if it be thoroughly considered) for the soldiery and militar forces of the realm. Inclosures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby arable land (which could not be manured[6] without people and families) was

[1] So ed. 1622. The MS. omits "the."

[2] 4 H. 7. c. 24., passed in February, 1489–90. See *Statutes of the Realm*, p. 524. note.

Readers that are not learned in the law may perhaps find the Latin easier to understand than the English. *Ordinatum est enim ut Fines quos vocant (quod genus est transactionis cujusdam solennis) revera finales essent ad jura non partium tantum sed aliorum omnium extinguenda: ita tamen ut post fines hujusmodi levatos, et solenniter proclamatos, haberet subditus spatium quinque annorum post titulum suum devolutum, ad jus suum recuperandum aut saltem vindicandum; quod si prætermisisset, jure suo in perpetuum excluderetur.*

The *Index Vocabulorum* explains what a "fine" is: viz. *instrumentum quo hæreditates transferuntur, eamque habet vim ut omnium jura, si intra tempus non agant, extinguat.*

[3] *Lex est quæ sub tempora belli, cum homines juri suo asserendo plerumque non vacarent, lata erat, et vim illam finium destruxit; quæ tamen postea per aliud statutum restituebatur.* (*Index Vocab.*)

[4] *i. e.* this law of Henry VII. *Ista lex de finibus levandis.*

[5] *i. e.* manifestly tending to the increase of population. *Incrementum populi regni manifesto . . . . promovens.* 4 H. 7. c. 19.; passed in February, 1489–90.

[6] *i. e.* cultivated: the word not having yet lost its general meaning. So Adam speaks to Eve (*Par. Lost*, iv. 627.) of

> "Alleys green
> Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
> That mock our scant *manuring*, and require
> More hands than ours to lop their wanton growth."

turned into pasture, which was easily rid by a few herdsmen; and tenances for years, lives, and at will, (whereupon much of the yeomanry lived,) were turned into demesnes.[1] This bred a decay of people, and by consequence a decay of towns, churches, tithes, and the like. The King likewise knew full well, and in no wise forgot, that there ensued withal upon this a decay and diminution of subsidies and taxes; for the more gentlemen ever the lower books of subsidies. In remedying of this inconvenience the King's wisdom was admirable; and the Parliament's at that time. Inclosures they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the improvement of the patrimony of the kingdom[2]; nor tillage they would not compel; for that was to strive with nature and utility[3]: but they took a course to take away depopulating inclosures and depopulating pasturage[4], and yet not that by name[5] or by any imperious express prohibition, but by consequence. The ordinance was, That all houses of husbandry, that were used with[6] twenty acres of ground and upwards, should be maintained and kept up for ever; together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with them, and in no wise to be severed from them (as by another statute, made afterwards in his successor's time, was more fully declared): this upon forfeiture to be taken, not by way of popular action, but by seizure of the land itself by the King and lords of the fee, as to half the profits, till the houses and lands were restored. By this means the houses being kept up did of necessity enforce a dweller; and the proportion of land for occupation being kept up, did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar or cottager, but a man of some substance, that might keep hinds and servants, and set the plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the might and mannerhood[7] of the kingdom, to have farms as it were of a standard, sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and did in effect amortise a great part of

[1] *i. e.* lands kept by the lord of the manor in his own hands. *Possessiones quæ non sunt feodales, sed in manibus domini.* (*Ind. Vocab.*)

[2] *i. e.* by means of a more productive cultivation. *Soli culturam fructuosioram, atque inde secuturam patrimonii regni meliorationem.*

[3] *Cum natura ipsa et rebus pugnare.*

[4] *i. e.* such kinds of enclosures and pasturage as manifestly induced depopulation. *Clausuras tantum et pascua quæ depopulationem liquido invehebant.*

[5] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "not by that name."

[6] *i. e* that had annexed to them. *Quibus fuerint annexa.*

[7] So both the MS. and the ed of 1622. I do not remember to have met with the word any where else. The translation gives — *Hoc populi numerum miris modis augebat, quin et potentiæ regni militaris intererat.*

the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasants. Now how much this did advance the militar power of the kingdom, is apparent by the true principles of war and the examples of other kingdoms. For it hath been held by the general opinion of men of best judgment in the wars (howsoever some few have varied, and that it may receive some distinction of case) that the principal strength of an army consisteth in the infantry or foot. And to make good infantry, it requireth men bred not in a servile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentiful manner. Therefore if a state run most to noblemen and gentlemen, and that the husbandmen and ploughmen be but as their workfolks or[1] labourers, or else mere cottagers (which are but housed beggars), you may have a good cavalry, but never good stable bands of foot; like to coppice woods, that if you leave in them staddles too thick, they will run to bushes and briars, and have little clean underwood. And this is to be seen in France and Italy (and some other parts abroad), where in effect all is noblesse or peasantry (I speak of people out of towns[2]), and no middle people; and therefore no good forces of foot: insomuch as they are enforced to employ mercenary bands of Switzers (and the like[3]) for their battalions of foot. Whereby also it comes to pass that those nations have much people and few soldiers. Whereas the King saw that contrariwise it would follow, that England, though much less in territory, yet should have infinitely more soldiers of their native forces than those other nations have. Thus did the King secretly sow Hydra's teeth; whereupon (according to the poets' fiction) should rise up armed men for the service of this kingdom.

The King also (having care to make his realm potent as well by sea as by land), for the better maintenance of the navy, ordained, That wines and woads from the parts of Gascoign and Languedoc, should not be brought but in English bottoms[4]; bowing the ancient policy of this estate from consideration of plenty to consideration of power: for that almost all the ancient statutes invite[5] (by all means) merchants strangers[6] to bring in

[1] So MS Ed. 1622 has "and." [2] "*Populo in agris degente non in urbibus.*"
[3] "*Helvetiorum aut Germanorum.*" [4] 4 Hen. 7. c. 10.; passed February, 1489-90.
[5] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "incite." The translation has *invitant.*
[6] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "merchant-strangers." See note 1. p. 65.

all sorts of commodities; having for end cheapness, and not looking to the point of state concerning the naval power.

The King also made a statute in that Parliament monitory and minatory towards justices of peace[1], that they should duly execute their office, inviting complaints against them, first to their fellow-justices, then to the justices of assize, then to the King or Chancellor; and that a proclamation which he had published of that tenor should be read in open session four times a year, to keep them awake. Meaning also to have his laws executed[2], and thereby to reap either obedience or forfeitures, (wherein towards his later times he did decline too much to the left hand,) he did ordain remedy against the practice that was grown in use, to stop and damp informations upon penal laws, by procuring informations by collusion to be put in by the confederates of the delinquents, to be faintly prosecuted and let fall at pleasure, and pleading them in bar of the informations which were prosecuted with effect.

He made also laws for the correction of the mint, and counterfeiting of foreign coin current.[3] And that no payment in gold should be made to any merchant stranger; the better to keep treasure within the realm; for that gold was the metal that lay in least room.[4]

He made also statutes for the maintenance of drapery and the keeping of wools within the realm; and not only so, but for stinting and limiting the prices of cloth; one for the finer, and another for the coarser sort.[5] Which I note, both because it was a rare thing to set prices by statute, especially upon our home commodities; and because of the wise model[6] of this

[1] 4 H. 7. c. 12.; passed February, 1489-90.

[2] The translation varies a little from the original here; for it represents this admonition to the justices, equally with the act for putting a stop to collusive informations, as attributable to the same motive; viz. his desire of forfeitures. *Hoc modo fore putabat ut leges suæ pœnales executioni demandarentur, utque inde vel obedientiæ vel mulctarum fructum perciperet: in qua re versus finem vitæ suæ declinavit nimis in partem sinistram. Hunc ad finem etiam exhibuit pragmaticam quandam, nuper ortam, quâ informationes veræ super legibus pœnalibus exhibitæ, informationibus aliis illusoriis suffocabantur, exhibitis scilicet per quosdam quos delinquentes ipsi subornârunt, ut ad libitum eorum fieret litis vel prosecutio vel desertio; atque hoc modo veras prosecutiones (scilicet ne duplex foret vexatio) regerebant.*

This is the act 4 H. 7. c. 20. passed Feb. 1489-90.

[3] *i.e.* for punishing the adulteration of foreign coin that was made current in England. *De monetaria reformanda et nummorum externorum (eorum scilicet qui edicto regio essent in usum regni recepti) adulteratione punienda.* 4 H. 7. c. 18. 23.

[4] And was therefore most easily smuggled out. *Quod facillime et occulto transportari posset.*

[5] 4 H. 7. c. 8.; passed December, 1489.

[6] *Prudens temperamentum.*

act; not prescribing prices[1], but stinting them not to exceed a rate; that the clothier might drape accordingly as he might afford.

Divers other good statutes were made that Parliament, but these were the principal. And here I do desire those into whose hands this work shall fall, that they do take in good part my long insisting upon the laws that were made in this King's reign; whereof I have these reasons; both because it was the preeminent virtue and merit of this King[2], to whose memory I do honour; and because it hath some correspondence to my person; but chiefly because in my judgment it is some defect even in the best writers of history, that they do not often enough summarily deliver and set down the most memorable laws that passed in the times whereof they write[3], being indeed the principal acts of peace. For though they may be had[4] in original books of law themselves; yet that informeth not the judgment of kings and counsellors and persons of estate so well as to see them described and entered in the table and portrait of the times.

About the same time the King had a loan from the City[5] of four thousand pounds, which was double to that they lent before, and was duly and orderly paid back at the day, as the former likewise had been: the King ever choosing rather to borrow too soon than to pay too late, and so keeping up his credit.

Neither had the King yet cast off his cares and hopes touching Brittaine[6], but thought to master the occasion by policy,

[1] *i. e.* not fixing the exact price of each kind of cloth; but only the maximum The clothier was free to sell as *cheap* as he pleased. *Quod pretia præcise pannorum diversi generis non præscriberet, sed sanciret tantum, &c.*

[2] *Ut optimus legislator esset.*

[3] The edition of 1622 has *writ*. In the MS. it seems to me that *writt* has been corrected into *write*, the second *t* being turned into *e*, — not struck out, as the compositor perhaps supposed.

[4] *Maxima ex parte reperiri soleant.*

[5] According to Fabyan (a good authority on such a point) the King borrowed this sum in his third year; *i. e.* 1487-8. And according to the old chronicle (Cott. Vitel. A. xvi.) — which seems to deserve quite as much credit as Fabyan, if not more, — he borrowed another sum of 2000*l.* in July, 1488: in contemplation perhaps of troubles on his Scotch borders; James III. having been killed just before.

[6] In returning to the business of Brittany, it will be remembered that we left the English forces, not returning unsuccessful (as Bacon, following Polydore, supposed), but preparing to embark. They arrived in Brittany in the beginning of April, 1489, and were in full operation there all the time that the actions in Flanders which Bacon is now proceeding to relate were going on. Had Bacon known this, he would no doubt have connected the two actions together in quite a different way, and seen that the succours to the Duchess in Brittany and to Maximilian in Flanders were the two parts of a simultaneous and combined movement to stop the French King's progress. What the success of it was I will explain presently. In the meantime the following letter

though his arms had been unfortunate, and to bereave the French King of the fruit of his victory. The sum of his design was to encourage Maximilian to go on with his suit for the marriage of Anne the heir of Brittaine, and to aid him to the consummation thereof. But the affairs of Maximilian were at that time in great trouble and combustion, by a rebellion of his subjects in Flanders, especially those of Bruges and Gaunt; whereof the town of Bruges (at such time as Maximilian was there in person) had suddenly armed in tumult, and slain some of his

from Henry himself to Lord Oxford will put the reader in possession of the true state of affairs in that quarter at the time of which Bacon is now speaking. As it is very characteristic as well as concise, I transcribe it at length, from the Paston Letters, vol. v. p. 370.

"Right trusty and entirely beloved cousin, we greet you well. Inasmuch as it hath liked God to send us good tidings out of Bretayn, such as we doubt not but ye be desirous to understand, we write unto you of them as they be comen to our knowledge and as followeth.

"The Lord Malpertuis, now lately with us in ambassade from our dear cousin the Duchess of Bretayne, shipped at our port of Dartmouth and arrived at St. Paul de Lyon in Bretayn on Palm Sunday at four afternoon [Palm Sunday in 1489 fell on the 12th of April], from whence he wrote us the disposition and the state of the country there, and of the landing and the demeaning of our army. We received his writing on Monday last at evensong time. And because he was of Bretayn born and favourable to that party, we ne gave such trust to his tidings as was thought to us surety to write to you thereupon. This day after high mass cometh unto us out of Bretayn foresaid, and with a new ambassade from our said cousin, Fawcon, one of our pursuivants, that ratifieth the news of the said Lord Malpertuis; which ben these:—

"After the garrison of Frenchmen in the town of Gyngham [*Guincamp*] had certainty of the landing of our army, they drew down the fabours [*porteullises or fauxbourgs*] of Gyngham and made them meet to defend a siege. But as soon as they understood that our army journeyed towards them, they left the same Gyngham, where our said army arrived the Thursday next before Palm Sunday, and was received with procession, lodged and received and refreshed in the town four days. And going towards the said Duchess they must pass to the castle and borough of Moncouter. In that castle was also a garrison of Frenchmen, which incontinently upon word that our said army drew towards them, the Frenchmen did cast down great part of the walls, and fled from thence. In that castle and borough our said army kept their Easter. The castle of Chauson adjoining near to the town of St. Bryak [*Brieu*] was also garrisoned with Frenchmen. That castle they set on fire and so fled in. The towns of Henebone and Vannes were garrisoned with Frenchmen which brake down the walls of the towns and put themselves to flight. The inhabitants about Brest have laid siege thereunto and gotten the Base Court of the Frenchmen or the departing of our said pursuivant. The garrison of the town of Concarneau, which is one of the greatest strengths of all Bretayn, was besieged in likewise and driven to that necessity that they within offered or his departing to avoid the town with staff in hand. How that is taken, or what more is done sithence, he cannot tell.

"Our said cousin the Duchess is in her city of Rennes; and our right trusty Knight and Counsellor Sir Richard Edgecomb there also, having chief rule about her. And the Marshal of Bretayne arredieth him to join with them in all haste and with a good band of men. Many noblemen of that country repair to our said army to take their party.

"These premises in substance we have by writing as well from the chief captains of our said army as from our Comptroller foresaid: and that our said army, blessed be God, hath among themself kept such love and accord that no manner of fray or debate hath been between them sithens the time of their departing out of this our realm.

"Given under our signet at our castle at Hertford the 22 day of April."

So far therefore the measures taken by Henry were prospering; and bearing this in mind we may now proceed with Bacon's narrative.

principal officers, and taken himself prisoner, and held him in durance till they had enforced him and some of his counsellors to take a solemn oath to pardon all their offences, and never to question and revenge the same in time to come. Nevertheless Frederick the Emperor would not suffer this reproach and indignity offered to his son to pass, but made sharp wars upon Flanders to reclaim and chastise the rebels.[1] But the Lord Ravenstein[2] a principal person about Maximilian and one that had taken the oath of abolition[3] with his master, pretending the religion thereof, but indeed upon private ambition, and as it was thought instigated and corrupted from France, forsook the Emperor and Maximilian his lord, and made himself an head of the popular party, and seized upon the towns of Ipre and Sluce with both the castles; and forthwith sent to the Lord Cordes[4], governor of Picardy under the French King, to desire aid, and to move him that he on the behalf of the French King would be protector of the united towns, and by force of arms reduce the rest. The Lord Cordes was ready to embrace the occasion, which was partly of his own setting, and sent forthwith greater forces than it had been possible for him to raise on the sudden if he had not looked for such a summons before, in aid of the Lord Ravenstein and the Flemings, with instructions to invest the towns between France and Bruges. The French forces besieged a little town called Dixmue[5], where part of the Flemish forces joined with them. While they lay at this siege, the King of England, upon pretence of the safety of the English pale about Calais, but in truth being loth that Maximilian should become contemptible and thereby be shaken off by the states of Brittaine about his[6] marriage, sent over the Lord Morley with a thousand men unto the Lord Daubigny, then deputy of Calais, with secret instructions to aid Maximilian and to raise the siege of Dixmue. The Lord Daubigny (giving it out that all was for the strenthening of the English marches) drew out of the garrisons of Calais, Hammes and Guines, to the number of a thousand men more: so that with

[1] This clause is omitted in the translation.

[2] *Ravelston* in MS.

[3] That is, the oath just mentioned, that he would pardon their offences, &c. This oath had been taken on the 16th of May, 1488. See Sismondi.

[4] Rapin spells the name *Desquerdes*. The particulars which follow seem to come from Hall, whose narrative is much fuller than Polydore's here. He quotes the *Flemish Chronicle*, from which I suppose he had the additional details.

[5] So spelt both in the MS. and the edition of 1622. Now called *Dixmude*.

[6] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "this marriage."

the fresh succours that came under the conduct of the Lord Morley, they made up to the number of two thousand or better. Which forces joining with some companies of Almaynes, put themselves into Dixmue, not perceived by the enemies; and passing through the town (with some reinforcement from the forces that were in the town) assailed the enemies' camp, negligently guarded as being out of fear, where there was a bloody fight, in which the English and their partakers obtained the victory, and slew to the number of eight thousand men, with the loss on the English part of a hundred or thereabouts; amongst whom was the Lord Morley. They took also their great ordnance, with much rich spoils, which they carried to Newport[1]; whence the Lord Daubigny returned to Calais, leaving the hurt men and some other voluntaries in Newport. But the Lord Cordes being at Ipre with a great power of men, thinking to recover the loss and disgrace of the fight at Dixmue, came presently on and sat down before Newport and besieged it; and after some days siege, he resolved to try the fortune of an assault; which he did one day[2], and succeeded therein so far, that he had taken the principal tower and fort in that city, and planted upon it the French banner; whence nevertheless they were presently beaten forth by the English, by the help of some fresh succours of archers, arriving by good fortune (at the instant) in the haven of Newport. Whereupon the Lord Cordes, discouraged, and measuring the new succours which were small by the success which was great, left[3] his siege. By this means matters grew more exasperate between the two Kings of England and France, for that in the war of Flanders the auxiliary forces of French and English were much blooded one against another; which blood rankled the more, by the vain words of the Lord Cordes, that declared himself an open enemy of the English, beyond that that appertained to the present service; making it a common by-word of his, That he could be content to lie in hell seven years so he might win Calais from the English.

The King having thus upheld the reputation[4] of Maximilian, advised him now to press on his marriage with Brittaine to a

[1] A town at the mouth of the river on which Dixmude stands.

[2] This was on Midsummer's Day, 1489. See the Herald's journal. Cott. Jul. xi. f. 55

[3] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "levied."

[4] *Res et existimationem.*

conclusion; which Maximilian accordingly did; and so far forth prevailed both with the young lady and with the principal persons about her, as the marriage was consummate by proxy[1] with a ceremony at that time in these parts new. For she was not only publicly contracted, but stated as a bride, and solemnly bedded, and after she was laid, there came in Maximilian's ambassador with letters of procuration, and in the presence of sundry noble personages, men and women, put his leg (stript naked to the knee) between the espousal sheets, to the end that that ceremony might be thought to amount to a consummation and actual knowledge. This done, Maximilian (whose property was to leave things then when they were almost come to perfection, and to end them by imagination; like ill archers, that draw not their arrows up to the head; and who might as easily have bedded the lady himself[2] as to have made a play and disguise of it,) thinking now all assured, neglected for a time his further proceeding, and intended his wars.[3] Mean-

[1] Polydore Vergil, from whom all this comes, does not give the date of this proxy-marriage, and the diligence of modern French historians does not seem to have succeeded in fixing it with certainty. It is said to have been performed with such secrecy that even the servants of the Duchess were not aware of it for some time. If so—and the existence of a doubt as to the date of such an event makes it probable that secrecy was affected, though it does not oblige us to believe with Rapin that neither Henry nor Charles knew of it for above a twelvemonth after—the object must have been to keep it from Charles; and we need not seek so far as Bacon does to account for Maximilian's being content with a marriage by proxy: had he gone to Brittany in person, the secret would have been harder to keep.

Lingard dates the marriage as late as April, 1491; which must be wrong; for there is a commission extant dated the 29th of March in that year, in which the marriage is distinctly mentioned. See Rymer, xii. 438. D'Argentré (xiii. 56.) puts it about the beginning of November, 1490.

[2] Besides the reasons suggested in the last note, it must be remembered that Anne did not complete her fourteenth year till the 26th of January, 1490–1. See Daru, iii. p. 84.

[3] What then became of the English forces in Brittany? Polydore Vergil did not know they were there; the old English historians, following Polydore without suspicion, do not raise the question; the modern, by correcting Polydore's dates, raise, but do not perfectly answer it. There they were however all this time; and it is particularly important with reference to Henry's administration to know when and under what circumstances they came back. For it was the most considerable move in the game, and was regarded by Bacon as the single exception to the good fortune of Henry's military enterprises; and one so little in keeping with the rest that he is obliged to impute it to an accident, for which through want of political foresight he had neglected to provide. French historians supply us with the true story, and show that this business was in fact no exception, but a striking illustration both of the qualities and the fortune which Bacon ascribes to him.

I have already explained that the expedition was planned with great deliberation, and formed part of a combined movement, in conjunction with Spain and Flanders, to arrest the French King's progress in the reduction of Brittany. In pursuance of this plan Spain threatened France in the south at Fontarabia; Maximilian, though hampered with troubles at home, contrived with Henry's assistance to effect an important diversion in the north; at the same time secretly and successfully pressing his suit for the young Duchess's hand; and the English forces in Brittany meanwhile, if they gained no

while the French King (consulting with his divines, and finding that this pretended consummation was rather an invention of court than any ways valid by the laws of the church,) went more really[1] to work; and by secret instruments and cunning agents, as well matrons about the young lady as counsellors, first sought to remove the point of religion and honour out of the mind of the lady herself; wherein there was a double labour; for Maximilian was not only contracted unto the lady, but Maximilian's daughter was likewise contracted to King Charles: so as the marriage halted upon both feet, and was not clear on either side. But for the contract with King Charles, the exception lay plain and fair; for that Maximilian's daughter was under years of consent, and so not bound by law;

brilliant successes over the French, yet effectually stopped their career of conquest: the result of all which was that Charles gave up the attempt to carry his ends that way. It has indeed been stated, not only by Polydore Vergil and those also who followed him, but by modern writers with better information, that Henry not only failed to give these forces due support and encouragement while they were there, but recalled them in less than six months, — that is before the stipulated time of service had expired. But this is surely a mistake, arising from some attempt to *combine* Bacon's narrative with the facts derived from Rymer's Fœdera and the Breton archives, instead of setting it aside altogether, as inconsistent with them and resting itself upon no better authority than Polydore's. The fact is that in the middle of August, 1489, which was the fifth month after their landing, Henry instead of recalling was reinforcing them. (See Rymer, xii. 337.; also Calendar of Patent Rolls, where we find commissions issued on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of August for the raising of a force "destined for Brittany;" and compare Lobineau, i. p. 805.); and (not to attempt to trace with exactness, the separate operations of the many causes which conspired to bring about the total result) the end of it all was that Charles consented soon after to make peace, on terms by no means disadvantageous to Brittany. By the treaty of Frankfort, concluded between him and Maximilian sometime in the autumn of 1489, it was agreed that Charles should restore to the Duchess all the towns which he had conquered since her father's death (except three or four which were to be held in trust by the Duke of Bourbon and the Prince of Orange until the differences should be amicably settled; for which purpose a congress was to be holden at Tournay in the following April); that he should in the meantime withdraw his troops out of Brittany, and that she should dismiss her foreign auxiliaries. "Et vuyderont" (says D'Argentré) les gens de guerre François de Bretagne, comme aussi la Duchesse feroit vuyder les Anglois." This treaty was accepted by the Duchess, according to Lobineau, in November, 1489; whereupon the English forces would of course be withdrawn, or if they remained it was only pending the payment of expenses.

We see therefore that there is no ground for regarding the issue of this enterprise as a thing requiring explanation or apology. If it did not aim to accomplish much, it is not the less characteristic of Henry on that account. What it did aim at it accomplished; and it does not appear to have been his fault if the winning of the move did not secure the game. The project of marriage between Maximilian and the Duchess was so far advanced that a commission for consummating it by proxy was issued (D'Argentré, xiii. 56.) on the 23rd of March, 1489 — that is, I presume, 1489-90, though it matters not to the present question to which year the date belongs — and had it been regularly completed, which might (it seems) have been done if Maximilian had not left it when it was all but done, Charles would apparently have been fairly checkmated. As it was, he was obliged to quit the attempt to possess himself of Brittany by force, and try it another way. In all respects therefore, the enterprise appears to have been planned with characteristic caution and concluded with characteristic success.

[1] *Magis solide.*

but a power of disagreement left to either part.[1] But for the contract made by Maximilian with the lady herself, they were harder driven: having nothing to allege, but that it was done without the consent of her sovereign lord King Charles, whose ward and client she was, and he to her in place of a father; and therefore it was void and of no force, for want of such consent. Which defect (they said) though it would not evacuate a marriage after cohabitation and actual consummation, yet it was enough to make void a contract. For as for the pretended consummation, they made sport with it, and said that it was an argument that Maximilian was a widower, and a cold wooer, that could content himself to be a bridegroom by deputy, and would not make a little journey to put all out of question. So that the young lady wrought upon by these reasons, finely instilled by such as the French King (who spared for no rewards or promises) had made on his side; and allured likewise by the present glory and greatness of King Charles (being also a young king and a bachelor); and loth to make her country the seat of a long and miserable war; secretly yielded to accept of King Charles. But during this secret treaty with the lady, the better to save it from blasts of opposition and interruption, King Charles resorting to his wonted arts, and thinking to carry the marriage as he had carried the wars, by entertaining the King of England in vain belief, sent a solemn ambassage[2]

[1] This clause is omitted in the translation.

[2] I have not succeeded in absolutely fixing the date of this embassy. But the circumstance which Polydore Vergil is least likely to have been mistaken in relating, and of which the date can be fixed with the nearest approach to certainty, appears to be this; that the ambassadors whom Henry despatched with the *answer* to this embassy, met on their way, at Calais, a legate of the Pope, who was on his way to England. And though Polydore says that the legate came from *Pope Alexander VI. who had just succeeded Pope Innocent* (in which case it must have been at least as late as August, 1492, after Charles and Anne were married and while England and France were at war) — yet I suppose it was more likely that he should have made a mistake as to the date of Pope Innocent's death than as to the circumstance of an accidental meeting at Calais between the ambassadors and a legate from the Pope.

Taking this then as a fixed point, the date of the "solemn ambassage" here mentioned may be set with some confidence in November or December, 1489. We know from the Herald's journal (Jul. xii. fo. 61. *b*) that during Christmas in that year there was in England "a great ambassade of France, that is to say *Francois Mons. de Luxembourgh*, Viscount of Geneve, and *the General of the order of the Trinity in France*; which on St. John's Day dined at the King's board:" — that "anon after" Candlemas Day (*i. e.* Feb. 2nd, 1489-90) ". . . the ambassadors of France had soon their answer, were right greatly and largely rewarded, and well conduct to the sea side by the King's almoner and Sir John Rysley, Knt.:" — that "soon after the King sent a great ambassage into France" (probably that of which the commission bears date 27th February; see Rymer), "that is to say, the Lord Privy Seal, Bishop of Exeter, the Earl of Ormond, the Queen's chamberlain, and the Prior of Christ Church of Canterbury:" — and that "after Mid-Lent ensuing" (Mid-Lent Sunday in 1590 fell on the 21st of March) "there came to

by Francis Lord of Luxemburgh, Charles Marignian, and Robert Gagvien, general of the order of the *bons-hommes* of the Trinity, to treat a peace and league with the King; accoupling it with an article in the nature of a request, that the French King might with the King's good will (according unto his right of seigniory and tutelage) dispose of the marriage of the young Duchess of Brittaine as he should think good, offering by a judicial proceeding to make void the marriage of Maximilian by proxy. Also all this while the better to amuse the world, he did continue in his court and custody the daughter of Maximilian, who formerly had been sent unto him to be bred and educated in France, not dismissing or renvoying her[1], but contrariwise professing and giving out strongly that he meant to proceed with that match; and that for the Duchess of Brittaine, he desired only to preserve his right of seigniory, and to give her in marriage to some such ally as might depend upon him.

When the three commissioners came to the court of England, they delivered their ambassage unto the King, who remitted them to his counsel; where some days after they had audience, and made their proposition by the Prior of the Trinity (who though he were third in place, yet was held the best speaker of them) to this effect:[2]

"My lords, the King our master, the greatest and mightiest King that reigned in France since Charles the great whose name he beareth, hath nevertheless thought it no disparagement to his greatness at this time to propound a peace, yea and to pray a peace, with the King of England For which purpose he hath sent us his commissioners, instructed and enabled with full and ample power to treat and conclude;

the King divers and many ambassadors, — that is to say, *a Legate from the Pope*," &c. Under these circumstances, the ambassadors on their way to Paris and the Pope's legate on his way to England would very likely meet at Calais.

It is true, on the other hand, that there is in Rymer a safe conduct for the three persons named by Bacon, dated the 10th of December, and entered as belonging to Henry's sixth year; which would be 1490; a date probable enough in itself.

[1] So ed. 1622. The MS. omits "her."

[2] *Is locutus esse perhibetur in hunc modum.* There is nothing in Polydore or Speed, nor I think in any of the English chroniclers who preceded Bacon, from which it can be gathered that the Prior was the spokesman. It may indeed be reasonably conjectured from the account which Bernard André gives of the matter (Cott. Domit. A. xviii. 193.) that it was so, and several of the particulars that follow may have been taken from this source. But there are several others which could not have been extracted either from Polydore or André, and which show that Bacon had some source of information independent of them. How much of what follows is derived from such a source, and how much is Bacon's own, it is impossible to know.

giving us further in charge to open in some other business the secrets of his own intentions. These be indeed the precious love tokens between great Kings, to communicate one with another the true state of their affairs, and to pass by nice points of honour, which ought not to give law unto affection.[1] This I do assure your lordships; it is not possible for you to imagine the true and cordial love that the King our master beareth to your sovereign, except you were near him as we are. He useth his name with so great respect, he remembereth their first acquaintance at Paris with so great contentment, nay he never speaks of him, but that presently he falls into discourse of the miseries of great Kings, in that they cannot converse with their equals, but with their[2] servants. This affection to your King's person and virtues God hath put into the heart of our master, no doubt for the good of Christendom, and for purposes yet unknown to us all; for other root it cannot have, since it was the same to the Earl of Richmond that it is now to the King of England. This is therefore the first motive that makes our King to desire peace and league with your sovereign; good affection, and somewhat that he finds in his own heart. This affection is also armed with reason of estate. For our King doth in all candour and frankness of dealing open himself unto you, that having an honourable, yea and holy[3] purpose, to make a voyage and war in remote parts, he considereth that it will be of no small effect in point of reputation to his enterprise, if it be known abroad that he is in good peace with all his neighbour princes, and specially with the King of England, whom for good causes he esteemeth most.

"But now my lords give me leave to use a few words, to remove all scruples and misunderstandings between your sovereign and ours, concerning some late actions; which if they be not cleared, may perhaps hinder this peace; to the end that for matters past neither King may conceive unkindness of other, nor think the other conceiveth unkindness of him. The late actions are two; that of Brittaine, and that of Flanders. In both which it is true that the subjects' swords of both Kings have encountered and stricken, and the

[1] *Quæ affectui alicui insigni postponi debent.*
[2] So MS. Ed. 1622 omits "their."
[3] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "a holy."

ways and inclinations also of the two Kings in respect of their confederates and allies have severed.

"For that of Brittaine; the King your sovereign knoweth best what hath passed. It was a war of necessity on our master's part. And though the motives of it were sharp and piquant as could be, yet did he make that war rather with an olive-branch than a laurel-branch in his hand; more desiring peace than victory.[1] Besides from time to time he sent as it were blank papers to your King to write the conditions of peace. For though both his honour and safety went upon it, yet he thought neither of them too precious to put into the King of England's hands. Neither doth our King on the other side make any unfriendly interpretation of your King's sending of succours to the Duke of Brittaine; for the King knoweth well that many things must be done of Kings for satisfaction of their people; and it is not hard to discern what is a King's own. But this matter of Brittaine is now by the act of God ended and passed; and, as the King hopeth, like the way of a ship in the sea, without leaving any impression in either of the Kings' minds; as he is sure for his part it hath not done in his.

"For the action of Flanders; as the former of Brittaine was a war of necessity, so this was a war of justice; which with a good King is of equal necessity with danger of estate; for else he should leave to be a King. The subjects of Burgundy[2] are subjects in chief to the crown of France, and their Duke the homager and vassal of France. They had wont to be good subjects, howsoever Maximilian hath of late distempered them. They fled to the King for justice and deliverance from oppression. Justice he could not deny; purchase[3] he did not seek. This was good for Maximilian if he could have seen it: in people mutined to arrest fury, and prevent despair. My lords, it may be this I have said is needless, save that the King our master is tender in any thing that may but

[1] This clause is omitted in the translation.

[2] *Subditi Burgundiæ:* meaning (it would seem) the Flemings. It was through his marriage with the heiress of Burgundy that they became Maximilian's subjects; and it was as subjects of Burgundy that the King of France claimed to be their lord in chief. In p. 147. the word "Flemings" in the English is rendered by *Burgundos* in the Latin.

[3] Meaning *profit*, the ordinary meaning of the word at that time. *Emolumentum aliquod sibi ipsi minime expetebat.*

glance upon the friendship of England. The amity between the two Kings no doubt stands entire and inviolate. And that their subjects' swords have clashed, it is nothing unto the public peace of the crowns; it being a thing very usual in auxiliary forces of the best and straitest confederates to meet and draw blood in the field. Nay many times there be aids of the same nation on both sides, and yet it is not for all that a kingdom divided in itself.

"It resteth my lords that I impart unto you a matter that I know your lordships all will much rejoice to hear; as that which importeth the Christian commonweal more than any action that hath happened of long time.[1] The King our master hath a purpose and determination to make war upon the kingdom of Naples, being now in the possession of a bastard slip of Arragon; but appertaining unto his majesty by clear and undoubted right; which if he should not by just arms seek to recover, he could neither acquit his honour nor answer it to his people. But his noble and christian thoughts rest not here: for his resolution and hope is[2], to make the reconquest of Naples but as a bridge to transport his forces into Grecia, and not to spare blood or treasure (if it were to the impawning his crown and dispeopling of France) till either he hath overthrown the empire of the Ottomans, or taken it in his way to paradise. The King knoweth well that this is a design that could not arise in the mind of any King that did not steadfastly look up unto God, whose quarrel this is, and from whom cometh both the will and the deed. But yet it is agreeable to the person that he beareth (though unworthy) of the Thrice Christian King, and the eldest son of the church; whereunto he is also invited by the example (in more ancient time) of King Henry the Fourth of England, (the first renowned King of the House of Lancaster; ancestor though not progenitor[3] to your King;) who had a purpose towards the end of his time (as you know better) to make an expedition into the Holy-land; and by the example also (present before his eyes) of that honourable and religious war which the King of Spain now maketh and hath almost brought to per-

[1] *Post nostram memoriam.*

[2] *Spe enim haud levi non inflatur quidem sed fulcitur.*

[3] *Ancestor* seems to be used here simply in the sense of *predecessor*; by which word it is translated in the Latin. *Prædecessor quidem licet non progenitor regis vestri.*

fection, for the recovery of the realm of Granada from the Moors. And although this enterprise may seem vast and unmeasured, for the King to attempt that by his own forces, wherein (heretofore) a conjunction of most of the Christian Princes hath found work enough[1]; yet his Majesty wisely considereth, that sometimes smaller forces being united under one command are more effectual in proof (though not so promising in opinion and fame) than much greater forces variously compounded by associations and leagues, which commonly in a short time after their beginnings turn to dissociations and divisions. But my lords that which is as a voice from heaven that calleth the King to this enterprise, is a rent at this time in the house of the Ottomans. I do not say but there hath been brother against brother in that house before[2], but never any that had refuge to the arms of the Christians, as now hath Gemes[3] (brother under Bajazet that reigneth,) the far braver man of the two; the other being between a monk and a philosopher; and better read in the Alcoran and Averroes, than able wield the sceptre of so warlike an empire. This therefore is the King our master's memorable and heroical resolution for an holy war. And because he carrieth in this the person of a Christian soldier as well as of a great temporal monarch, he beginneth with humility; and is content for this cause to beg peace at the hands of other Christian Kings.

"There remaineth only rather a civil request than any essential part of our negotiation, which the King maketh to the King your sovereign. The King (as all the world knoweth) is lord in chief of the duchy of Brittaine. The marriage of the heir belongeth to him as guardian. This is a private patrimonial right, and no business of estate. Yet nevertheless (to run a fair course with your King, whom he desires to make another himself, and to be one and the same thing with him,) his request is, that with the King's favour and consent he may dispose of her marriage as he thinketh good, and make void the intruded and pretended marriage of Maximilian, according to justice.

[1] *Non sine magnis doloribus et diuturno bello olim confecerunt.*

[2] *Quin frater contra fratrem antehac in illa familia arma sumpserit et de imperio decertârit.*

[3] So the ed. of 1622 and the Latin translation. The MS. has *Gemmim.*

"This, my lords, is all that I have to say, desiring your pardon for my weakness in the delivery."

Thus did the French ambassadors, with great [1] shew of their King's affection and many sugared words, seek to addulce all matters between the two Kings; having two things for their ends; the one to keep the King quiet till the marriage of Brittaine was past (and this was but a summer fruit, which they thought was almost ripe, and would be soon gathered): The other was more lasting; and that was to put him into such a temper, as he might be no disturbance or impediment to the voyage for Italy.

The lords of the counsel were silent, and said only that they knew the ambassadors would look for no answer till they had reported to the King. And so they rose from counsel.

The King could not well tell what to think of the marriage of Brittaine. He saw plainly the ambition of the French King was to impatronise himself of the duchy; but he wondered he would bring into his house a litigious marriage, especially considering who was his successor. But weighing one thing with another, he gave Brittaine for lost [2]; but re-

[1] So ed. 1622. The MS. omits "great." The translation is a little fuller: *verbis suavissimis et plane mellitis regis sui propensionem in Henricum regem repræsentare, et aspera quæque inter reges duos lenire et dulcorare conati sunt.*"

[2] If this negotiation took place in the winter of 1489–90, and the French ambassadors had their answer "anon after Candlemas Day," three months had not yet passed since the treaty of Frankfort; by which it had been agreed that hostilities should cease; forces be withdrawn; and the question at issue between France and Brittany referred to a congress at Tournay, to be held in the following April. And though it is said that Charles had *not* withdrawn his forces and that the preliminary preparations for the proposed congress were not proceeding; yet I do not find that he at this time meditated the renewal of hostilities, or that the case of Britanny was, outwardly at least, more desperate than in the preceding November. It seems early, therefore, for Henry to "give it for lost." Whether Bacon had sufficient grounds for the conclusion we cannot tell, without knowing what information he had about these negotiations (for it is clear from the many little particulars which he adds that he had some) besides what he found in Polydore. It is certainly possible that, even in February, 1489–90, Henry saw so far into Charles's design, and thought it so likely that the Duchess would end the quarrel by marrying him, that (in that sense) he did begin to "give Brittany for lost," and resolved not to entangle himself further in a fruitless quarrel. And if Bacon had any *positive* ground for the assertion, it is in that sense it must be understood. If however it was only an *inference* from what went before and followed (which is perhaps more likely) it must be remembered that Bacon was proceeding upon false grounds. He was going upon the supposition that the French had had their own way in Brittany, without any effectual check, since the battle of St. Aubin. He knew nothing of the events of 1489, or of the treaty of Frankfort; of which not the slightest hint is to be found in any of our old historians. And believing (what may after all be true) that the negotiation he was speaking of took place in the spring of 1491, he was endeavouring to conceive the case as it would have been then. By that time Henry might very well have perceived that there was no prospect of preserving the independence of Brittany but by a greater war than it was worth. And the obvious inadequacy and ineffectiveness of the measures which he took, if that were his object,

solved to make his profit of this business of Brittaine, as a quarrel for war; and of that of Naples, as a wrench and mean for peace; being well advertised how strongly the King was bent upon that action. Having therefore conferred divers times with his counsel, and keeping himself somewhat close, he gave a direction to the Chancellor for a formal answer to the

coupled with their singular efficacy and success, if money was his object, may have suggested to Bacon this explanation of his motives.

The main fact however, — viz. that Henry met this conciliatory move on the part of Charles with some extravagant demand which induced a breach, — is distinctly stated by Bernard André (*tandem inter eos decretum est ut si tributum non solverent bellum in eos brevi strueretur;*) and may indeed be gathered from Polydore's narrative, though he put a different construction upon it. "*Angli enim legati* (he says) *ut pauca tandem quæ cupiebant assequerentur, permulta postulabant: Franci autem, ut nihil in fine concederent, omnia repudiabant, stomachabantur, pernegabant,*" &c. Polydore took it for a case of ordinary higgling; one party hoping to get as much as he wanted by beginning with a demand for more, — the other making the extravagance of the first demand a pretence for refusing all. But this is merely a speculation — Polydore's way of accounting for what he supposed to be Henry's disappointment. With this we need not trouble ourselves. He seems to have been a mere scholar, without any historical faculty except that of concise and fluent narrative; his selection of circumstances is guided by no insight into the meaning of the thing; and the general reflexions in which he now and then indulges are mere moral commonplaces. In a case like this however, the very shallowness of his interpretation is an argument for accepting his evidence as to the fact; viz. that Henry's demands were unreasonable, and that Charles refused to entertain them. Indeed there is other evidence to show that early in 1590 Henry, whatever his motive may have been, had in fact made up his mind to break with Charles, and was taking his measures with that view. On the 15th of February the Duchess of Brittany engaged, among other things, not to marry nor to make war or peace without his consent. In the course of the summer, besides sending a new army to her assistance (see a number of entries in an account of "payments made at the King's receipt," between Whitsuntide and Michaelmas, 1490; Chapter House Records, A. 3. 19. pp. 77–95., Rolls house), he had concluded treaties with Ferdinand and Maximilian, by which each of the three powers was bound under certain contingencies to join the others in an invasive war against Charles. See Rymer. It appears also from the Calendar of Patent Rolls that during all this spring and summer he was looking carefully to his own coasts and borders, as if the war might be brought to his own doors at any moment. On the 20th of May the Earl of Surrey was appointed warden-general of the marches of England towards Scotland, with full power to array and muster the men of Northumberland, and to treat with agents of the Scotch King. On the 22nd he was directed to publish a proclamation ordering home all the idle and vagrant Scots that had overrun the country. On the 26th a commission of survey and array was sent to the noblemen and gentlemen of Kent, with special injunction "to place beacons for forewarning the people of the advent of the King's enemies." Similar commissions were issued from time to time during June, July, and August, to the other counties on the southern, and southern part of the eastern, coast. On the 8th of July a writ was issued for the impressment of twenty-four gunners for the defence of the town of Calais. Interspersed among these are several commissions (the earliest dated May 22, the latest July 17) in which mention is made of ships proceeding to sea "in resistance of the King's enemies there congregating." One of the 20th of June speaks of "*the present voyage to Brittany.*" And on the 17th of September following, public proclamation was directed to be made in all the counties of England of the confederation above mentioned between the King of England, the King of the Romans, and the King and Queen of Spain, "to make actual war against Charles the French King, if he invade them or the Duchess of Brittany."

It is possible however that the precautions taken for the security of the English coasts had reference to Perkin Warbeck, who was now beginning to stir, rather than to any apprehension of a French invasion.

ambassadors; and that he did in the presence of his counsel. And after, calling the Chancellor to him apart, had him speak in such language as was fit for a treaty that was to end in a breach; and gave him also a special caveat, that he should not use any words to discourage the voyage of Italy. Soon after the ambassadors were sent for to the counsel, and the Lord Chancellor spake to them in this sort:[1]

"My lords ambassadors, I shall make answer by the King's commandment unto the eloquent declaration of you my lord Prior, in a brief and plain manner. The King forgetteth not his former love and acquaintance with the King your master. But of this there needeth no repetition; for if it be between them as it was, it is well; if there be any alteration, it is not words will[2] make it up. For the business of Brittaine, the King findeth it a little strange that the French King maketh mention of it as matter of well deserving at his hand. For that deserving was no more but to make him his instrument to surprise one of his best confederates. And for the marriage, the King would not meddle in it, if your master would marry by the book[3], and not by the sword. For that of Flanders, if the subjects of Burgundy had appealed to your King as their chief lord, at first[4], by way of supplication, it might have had a shew of justice. But it was a new form of process, for subjects to imprison their prince first, and to slay his officers, and then to be complainants. The King saith that sure he is, when the French King and himself sent to the subjects of Scotland (that had taken arms against their King), they both spake in another stile, and did in princely manner signify their detestation of popular attentates upon the person or authority Princes. But, my lords ambassadors, the King leaveth these two actions thus. That on the one side he hath not received any manner of satisfaction from you concerning them; and on the other, that he doth not apprehend them so deeply, as in respect of them to refuse to treat of peace, if other things may go hand in hand. As for the war of Naples and the design against the Turk; the King

[1] *In hunc modum locutus fertur.* [2] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "that will."

[3] *Liturgid.* This must not be understood as referring to the French King's intention to marry the Duchess himself, for that was not yet in question; but to the right which he claimed of disposing of her in marriage.

[4] *i. e.* had begun by appealing, &c. *Si Burgundiæ subditi a principio per viam supplicationis vestrum regem appellassent ut dominum supremum.*

hath commanded me expressly to say, that he doth wish with all his heart to his good brother the French King, that his fortunes may succeed according to his hopes and honourable intentions: and whensoever he shall hear that he is prepared for Grecia, — as your master is pleased now to say that he beggeth a peace of the King, so the King then will beg of him a part in that war. But now, my lords ambassadors, I am to propound unto you somewhat on the King's part. The King your master hath taught our King what to say and demand. You say (my lord Prior) that your King is resolved to recover his right to Naples, wrongfully detained from him; and that if he should not thus do, he could not acquit his honour, nor answer it to his people. Think my lords that the King our master saith the same thing over again to you, touching Normandy, Guienne, Anjou; yea and the kingdom of France itself. I cannot express it better than in your own words. If therefore the French King shall consent that the King our master's title to France (or least tribute for the same) be handled in the treaty, the King is content to go on with the rest, otherwise he refuseth to treat."

The ambassadors being somewhat abashed with this demand, answered in some heat, that they doubted not but that the King their sovereign's sword would be able to maintain his sceptre; and they assured themselves he neither could nor would yield to any diminution of the crown of France, either in territory or regality. But howsoever, they were too great matters for them to speak of, having no commission. It was replied that the King looked for no other answer from them, but would forthwith send his own ambassadors to the French King. There was a question also asked at the table[1]: Whether the French King would agree to have the disposing of the marriage of Brittaine, with an exception and exclusion that he should not marry her himself? To which the ambassadors answered, that it was so far out of their King's thoughts as they had received no instructions touching the same. Thus were the ambassadors dismissed, all save the Prior; and were followed immediately by Thomas Earl of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenston Prior of Christ-Church in Canterbury, who were presently sent over into France. In the mean space Lionel

[1] *Injecta autem tanquam obiter est questio a quibusdam ex consiliariis.*

Bishop of Concordia was sent as nuncio from Pope Alexander the Sixth[1] to both Kings, to move a peace between them. For Pope Alexander, finding himself pent and locked up by a league and association of the principal states of Italy, that he could not make his way for the advancement of his own house (which he immoderately thirsted after), was desirous to trouble the waters in Italy, that he might fish the better; casting the net not out of St. Peter's, but out of Borgia's bark. And doubting lest the fears from England might stay the French King's voyage into Italy, dispatched this bishop to compose all matters between the two Kings, if he could: who first repaired to the French King, and finding him well inclined (as he conceived), took on his journey towards England, and found the English ambassadors at Calais on their way towards the French King. After some conference with them, he was in honourable manner transported over into England, where he had audience of the King. But notwithstanding he had a good ominous name to have made a peace, nothing followed. For in the mean time the purpose of the French King to marry the Duchess could be no longer dissembled. Wherefore the English ambassadors (finding how things went) took their leave and returned. And the Prior also was warned from hence, to depart out of England. Who when he turned his back, (more like a pedant than an ambassador) dispersed a bitter libel in Latin verse[2] against the

[1] So Polydore; who adds, "*qui Innocentio paullo ante mortuo successerat.*" But Pope Innocent died on the 25th of July, 1492. Pope Alexander was elected on the 11th, and crowned on the 26th, of the following month. Now Charles VIII. had been married to the Duchess of Brittany in the preceding December; and on the 9th of September immediately following, Henry was on his way to France at the head of an invading army. Therefore if any legate from *Pope Alexander* met at Calais any ambassadors from Henry VII., it must have been those who were arranging the treaty of Estaples, and not those who are spoken of here. But there can be little doubt that the mistake is only as to the Pope, and that some such conference did take place between the legate from *Pope Innocent*, who arrived in England soon after Mid-Lent in 1490, and the ambassadors who were on their way from London to Paris in the beginning of March. See note 2. p. 103.

[2] Bernard André (who seems to be the authority for this) quotes only the first line of Gaguin's poem. Several pens seem to have flown into the ink to answer him; and if the report of the answerers may be trusted, his discomfiture was complete.

There is in the British Museum a little book (*Disceptatio R. Gaguin et J. Phinipheligi super raptu Ducissæ Britannicæ*, 4to. 1492) containing a war of the same kind in verse and prose between the same Prior and one of Maximilian's chief counsellors, relating to the next stage in this same transaction, — the French King's marriage to Maximilian's bride. One of them, I forget which, commences the war with a Sapphic ode, clenched with a page or two of invective in Latin prose. The other answers in the same form and strain. Both write vigorously, and seem quite in earnest.

King; unto which the King (though he had nothing of a pedant) yet was content to cause an answer to be made in like verse; and that as speaking in his own person; but in a stile of scorn and sport.[1]

About this time also was born the King's second son Henry[2], who afterwards reigned. And soon after followed the solemnisation of the marriage between Charles and Anne Duchess of Brittaine[3], with whom he received the duchy of Brittaine as her dowry; the daughter of Maximilian being a little before sent home. Which when it came to the ears of Maximilian (who would never believe it till it was done, being ever the principal in deceiving himself; though in this the French King did very handsomely second it) and tumbling it over and over in his thoughts, that he should at one blow (with such a double scorn) be defeated both of the marriage of his daughter and his own (upon both which he had fixed high imaginations), he lost all patience; and casting off the respects fit to be continued between great Kings (even when their blood is hottest and most risen), fell to bitter invectives against the person and actions of the French King; and (by how much he was the less able to do, talking so much the more) spake all the injuries he could devise of Charles; saying that he was the most perfidious man upon the earth; and that he had made a marriage compounded between an advoultry and a rape; which was done (he said) by the just judgment of God to the end that (the nullity thereof being so apparent to all the world) the race of so unworthy a person might not reign in France. And forthwith he sent ambassadors[4]

[1] *Magno tamen cum vilipendio Prioris, cujus genio et petulantia tanquam facetiis scurræ se oblectabat.*

[2] He was born (according to Stowe) on the 22nd of June, 1491: which shows that Bacon supposed these negotiations to have taken place in the spring of that year; not the spring of 1490, which is the true date.

[3] They were married at the castle of Langeais, in Touraine, on the 6th of December, 1491. Daru, vol. iii. p. 175.

[4] The correction of one material date generally makes it necessary to readjust all the rest. Bacon, supposing that Henry's final breach with France was not till the spring or summer of 1491, and that the marriage of Charles and Anne followed soon after, took this embassy of Maximilian's for the next act; following immediately upon the marriage. But when we find that between the breach and the marriage there was an interval of at least a year and a half, the question arises what were Henry and Maximilian doing all that time? or how came they to let Charles pursue his designs upon the Duchess so long unmolested? Upon closer examination, with the help of Rymer and other modern lights, it will appear I think that the story requires a good deal of correction. And Polydore Vergil's narrative supplies — not indeed the true story — but a hint from which the true story may be collected. He says that Maximilian, when his daughter (who was betrothed to Charles) was sent back to him, began to suspect Charles's design upon the Duchess; — that thereupon he sent one

as well to the King of England as to the King of Spain, to incite them to war and to treat a league offensive against France.

James Contibald to Henry, to propose that they should join their forces against Charles; himself engaging to contribute not less than 10,000 men for two years, and as soon as he should be ready for the war to let Henry know, giving him six months for preparation: — that Henry, who felt that the case of Brittany would not bear any longer delay, and who was already of his own motion raising forces for her defence, was delighted with this message, and promised that Maximilian should not find him unprepared: — that in the mean time (that is, as I understand it, while the arrangement between Henry and Maximilian stood thus), Charles married Anne and so carried off Duchy and Duchess together: — that Maximilian, as soon as the first burst of his rage was over, concluding that something must be done for the reparation of his honour, warned Henry to prepare for war with France with all speed, for he should soon be ready: — that Henry, in reliance upon this promise, immediately levied a great army and sent word that he was ready and would put to sea as soon as he heard that Maximilian was ready too: — that his messengers found Maximilian totally unprepared: — that their report to that effect, being quite unexpected, threw him into great perplexity, for he feared that the war would be too much for him if he undertook it alone, and that the people would reproach and calumniate him if he declined it: — but that weighing the honour against the danger, he resolved for honour; made up his mind to attack France single-handed; raised fresh forces, and keeping Maximilian's defection a secret from his troops lest it should dispirit them, set out for Calais (for at last we come to a date) *VIII. Iduum Septembris*, — the 6th of September.

Now since there is no hint here of any concurrent embassy to *Spain*, we may very well suppose that Contibald's business was not the negotiation of that triple league between Maximilian, Henry, and Ferdinand, which held so important a place in Henry's policy; but some separate arrangement in which Maximilian and Henry were concerned alone. And since it is represented as occurring certainly *before* the marriage, and may for anything that is said to the contrary have occurred a good while before, — if we find traces of any such arrangement at any time within the preceding half year, and the circumstances seem otherwise to suit, we need not reject it on account of the date. Now such a separate arrangement was (it seems) concluded between Henry and Maximilian about the end of May, 1491; and this I suspect was really the business of the mission which Polydore speaks of; though Polydore, mistaking the date, connected and confounded it with other matters of like nature that happened after.

The arrangement to which I allude (my information comes chiefly from Lobineau, i. p. 813, 4, who seems to have studied D'Argentré carefully) appears to have been no part of the great convention between Maximilian, Henry, and Ferdinand, for a joint invasion of France; which was in force indeed at the time, but did not provide for such speedy action as the present accident seemed to require. That convention had been concluded in September, 1490; a date considerably earlier than Bacon would have assigned, but agreeing perfectly well with his theory of Henry's policy; for it would seem from that that Henry had taken care, *before* he finally broke with France, to provide himself with those occasions, first for making the show of war and then for accepting terms of peace, which Bacon detected in the broad outlines of the case, through all Polydore's errors of detail. Already it seems he had engaged Maximilian and Ferdinand to take their part in a combined movement against Charles; which if they performed, he would have power to command what terms of peace he pleased; if not, he would have a fair excuse for accepting such terms as he could get. The seed thus timely sown came prosperously to harvest at last in the treaty of Estaples, as we shall see; but that was not till the end of 1492.

Charles in the mean time, unwilling to provoke a combined attack from so formidable a confederacy, forbore to renew his suspended hostilities against Brittany, and applied himself entirely to win the Duchess by peaceful arts from her engagement to Maximilian. The Duchess however, encouraged no doubt by these great alliances, stood well out against his suit; and at length (by way perhaps of ending it at once) assumed publicly the title of Queen of the Romans. This was in March, 1490–1, at which time D'Argentré (xiii. 57.) supposes Charles to have just discovered the marriage. So decisive a step stirred him to take stronger measures, and at the same time gave him an ally in D'Albret, an old aspirant to the Duchess's hand whose hopes it extinguished. By this man's means he made himself master of the important town

promising to concur with great forces of his own. Hereupon the King of England (going nevertheless his own way) called a Parliament, it being the seventh year of his reign[1]; and

of Nantes; a town which in the beginning of the war, it will be remembered, he had attempted in vain to take; which in the summer of 1490 he had again (it would seem) invested (see Rymer, 12 June, 1490); and which was now on the 19th of February, 1490–1, delivered into the hands of the French. Charles himself entered it on the *4th of April*, 1491. Upon the news of this, Maximilian, alarmed and roused in his turn, got his father the Emperor to call a Diet (une Diette des Estates d'Allemagne), who voted him a force of 12,000 lanzknechts. They were to be sent to the succour of the Duchess in August, and *to be joined by* 6000 *English*. This I take to have been the occasion and business of the mission of which Polydore speaks. And since it is certain that ambassadors were despatched from Brittany on the 24th of May, 1491, as from the King and Queen of the Romans, to solicit succour from Henry; and that James Contibald (or Gondebault) was in England about the same time negotiating on the part of Maximilian concerning the repayment of expences incurred in the affairs of Brittany; that would seem to be the most probable date of it: a date of some consequence in connexion with Henry's next proceeding; concerning which I have a doubt to raise and settle.

The arrangement, whatever it was, was ineffectual. It is said that some succours were sent from England (forces were certainly *raised* there in April and May, 1491; see Cal. Pat. Rolls, pp. 37. 63. 71. 70.), but not enough to do any good by themselves; that for Maximilian's lanzknechts, Charles strengthened his frontiers against their passage and kept them from joining, while he proceeded to take Guincamp; and that the Duchess, seeing her towns going and no succour coming, and that whether she made her appeal against Charles to arms or to arbitration, he was obviously in a condition to defeat her either way,—at length despaired of resistance, and consented to compound the quarrel by becoming Queen of France and merging her duchy in her crown.

[1] The only Parliament that was held in Henry's seventh year met on the 17th October, 1491. It could not therefore have been called in consequence of the marriage, which had not yet taken place. This however, considering the doubt and confusion in which all the events and dates of these transactions are involved, would be of no great consequence. The intentions of the French King to possess himself of Brittany by one means or another must have been sufficiently known before October, and would be ground enough for calling a war-parliament.

But there is another difficulty which is not so easily explained. Nothing can be more distinct and positive than Polydore Vergil's statement that the exaction of the *benevolence* was subsequent to the meeting of this assembly, and in fact sanctioned by it. "Convocato principum concilio, primum exponit causas belli sumendi contra Francos; *deinde eos poscit pro bello pecuniam*. Causas belli cuncti generatim probant, *suamque operam pro se quisque offert*. Rex, collaudatâ suorum virtute, ut populus tributo non gravaretur, cui gratificandum existimabat, voluit molliter ac leniter pecuniam a locupletioribus *per benevolentiam* exigere. Fuit id exactionis genus," &c. Of which the corresponding passage in Stowe may serve for a translation. He "called a Parliament, and therein declared that he was justly provoked to make war against the Frenchmen, *and therefore desired them of their benevolence of money* and men towards the maintenance thereof. Every man allowed the cause to be just, and *promised his helping hand*. And to the intent he might spare the poorer sort he thought good first to exact money of the richest sort *by way of a benevolence*, which kind of levying of money was first practised," &c. Nothing on the other hand can be more certain than that the commissions for the benevolence were issued more than three months before the Parliament met; and that the supplies which were voted by the Parliament when it did meet were not in the form of a benevolence, but an ordinary tax of two fifteenths and tenths. We have here therefore a substantial inaccuracy of some kind, which cannot be set right by shifting a date or correcting a careless expression. The revival of this exaction was an important matter. Polydore's next words show that he knew what it meant; and he could not have overlooked the importance of the question whether it was done before or after a Parliament,—with or without a Parliamentary sanction.

I am persuaded that the error lies deeper; that, as the case was nearly the same as

the first day of opening thereof (sitting under his cloth of estate) spake himself unto his Lords and Commons in this manner.

that of 1488, so the error is exactly the same as that which I have pointed out in note 5. p. 74. I am persuaded that Polydore, on this as on that occasion, mistook a *Great Council* for a Parliament; that Henry, on this occasion as on that, before he called a regular Parliament took the precaution of calling one of these quasi-parliaments; with a view partly to ascertain the sense of the people and partly to engage them in the cause before he engaged himself: and that it was to a Great Council held in June, 1491, or thereabouts, that he now declared his intention to invade France, at the same time asking their advice as to the raising of supplies.

For the grounds of this conclusion and for an answer to objections, I must again refer to the appendix. If I am right, the fact and the date will be found to be of some value, both as clearing the narrative and as illustrating Henry's character and policy. It will be seen that when the French King took possession of Nantes and was obviously proceeding to absorb Brittany either by arms or by marriage or by arbitration; and when Maximilian was about to raise a force of 12,000 men to oppose him, and called upon Henry to join; which was as I suppose in April or May, 1491; Henry had a good case to go to his people with. Having first therefore spread an alarm of French invasion (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 5 May, p. 71.), and made some stir of warlike preparation to warm the blood and feel the pulse of the people, he proceeded in the same course which had succeeded so well in 1488; and immediately summoned — not his Parliament, which could not perhaps have been assembled so expeditiously as the time required — but a Great Council, which he could make as fair a representative of a Parliament as he pleased, and which, though it had no power to make laws or impose taxes, yet served very well both to express and react upon the public opinion of the time. Finding them in an apt humour, and having all his precautions ready taken, he boldly announced his intention of making an invasive war upon France, and thereupon (pretending probably the urgency of the occasion, which could not wait for the ordinary course,) obtained their advice and consent (which though it carried no legal authority would in a popular cause carry authority enough for the purpose) to send out commissioners to levy a "benevolence." A commission "de subsidio requirendo pro viagio Franciæ" was accordingly issued (7th July, 1491); by which, after a preamble declaring the grounds of the intended war, which it represents as undertaken, not "de advisamento concilii nostri," but "ad instantiam et specialem requisitionem tam dominorum spiritualium et temporalium *quam aliorum nobilium*," the requisite authority was conveyed to a number of persons, each to act within a specified county. But as these Great Councils could only give advice and such authority as the opinion and personal influence of the members carried with it, Henry seems to have used them only as preparatory to regular Parliaments. A regular Parliament was accordingly summoned shortly after, which (in consideration probably of the succours to Brittany, upon which the benevolence money must have been partly consumed, and also of its more distressed state and more imminent danger), voted fresh supplies, but to be raised by ordinary taxation; and passed the laws which were convenient for a state of war.

If we suppose therefore the speech which follows to have been addressed to a Great Council in June, 1491; the benevolence to have been levied, with their advice, in July and August; some succours to have been sent to Brittany about the same time; and the Parliament to have met on the 17th of October; we shall have supplied all the correction which (so far as I know) Bacon's narrative requires; and we shall find that his interpretation of Henry's views and policy and character is illustrated and confirmed by the change.

It may be worth mentioning, as a confirmation of this conjecture, that whereas Bacon expressly represents the King as making the declaration in person, it does not appear from the Parliament Rolls that he did open in person the session of October, 1491. Bacon is not likely, I think, to have stated it so expressly, if it were only an inference from Polydore's expression "exponit causas," &c. It is more likely that he had some fuller account of the speech itself. And it need not be thought that the same account would have enabled him to correct the error. It may on the contrary have authorised and established it. Of such a declaration as this there would no doubt at the time be many copies or abstracts circulated. At the time, "His

"My Lords and you the Commons; when I purposed to make a war in Brittaine by my lieutenant, I made declaration thereof to you by my Chancellor. But now that I mean to make a war upon France in person, I will declare it to you myself. That war was to defend another man's right, but this is to recover our own; and that ended by accident, but we hope this shall end in victory.

"The French King troubles the Christian world. That which he hath is not his own, and yet he seeketh more. He hath invested himself of Brittaine.[1] He maintaineth the rebels in Flanders: and he threateneth Italy. For ourselves, he hath proceeded from dissimulation to neglect, and from neglect to contumely. He hath assailed our confederates: he denieth our tribute: in a word, he seeks war. So did not his father; but sought peace at our hands; and so perhaps will he, when good counsel or time shall make him see as much as his father did.

"Meanwhile, let us make his ambition our advantage, and let us not stand upon a few crowns of tribute or acknowledgement, but by the favour of Almighty God try our right for the crown of France itself; remembering that there hath been a French King prisoner in England, and a King of England crowned in France. Our confederates are not diminished. Burgundy is in a mightier hand than ever, and never more provoked. Brittaine cannot help us, but it may hurt them. New acquests are more burden than strength. The malcontents of his own kingdom have not been base populace[2] nor titulary impostors; but of an higher nature. The King of Spain (doubt ye not) will join with us, not knowing where the French King's ambition will stay. Our holy father (the Pope) likes no Tramontanes in Italy. But howsoever it be, this matter of confederates is rather to be thought on than

Majesty's Speech" would be description quite sufficient. One of these happened perhaps to be preserved. A collector coming into possession of it, and wanting to know in what department of his collection it should be put, fixed the year at once from the circumstances. It was plainly a declaration of war with France, about the time when Brittany was absorbed into the French monarchy. Then he turned to his Polydore, or Hall, or Holinshed, or Stowe, found this passage, and wrote on the back "The Speech of K. Henry 7, at the opening of the Parliament in 1491;" which would seem to be authority sufficient for stating that Henry opened the session in person.

[1] So Ed. 1622. The MS. has "he hath invested Brittaine."

[2] The Ed. of 1622 has "base, popular." In the MS. it seems to have been first written "populare," but the *r* has plainly been corrected into a *c*.

reckoned on; for God forbid but England should be able to get reason of France without a second.

"At the battles of Cressy, Poictiers, Agent-Court, we were of ourselves. France hath much people, and few soldiers: they have no stable bands of foot. Some good horse they have, but those are forces which are least fit for a defensive war, where the actions are in the assailant's choice. It was our discords only that lost France; and (by the power of God) it is the good peace which we now enjoy that will recover it. God hath hitherto blessed my sword. I have in this time that I have reigned, weeded out my bad subjects, and tried my good. My people and I know one another; which breeds confidence. And if there should be any bad blood left in the kingdom, an honourable foreign war will vent it or purify it. In this great business let me have your advice and aid. If any of you were to make his son knight, you might have aid of your tenants by law. This concerns the knighthood and spurs of the kingdom, whereof I am father; and bound not only to seek to maintain it, but to advance it. But for matter of treasure let it not be taken from the poorest sort, but from those to whom the benefit of the war may redound. France is no wilderness, and I that profess good husbandry hope to make the war (after the beginnings) to pay itself. Go together in God's name, and lose no time, for I have called this Parliament wholly for this cause."

Thus spake the King. But for all this, though he shewed great forwardness for a war, not only to his Parliament and court, but to his privy counsel likewise (except the two bishops and a few more), yet nevertheless in his secret intentions he had no purpose to go through with any war upon France. But the truth was, that he did but traffic with that war, to make his return in money. He knew well that France was now entire and at unity with itself, and never so mighty many years before. He saw by the taste he[1] had of his forces sent into Brittaine that the French knew well enough how to make war with the English; by not putting things to the hazard of a battle, but wearying[2] them by long sieges of towns, and strong fortified encampings. James the Third of Scotland, his true friend and confederate, gone; and James the Fourth (that had succeeded) wholly at the devotion of France, and ill-affected

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "that he." [2] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "wearing."

towards him. As for the conjunctions of Ferdinando of Spain and Maximilian, he could make no foundation upon them. For the one had power and not will; and the other had will and not power. Besides that Ferdinando had but newly taken breath from the war with the Moors; and merchanded at this time with France for the restoring of the counties of Russignon and Perpignian, oppignorated to the French. Neither was he out of fear of the discontents and ill blood within the realm; which having used always to repress and appease in person, he was loth they should find him at a distance beyond sea, and engaged in war. Finding therefore the inconveniencies and difficulties in the prosecution of a war, he cast with himself how to compass two things. The one, how by the declaration and inchoation of a war to make his profit. The other, how to come off from the war with saving of his honour. For profit, it was to be made two ways; upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace; like a good merchant, that maketh his gain both upon the commodities exported and imported back again. For the point of honour, wherein he might suffer for giving over the war, he considered well, that as he could not trust upon the aids of Ferdinando and Maximilian for supports of war, so the impuissance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay fair for him for occasions[1] to accept of peace.

These things he did wisely foresee, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his lap as he desired.

For as for the Parliament, it presently took fire, being affectionate (of old) to the war of France, and desirous (afresh) to repair the dishonour they thought the King sustained by the loss of Brittaine. Therefore they advised the King (with great alacrity) to undertake the war of France. And although the Parliament consisted of the first and second nobility (together with principal citizens and townsmen)[2], yet worthily and justly respecting more the people (whose deputies they were) than their own private persons; and finding, by the Lord Chancellor's

[1] *i. e.* pretexts. *Semper præsto habiturus esset ad pacem excusandam.*

[2] With reference to the question whether this was a Parliament or a Great Council, it may be worth while to compare with this description of it two independent descriptions of what was certainly a Great Council, in the year 1496. "In this yere (says an old city chronicler, Cott. Vitell. A. xvi. p. 161.) the 24th day of Octobre beganne a great counsaill holden at Westmynster by the Kyng and his lords spiritual and temporal, to the which counsaill come certeyn burgesses and merchants of all cities and good townes of England," &c. And in an original privy seal of Hen. VII. (Cott. Tit. B. v. p. 145.), the same council is described as "o^r grete counseill of lords

speech [1], the King's inclination that way; they consented that commissioners should go forth for the gathering and levying of a Benevolence from the more able sort. This tax (called a Benevolence) was devised by Edward the Fourth, for which he sustained much envy. It was abolished by Richard the Third by act of Parliament, to ingratiate himself with the people; and it was now revived by the King; but with consent of Parliament [2]; for so it was not in the time of King Edward the Fourth. But by this way he raised exceeding great sums. Insomuch as the city of London (in those days) [3] contributed nine thousand pounds and better; and that chiefly levied upon the wealthier sort. There is a tradition of a *dilemma* that Bishop Morton (the Chancellor) used, to raise up the Benevolence to higher rates; and some called it his fork, and some his crotch. For he had couched an article in the instructions to the commissioners who were to levy the Benevolence, That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them that they must needs have, because they laid up; and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was seen in their port and manner of living; so neither kind came amiss.

This Parliament was merely a Parliament of war; for it was in substance but a declaration of war against France and Scotland [4], with some statutes conducing thereunto; as the severe

sprüell and tempēll, of juges, sjaunts in o^r lawe and others som̄ hede-wisemen of evy̆ citie and good towne of this o^r lond." Bacon's *description* therefore applies to either.

[1] This seems to be a slip of the memory; for though it was usual for the Lord Chancellor to speak after the King, the allusion is apparently to the last part of the King's own speech. The Latin translation has *Quin et regis moniti memores, in hoc consenserunt, ut contributio* (*quam benevolentiam appellabant*) *ab opulentioribus tantum exigeretur.*

[2] Hume observed (on a comparison of dates) that this was a mistake. I have already explained at length my own opinion as to the nature of the mistake and how it arose. If that explanation should be rejected, it may be accounted for another way. The commissions for the levying of the benevolence, though the great body of them bear date the 7th July, 1491, did not *all* bear that date. There is a commission given in Rymer, dated 6th December, 1491, which is in the same words precisely. Any one who had happened to meet with the last and not with any others would have set it down as fixing the date of the levy of the benevolence beyond all question. It may be observed that this benevolence received a kind of sanction from a subsequent Parliament; an act being passed in 1495 to enforce the payment of sums which had been promised. See p. 160.

[3] *i. e.* even in those days; when money was so much scarcer. *Etiam illa ætate.*

[4] The declaration of war against *Scotland*, of which no mention is made in our modern histories, is contained in the preamble to the act (7 H. 7. c. 6.), by which all Scots, not made denizens, were ordered out of the kingdom within forty days. "The King," it says, "our Sovereign Lord, hath had to his great cost and charge many assemblies and communications with the King of Scots for amity truce and peace to be had and observed betwixt his Highness and his subjects on the one part, and the King of Scots and his subjects on the other part; but what accord or agreement soever be taken or concluded, such accord or agreement on the part of the said King

punishing of mort-pays and keeping back soldiers' wages in captains; the like severity for the departure of soldiers without licence; strengthening of the common law in favour of protections for those that were in the King's service [1]; and the setting the gate open and wide, for men to sell or mortgage their lands without fines for alienation[2], to furnish themselves with money for the war; and lastly the voiding of all Scotchmen out of England.

There was also a statute for the dispersing of the standard of the exchequer throughout England, thereby to size weights and measures [3]; and two or three more of less importance.

After the Parliament was broken up (which lasted not long) the King went on with his preparations for the war of France;

of Scots is ever under the surest promise broken and not kept; for the which it is better to be with them at open war than under such a feigned peace: wherefore," &c.

I suppose the measure may be regarded as one partly of precaution and partly of menace; the object being to induce the Scotch King to renew the truce, which for some reason or other he seems to have been reluctant to do. The truce between England and Scotland which had been confirmed at Westminster on the 24th of October, 1488 (See Rot. Scot. ii. p. 488.), expired on the 5th of October, 1491. For some time before, the two kings had been on terms of mutual distrust and secret hostility. Henry had been secretly encouraging some of James's disaffected subjects in a design to possess themselves of his person and deliver it into his hands;—a design however which was probably not to be executed till after the expiration of the truce upon failure of the negotiations for renewing it. James had been secretly negotiating with the Duchess of Burgundy and Perkin Warbeck, and is supposed (see Tytler, iv. p. 361.) to have made up his mind to break with England as soon as he durst. Which of the two had the justest ground of complaint it would not be easy to ascertain: but it is clear that neither of them could have felt secure that the other would not take against him the first advantage that offered; and it was necessary for Henry, on entering into a war with France, to make himself safe on the Scotch side. He was now well furnished with money and with troops, and well seconded by his people, and therefore in a good condition to treat. (It was partly with this view probably that he commenced his preparations for the French invasion so long before the time.) Commissioners had been appointed in April and again in June, both to settle complaints concerning breaches of the existing truce and to treat for the prolongation of it; but nothing seems to have been concluded. Immediately upon its expiration followed the declaration of war, which had better success: for new commissioners being presently sent by Henry (22nd of October) on the same errand, they were met by commissioners on the other side, and on the 21st of December following a new truce was agreed upon between them, which was to last for five years. Henry ratified it at once (9th of January, 1491–2); but James, it seems, demurred; and a truce for nine months only was in the end concluded. It was to commence on the 20th of February and last till the 20th November, 1492: and was ratified by James on the 18th of March. See Rymer.

[1] 7 H. 7. c. 1, 2. *Veluti circa severam animadversionem in capitaneos qui aut stipendia militum mortuorum vel absentium in rationes suas referrent, aut etiam stipendia militum detinerent. Severe etiam sancitum est contra milites qui post delectum habitum sine licentia se substraherent Etiam protectiones quæ prius lege communi in usu erant pro iis qui militabant, statuto roboratæ sunt.*

[2] Thereby releasing them from the charges which were due to the crown in that case: *ne aliquid inde pro eorum alienationibus regi solverent.*

[3] 7 H. 7. c. 3. *Ut exemplar ponderum et mensurarum quod in scacchario regis ut authenticum repositum est, in universum regnum dispergeretur; et pondera atque mensuræ ubique ad eam normam examinarentur et reducerentur.*

yet neglected not in the mean time the affairs of Maximilian, for the quieting of Flanders and restoring him to his authority amongst his subjects. For at that time the Lord of Ravenstein, being not only a subject rebelled but a servant revolted (and so much the more malicious and violent), by the aid of Bruges and Gaunt had taken the town and both the castles of Sluice (as we said before); and having by the commodity of the haven gotten together certain ships and barks, fell to a kind of piratical trade; robbing and spoiling and taking prisoners the ships and vessels of all nations that passed alongst that coast towards the mart of Antwerp, or into any part of Brabant, Zealand, or Friezeland; being ever well victualled from Picardy, besides the commodity of victuals from Sluice and the country adjacent, and the avails of his own prizes. The French assisted him still under-hand; and he likewise (as all men do that have been on both sides) thought himself not safe, except he depended upon a third person. There was a small town some two miles from Bruges towards the sea, called Dam; which was a fort and approach to Bruges, and had a relation also to Sluice. This town the King of the Romans had attempted often (not for any worth of the town in itself, but because it might choke Bruges, and cut it off from the sea); and ever failed. But therewith the Duke of Saxony came down into Flanders, taking upon him the person of an umpire, to compose things between Maximilian and his subjects; but being (indeed) fast and assured to Maximilian. Upon this pretext of neutrality and treaty, he repaired to Bruges, desiring of the states of Bruges to enter peaceably into their town, with a retinue of some number of men of arms fit for his estate, being somewhat the more (as he said) the better to guard him in a country that was up in arms; and bearing them in hand that he was to communicate with them of divers matters of great importance for their good; which having obtained of them, he sent his carriages and harbingers before him to provide his lodging; so that his men of war entered the city in good array, but in peaceable manner [1], and he followed. They that went before inquired still for inns and lodgings, as if they would have rested there all night; and so went on till they came to the gate that leadeth directly towards Dam; and they

[1] This clause is omitted in the translation.

of Bruges only gazed upon them, and gave them passage. The captains and inhabitants of Dam also suspected no harm from any that passed through Bruges; and discovering forces afar off, supposed they had been some succours that were come from their friends, knowing some dangers towards them: and so perceiving nothing but well till it was too late, suffered them to enter their town. By which kind of slight, rather than stratagem, the town of Dam was taken, and the town of Bruges shrewdly blocked up, whereby they took great discouragement. The Duke of Saxony, having won the town of Dam, sent immediately to the King [1] to let him know that it was Sluice chiefly and the Lord Ravenstein that kept the rebellion of Flanders in life; and that if it pleased the King to besiege it by sea, he also would besiege it by land, and so cut out the core of those wars. The King, willing to uphold the authority of Maximilian (the better to hold France in awe) [2], and being likewise sued unto by his merchants, for that the seas were much infested by the barks of the Lord Ravenstein, sent straightways Sir Edward Poynings [3], a valiant man and of good service, with twelve ships, well furnished with soldiers and artillery, to clear the seas, and to besiege Sluice on that part. The Englishmen did not only coop up the Lord Ravenstein, that he stirred not, and likewise hold in strait siege the maritime part of the town, but also assailed one of the castles, and renewed the assault so for twenty days' space (issuing still out of their ships at the ebb), as they made great slaughter of them of the castle, who continually fought with them to repulse them; though of the English part also were slain a brother of the Earl of Oxford's, and some fifty more. But the siege still continuing more and more strait; and both the castles (which were the principal strength of the town) being distressed, the one by the Duke of Saxony, and the other by the English; and a bridge of boats, which the Lord Ravenstein had made between both castles, whereby succours and relief might pass from the one to the other, being on a night set on fire by the English; he

[1] *i. e* to King Henry. The Latin has *Henricum Regem.*

[2] *Ut freno Galliæ esset.* Maximilian's territory, lying along the north-eastern border of France, not only checked her encroachments on that side, but could be used to effect a diversion and so prevent her from concentrating her forces elsewhere: as we have seen in the case of Brittany in 1489.

[3] This according to Rapin (whose dates however are not to be too much trusted) was in the middle of 1492.

despairing to hold the town, yielded (at the last) the castles to the English, and the town to the Duke of Saxony, by composition. Which done, the Duke of Saxony and Sir Edward Poynings treated with them of Bruges to submit themselves to Maximilian their lord; which after some time they did, paying (in some good part) the charge of the war, whereby the Almains and foreign succours were dismissed. The example of Bruges other of the revolted towns followed; so that Maximilian grew to be out of danger, but (as his manner was to handle matters) never out of necessity. And Sir Edward Poynings (after he had continued at Sluice some good while till all things were settled) returned unto the King, being then before Bulloigne.[1]

Somewhat about this time[2] came letters from Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, signifying the final conquest of Granada from the Moors; which action, in itself so worthy, King Ferdinando (whose manner was never to lose any virtue for the shewing) had expressed and displayed in his letters at large; with all the particularities and religious punctos and ceremonies, that were observed in the reception of that city and kingdom[3]: shewing amongst other things, that the King would not by any means in person enter the city, until he had first aloof seen the cross set up upon the greater tower of Granada, whereby it became Christian ground: that likewise before he would enter he did homage to God above, pronouncing by an herald from the height of that tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that kingdom by the help of God Almighty, and the glorious Virgin, and the virtuous Apostle Saint James, and the holy father Innocent the Eighth, together with the aids and services of his prelates, nobles, and commons: that yet he stirred not from his camp, till he had seen a little army of martyrs, to the number of seven hundred and more Christians (that had lived in bonds and servitude as slaves[4] to the Moors), pass before his eyes, singing a psalm for their redemption; and that he had given tribute unto God, by alms and relief extended to them all, for his admission into the city. These things were in the letters, with many more cere-

[1] Sometime, therefore, between the 19th of October and the 7th or 8th of November, 1492.

[2] Earlier, if Rapin's date does not put the expedition of Sir Edward Poinings too late. The solemnity in St. Paul's was on the 6th of April, 1492. See old Chron. (Cott. Vitel. A. xvi. p. 161.).

[3] *Ejus regni.*

[4] The translation has *crudelissimâ servitute.*

monies of a kind of holy ostentation. The King, ever willing to put himself into the consort or quire of all religious actions, and naturally affecting much the King of Spain (as far as one King can affect another), partly for his virtue and partly for a counterpoise to France; upon the receipt of these letters sent all his nobles and prelates that were about the court[1], together with the mayor and aldermen of London, in great solemnity to the Church of Paul's; there to hear a declaration from the Lord Chancellor, now Cardinal. When they were assembled, the Cardinal, standing upon the uppermost step or half-pace before the quire, and all the nobles, prelates, and governors of the City at the foot of the stairs, made a speech to them; letting them know, that they were assembled[2] in that consecrated place to sing unto God a new song. For that (said he) these many years the Christians have not gained new ground or territory upon the Infidels[3], nor enlarged and set further the bounds of the Christian world. But this is now done by the prowess and devotion of Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain; who have to their immortal honour recovered the great and rich kingdom of Granada and the populous and mighty city of the same name from the Moors[4], having been in possession thereof by the space of seven hundred years and more; for which this assembly and all Christians are to render all laud and thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble act of the King of Spain, who in this is not only victorious but apostolical, in the gaining of new provinces to the Christian faith; and the rather for that this victory and conquest is obtained without much effusion of blood; whereby it is to be hoped that there shall be gained not only new territory, but infinite souls to the church of Christ; whom the Almighty (as it seems) would have live to be converted. Herewithal he did relate some of the most memorable particulars of the war and victory. And after his speech ended, the whole assembly went solemnly in procession, and *Te Deum* was sung.

Immediately after the solemnity[5], the King kept his May-day of his palace at Shine (now Richmond); where to warm the blood of his nobility and gallants against the war, he kept great triumphs of justing and tourney during all that month.

[1] The translation has *urbem et aulam.*
[2] *Ex regis mandato convenisse.*
[3] *Saracenis et Mahumetanis.*
[4] *A Saracenis.*
[5] *Non multis diebus ab hac solemnitate.*

In which space it so fell out, that Sir James Parker and Hugh Vaughan one of the King's gentlemen ushers, having had a controversy touching certain arms that the King-at-Arms had given Vaughan, were appointed to run some courses one against another; and by accident of a faulty helmet that Parker had on, he was stricken into the mouth at the first course, so that his tongue was borne unto the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he died presently upon the place; which because of the controversy precedent, and the death that followed, was accounted amongst the vulgar as a combat or trial of right.

The King towards the end of this summer, having put his forces wherewith he meant to invade France in readiness (but so as they were not yet met or mustered together), sent Urswick, now made his almoner, and Sir John Risley to Maximilian, to let him know that he was in arms, ready to pass the seas into France, and did but expect to hear from him when and where he did appoint to join with him, according to his promise made unto him by Countebalt his ambassador.

The English ambassadors having repaired to Maximilian did find his power and promise at a very great distance; he being utterly unprovided of men, money, and arms, for any such enterprise. For Maximilian having neither wing to fly on, for that his patrimony of Austria was not in his hands (his father being then living), and on the other side his matrimonial territories of Flanders were[1] partly in dower to his mother-in-law, and partly not serviceable in respect of the late rebellions[2], was thereby destitute of means to enter into war. The ambassadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to advertise the King thereof, rather than to return themselves, till the King's further pleasure were known: the rather, for that Maximilian himself spake as great as ever he did before, and entertained them with dilatory answers; so as the formal part of their ambassage might well warrant and require their further stay. The King hereupon, who doubted as much before, and saw through his business from the beginning, wrote back to the ambassadors, commending their discretion in not returning, and willing them to keep the state wherein they found Maximilian as a secret, till they heard further from him; and meanwhile went on with his voyage royal for France; suppressing

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "being."

[2] *Recentibus rebellionibus exhausta.*

for a time this advertisement touching Maximilian's poverty and disability.

By this time was drawn together a great and puissant army unto the City of London; in which were Thomas Marquis Dorset, Thomas Earl of Arundel, Thomas Earl of Derby, George Earl of Shrewsbury, Edmond Earl of Suffolk, Edward Earl of Devonshire, George Earl of Kent, the Earl of Essex, Thomas Earl of Ormond, with a great number of barons, knights, and principal gentlemen; and amongst them Richard Thomas, much noted for the brave troops that he brought out of Wales; the army rising in the whole to the number of five and twenty thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; over which the King (constant in his accustomed trust and employment) made Jasper Duke of Bedford and John Earl of Oxford generals under his own person. The ninth of September, in the eighth year of his reign, he departed from Greenwich towards the sea; all men wondering that he took that season (being so near winter) to begin the war, and some thereupon gathering it was a sign that the war would not be long. Nevertheless the King gave out the contrary, thus; That he intending not to make a summer business of it, but a resolute war (without term prefixed) until he had recovered France, it skilled not much when he began it; especially having Calais at his back, where he might winter, if the reason of the war so required. The sixth of October he embarked at Sandwich; and the same day took land at Calais, which was the rendezvous where all his forces were assigned to meet. But in this his journey towards the sea-side (wherein for the cause that we shall now speak of he hovered so much the longer), he had received letters from the Lord Cordes (who the hotter he was against the English in time of war had the more credit in a negotiation of peace, and besides was held a man open and of good faith); in which letters there was made an overture of peace from the French King, with such conditions as were somewhat to the King's taste; but this was carried at the first with wonderful secrecy. The King was no sooner come to Calais, but the calm winds of peace began to blow. For first the English ambassadors returned out of Flanders from Maximilian, and certified the King that he was not to hope for any aid from Maximilian, for that he was altogether unprovided. His will was good, but he lacked money. And this was made

known, and spread throughout the army. And although the English were therewithal nothing dismayed, and that it be the manner of soldiers upon bad news to speak the more bravely[1]; yet nevertheless it was a kind of preparative to a peace. Instantly in the neck of this (as the King had laid it) came news that Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain, had concluded a peace with King Charles, and that Charles had restored unto them the counties of Ruscignon and Perpignian, which formerly were mortgaged by John King of Arragon, Ferdinando's father, unto Ffance, for three hundred thousand crowns: which debt was also upon this peace by Charles clearly released. This came also handsomely to put on the peace, both because so potent a confederate[2] was fallen off, and because it was a fair example of a peace bought; so as the King should not be the sole merchant in this peace. Upon these airs of peace, the King was content that the Bishop of Exeter and the Lord Daubigny (Governor of Calais) should give a meeting unto the Lord Cordes, for the treaty of a peace: but himself nevertheless and his army, the fifteenth of October, removed from Calais, and in four days' march sat him down before Bulloigne.

During this siege of Bulloigne (which continued near a month) there passed no memorable action nor accident of war. Only Sir John Savage, a valiant captain, was slain, riding about the walls of the town to take a view. The town was both well fortified and well manned; yet it was distressed, and ready for an assault; which if it had been given (as was thought) would have cost much blood; but yet the town would have been carried in the end. Meanwhile a peace was concluded by the commissioners, to continue for both the Kings' lives. Where there was no article of importance; being in effect rather a bargain than a treaty. For all things remained as they were, save that there should be paid to the King seven hundred forty-five thousand ducats in present, for his charges in that journey; and five and twenty thousand crowns yearly, for his charges sustained in the aids of the Britons.[3] For which

[1] *Ex malis nuntiis magis fieri alacres et erectos et magnificentius loqui.*

[2] *Qualis fuerit Ferdinandus.*

[3] So Speed; quoting the authority partly of Polydore and partly of a MS. Polydore's words are "Summa autem pactionis fœderis fuit, ut Carolus primum solveret bene magnam pecuniæ summam Henrico pro sumptibus in id bellum factis, juxta æstimationem legatorum; deinde in singulos annos millia aureorum vicena quina penderet per aliquot annos pro impensâ ab ipso Henrico factâ in copias quas Britannis auxilii

annual, though he had Maximilian bound before for those charges, yet he counted the alteration of the hand as much as the principal debt[1]; and besides it was left somewhat indefinitely[2] when it should determine or expire; which made the English esteem it as a tribute carried under fair terms. And the truth is, it was paid both to the King and to his son Henry the Eighth, longer than it could continue upon any computation of charges. There was also assigned by the French King unto all the King's principal counsellors great pensions, besides rich gifts for the present; which whether the King did permit, to save his own purse from rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business that was displeasing to his people, was diversely interpreted: for certainly the King had no great fancy to own this peace; and therefore a little before it was concluded, he

misisset." Speed substituted this specific "745,000 ducats (186,250 pounds English)" to be paid in present, for the *bene magnam pecuniæ summam*; repeating in other respects Polydore's statement.

The old Chronicle, speaking upon the authority of the King's own letter to the City, which was read at Guildhall on the 9th of November, says only that "for to have this peace established the French King granted unto our sovereign lord, to be paid in certain years, 745,000 scutis; which amounteth in sterling money to 127,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* And this, it appears from Rymer, is the correct statement. Henry reckoned the expenses incurred in the defence of Brittany (for which the French Queen was bound) at 620,000 crowns (*escus d'or*) and the sum remaining due upon the pension granted to Edward IV. by Lewis XI. at 125,000. He was now to give up his claim to both these sums in consideration of an annual payment by the French King of 50,000 francs, to commence the 1st of May next, and be continued from half year to half year until the whole 745,000 crowns were paid.

[1] *i.e.* worth as much as the whole sum. *Debitoris mutationem non minus quam si debitum ipsum esset persolutum æstimabat.*

[2] Polydore says *per aliquot annos*. And adds "Franci reges postea, bello Italico implicati, id annuum vectigal etiam Henrico octavo, septimi filio, pependerunt: quo tandem debitam pecuniam persolverent amicitiamque servarent:" which Speed renders thus, "which (by the English called tribute) was duly paid during all this King's reign and also to Henry his son, till the whole debt was run out; thereby to preserve amity with England." *Id vectigal* was the *millia aureorum vicena quina*; which, continued into Henry VIII.'s reign, would have risen at the very least to 425,000 of these *aurei*; making (if they are rightly translated crowns) the whole sum 1,170,000 crowns, or 234,000*l.*: a fact which would have amply justified Bacon's remark, a few lines further on, that the annual payments could not have continued so long "upon any computation of charges." As it was, the continuation of the payments beyond the date of Henry VII.'s death is sufficiently explained. The whole sum of 745,000 crowns was to be paid off by half-yearly instalments of 25,000 francs *in crowns of gold*; each franc worth 20 sols, each crown worth 35 sols; at which rate it would take more than 25 years to pay the whole; 10 years after the death of Henry VII. Bernard André misrepresents the fact, but probably represents the popular opinion in England, in calling it a tribute granted in consideration of our French possessions. "Quocirca (he says) pactionibus utrinque transactis scriptoque solemniter commendatis, *antiquum jus suum sub tributo*, ut alii sui sanguinis antecessores, poposcit; quod quidem gratiosissime a rege Galliæ concessum est."

The half-yearly payments were in fact continued till the year 1514; when in consideration of a new claim made by Henry VIII as heir to Margaret Duchess of Somerset, which (together with what then remained unpaid of the 745,000 crowns) was estimated at a million crowns, Lewis bound himself to pay that sum by half-yearly instalments of 50,000 francs each. See Rymer, xiii. p. 428.

had under-hand procured some of his best captains and men of war to advise him to a peace under their hands, in an earnest manner, in the nature of a supplication. But the truth is, this peace was welcome to both Kings; to Charles, for that it assured unto him the possession of Brittaine, and freed the enterprise of Naples; to Henry, for that it filled his coffers; and that he foresaw at that time a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after brake forth. But it gave no less discontent to the nobility and principal persons of the army [1], who had many of them sold or engaged their estates upon the hopes of the war. They stuck not to say, That the King cared not to plume his nobility and people, to feather himself. And some made themselves merry with that the King had said in Parliament; That after the war was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay it itself; saying he had kept promise.

Having risen from Bulloigne, he went to Calais, where he stayed some time: from whence also he writ letters [2] (which was a courtesy that he sometimes used) to the Mayor of London and the Aldermen his brethren; half bragging what great sums he had obtained for the peace; knowing well that full coffers of the King is ever good news to London; and better news it would have been, if their benevolence had been but a loan. And upon the seventeenth of September following he returned to Westminster, where he kept his Christmas.

Soon after the King's return, he sent the Order of the Garter to Alphonso Duke of Calabria, eldest son to Ferdinando King of Naples. An honour sought by that Prince to hold him up in the eyes of the Italians; who expecting the arms of Charles, made great account of the amity of England for a bridle to France. It was received by Alphonso with all the ceremony and pomp that could be devised; as things use to be carried that are intended for opinion. It was sent by Urswick; upon whom the King bestowed this ambassage, to help him after many dry employments.

[1] In the translation,—remembering probably the supplication of the captains and the men of war,—he adds *utcunque nonnulli ex iis ad ejus nutum se accommodâssent.*

[2] They were read at Guildhall on the 9th of November. Old Chron. Vitel. A. xvi. fo. 145. *b.*

This is the treaty which in our modern historians goes by the name of the *treaty of Estaples.* It is worthy of remark that on the Sunday on which it was concluded (3rd November, 1492), the truce with Scotland which was to expire on the 20th of that month, was continued till the 30th of April, 1494. See Rot. Scot. ii. p. 509.

At this time the King began again to be haunted with sprites; by the magic and curious arts of the Lady Margaret; who raised up the ghost of Richard Duke of York (second son to King Edward the Fourth) to walk and vex the King. This was a finer counterfeit stone than Lambert Symnell; better done, and worn upon greater hands; being graced after with the wearing of a King of France and a King of Scotland, not of a Duchess of Burgundy only. And for Symnell, there was not much in him, more than that he was a handsome boy, and did not shame his robes. But this youth (of whom we are now to speak) was such a mercurial, as the like hath seldom been known; and could make his own part, if any time he chanced to be out. Wherefore this being one of the strangest examples of a personation, that ever was in elder or later times, it deserveth to be discovered and related at the full: although the King's manner of shewing things by pieces, and dark-lights, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a mystery to this day.

The Lady Margaret, whom the King's friends called Juno, because she was to him as Juno was to Æneas, stirring both heaven and hell to do him mischief, for a foundation of her particular practices against him did continually by all means possible nourish, maintain, and divulge the flying opinion that Richard Duke of York (second son to Edward the Fourth) was not murdered in the Tower (as was given out) but saved alive; for that those who were employed in that barbarous fact, having destroyed the elder brother, were stricken with remorse and compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty to seek his fortune. This lure she cast abroad, thinking that this fame and belief (together with the fresh example of Lambert Symnell) would draw at one time or other some birds to strike upon it. She used likewise a further diligence, not committing all to chance: for she had some secret espials, (like to the Turks commissioners for children of tribute[1],) to look abroad for handsome and graceful youths, to make Plantagenets and Dukes of York. At the last she did light on one, in whom all things met, as one would wish, to serve her turn for a counterfeit of Richard Duke of York. This was Perkin Warbeck, whose adventures we shall now describe. For first,

[1] *Turcorum ministris qui puerorum tributum exigunt.*

the years agreed well. Secondly, he was a youth of fine favour and shape[1]; but more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion[2] both to move pity and to induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination and inchantment to those that saw him or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his childhood such a wanderer, or (as the King called it) such a landloper, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his nest and parents; neither again could any man, by company or conversing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was; he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, there was a circumstance (which is mentioned by one that writ in the same time) that is very likely to have made somewhat to the matter[3]; which is, that King Edward the Fourth was his godfather.[4] Which, as it is somewhat suspicious for a wanton prince to become gossip in so mean a house, and might make a man think that he might indeed have in him some base blood of the house of York; so at the least (though that were not) it might give the occasion to the boy, in being called King Edward's godson, or perhaps in sport King Edward's son, to entertain such thoughts into

[1] *Oris elegantia et corporis lineamentis cum dignitate quadam amabilis.*

[2] *Mores et gestus ejus tam erant vafri et quasi veneficiis quibusdam obliti.*

[3] *Res quædam levis . . . . quam tamen probabile est ad ea quæ postea gesta sunt nonnihil attulisse, eisque tanquam ansam præbuisse.*

[4] This fact is derived from Speed, whose words are "this youth was born (they say) in the city of Torney and called Peter Warbeck; the son of a converted Jew, whose godfather at baptism King Edward himself was." But Speed meant that King Edward was godfather not to Perkin, but to the Jew when he was christened. The fact comes from Bernard André, who mentions it with reference to the Jew's name, which was Edward. He does not say however that Perkin was his *son*: but only that he was brought up (*educatum*) by him. His words are "Petreium quendam Tornacensem, ab Eduardo quodam Judeo, postea a rege Eduardo sacro levato fonte, in hac regione educatum." And in another place he makes Perkin speak of himself as having been in his childhood "Eduardi Judei ac ante memorati regis Eduardi filioli in Anglia *servulus*." The mistake was pointed out by Sir Frederic Madden in the Archæologia, vol. xxvii. p. 163.

Of course Bacon's speculation upon the circumstance must be set aside; being built entirely upon the supposition that it was Perkin himself to whom King Edward stood godfather. And the true story (if André's authority, uncorroborated by Perkin's confession or by any other contemporary report, be good enough to make it pass for true) is perhaps rather more to the purpose. Whatever we are to understand by the words *educatum* and *servulus*, — whether that Perkin was pupil or clerk or apprentice or servant or adopted son to the Jew in question, — we must at least suppose that, in one capacity or another, he was in his family. Now we have it upon the same authority that this Jew was well acquainted with King Edward and his children — "erat enim ille patronus meus" he makes Perkin say, "regi Eduardo ac suis liberis familiarissimus;" Perkin must at least therefore have seen the person of Edward IV., and may very likely have seen something of his court and of his humours: the recollection of which, though not likely to have put it into his head to assume such a part, would be of great use in enabling him to play it. He was about ten years old when Edward died: and a quick-witted boy with a natural gift that way, such as he must have had, might easily at an earlier age than that have observed enough to enable him to fill up the outlines of the story which he had to tell with a great resemblance to the truth.

his head. For tutor he had none (for ought that appears[1]), as Lambert Symnell had, until he came unto the Lady Margaret who instructed him.[2]

Thus therefore it came to pass. There was a townsman of Tournay that had borne office in that town, whose name was John Osbeck, (a converted Jew[3],) married to Katheren de Faro, whose business drew him to live for a time with his wife at London in King Edward the Fourth's days; during which time he had a son by her; and being known in court, the King either out of religious nobleness, because he was a convert, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honour as to be godfather to his child[4], and named him Peter. But afterwards proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peterkin, or Perkin. For as for the name of Warbeck, it was given him when they did but guess at it, before examinations had been taken. But yet he had been so much talked on by that name, as it stuck by him after his true name of Osbeck was known. While he was a young child, his parents returned with him to Tournay. Then was he placed in a house of a kinsman of his, called John Stenbeck, at Antwerp, and so roamed[5] up and down between Antwerp and Tournay and other towns of Flanders for a good time; living much in English company, and having the English tongue perfect. In which time, being grown a comely youth, he was brought by some of the espials of the Lady Margaret into her presence: who viewing him well, and seeing that he had a face and personage that would bear a noble fortune; and finding him otherwise of a fine spirit and winning behaviour; thought she had now found a curious piece of marble to carve out an image of a Duke of York. She kept him by her a great

[1] This is omitted in the translation. [2] *Quæ eum in omnibus egregie instruxit.*

[3] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "a convert-Jew."

[4] See note 4. p. 133. It is to be observed that these particulars are collected by combining Perkin's confession with Bernard André's statement, as Bacon misunderstood it. There is no reason that I know of to suppose that John Osbeck was a Jew, or that he and his wife were ever in London. To correct the story, we must substitute —"There was a townsman, &c., whose name was John Osbeck, married to Catherine de Faro, by whom he had a son that was named Peter. But afterwards, proving a dainty and effeminate youth, &c. &c. While he was a young child he was taken (it seems) to London, and lived there in the house of one Edward, a Jew, that was converted in King Edward IV.'s time; the King himself, either out of religious nobleness (because he was a convert), or upon some private acquaintance, doing him the honour to be his godfather. After he had staid in England some little while, he returned to Tournay. Then was he placed," &c.

[5] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "roved"

while, but with extreme secrecy. The while she instructed him by many cabinet conferences; First, in princely behaviour and gesture; teaching him how he should keep state, and yet with a modest sense of his misfortunes: Then she informed him of all the circumstances and particulars that concerned the person of Richard Duke of York, which he was to act; describing unto him the personages, lineaments, and features of the King and Queen his pretended parents, and of his brother and sisters, and divers others that were nearest him in his childhood, together with all passages, some secret, some common, that were fit for a child's memory, until the death of King Edward. Then she added the particulars of the time from the King's death until he and his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad as while he was in sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the Tower, and the manner of his brother's death, and his own escape; she knew they were things that a very few could controul.[1] And therefore she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely tale of those matters; warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewise between them what account he should give of his peregrination abroad; intermixing many things which were true and such as they knew others could testify, for the credit of the rest; but still making them to hang together with the part he was to play. She taught him likewise how to avoid sundry captious and tempting questions, which were like to be asked of him. But in this she found him of himself so nimble and shifting[2], as she trusted much to his own wit and readiness; and therefore laboured the less in it. Lastly, she raised his thoughts with some present rewards and further promises; setting before him chiefly the glory and fortune of a crown, if things went well; and a sure refuge to her court if the worst should fall. After such time as she thought he was perfect in his lesson, she began to cast with herself from what coast this blazing star should first appear, and at what time.[3] It must be upon the horizon of Ireland; for there had the like meteor strong influence

[1] *i. a.* could correct him in. *Tam clandestina fuisse, ut pauci admodum, quæcunque ei confingere liberet, arguere possent; itaque libero prorsus mendacio se uti posse.*

[2] *Ita instar anguillæ lubricum et ad elabendum promptum reperit.*

[3] Ed. 1622 has no stop after "time:" which is evidently a mistake. The Latin translation explains the intended construction of the sentence, so that there can be no room for doubt. *A quâ cœli plagâ cometa iste se primo ostendere deberet, et quo tempore. Constituit autem hoc fieri oportere ab horizonte Hiberniæ . . . tempus autem apparitionis maxime opportunum fore cum rex, &c.*

before. The time of the apparition to be, when the King should be engaged into a war with France. But well she knew that whatsoever should come from her would be held suspected. And therefore if he should go out of Flanders immediately into Ireland she might be thought to have some hand in it. And besides, the time was not yet ripe; for that the two Kings were then upon terms of peace.[1] Therefore she wheeled about; and to put all suspicion afar off, and loth to keep him any longer by her (for that she knew secrets are not long-lived), she sent him unknown into Portugal, with the Lady Brampton, an English lady (that embarked for Portugal at that time), with some *privado* of her own to have an eye upon him; and there he was to remain and to expect her further directions. In the mean time she omitted not to prepare things for his better welcome and accepting, not only in the kingdom of Ireland, but in the court of France. He continued in Portugal about a year; and by that time the King of England called his Parliament[2] (as hath been said), and had declared[3] open war against France. Now did the sign reign, and the constellation was comen, under which Perkin should appear. And therefore he was straight sent unto by the Duchess to go for Ireland, according to the first designment. In Ireland he did arrive[4] at the town of Cork. When he was thither comen, his own tale was (when he made his confession afterwards) that the Irishmen finding him in some good clothes, came flocking about him, and bore him down that he was the Duke of Clarence that had been there

[1] The translation has *de pace tractarent*. The time spoken of seems to have been some time in 1490.

[2] The Parliament, as I have said, was not called till October, 1491. But open war was declared against France at least as early as the 7th of July preceding (see the preamble of the Commission for the Benevolence; Rymer, xii. p. 446.); probably earlier; see the Commission for Array and Musters, May 5, 1491, in which it is said that "Charles, calling himself King of France, *intends to invade the realm*." Cal. Pat. Rolls, 6 Hen. VII. p. 71.

[3] So MS. Ed. 1622 omits "had."

[4] I have not been able to ascertain the exact date of his arrival in Ireland. But on the 6th of December, 1491, a Commission was issued, reciting that the King had determined to send an army to parts of the counties of Kilkenne and Typparary in the land of Ireland, to suppress his rebels and enemies there; and appointing James Ormond, and Thomas Garth, Esqs., captains and governors of the forces, with power to pass over the sea and invade the land; also to take the musters of the said army and of the king's lieges, and to make statutes and issue proclamations for the government of the same, &c. &c.; and declaring the power of the lieutenant of Ireland suspended with respect to the said army. See Cal. Pat. Rolls, 6 Dec. 7 Hen. VII.

As Perkin was certainly in Ireland, and in communication with the Earl of Desmond, in the February following (see note 2. p. 137.), it is probable that this rebellion had something to do with him. It also helps to explain the conduct of the Scotch King with regard to the truce. See note 4. p. 121.

before: and after, that he was Richard the Third's base son: and lastly, that he was Richard Duke of York, second son to Edward the Fourth: but that he for his part renounced all these things, and offered to swear upon the holy Evangelists that he was no such man, till at last they forced it upon him[1], and bad him fear nothing; and so forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into Ireland, he took upon him the said person of the Duke of York, and drew unto him complices and partakers by all the means he could devise. Insomuch as he writ his letters unto the Earls of Desmond and Kildare[2], to come in to his aid and be of his party; the originals of which letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time[3], the Duchess had also gained unto her a near servant of King Henry's own, one Stephen Frion, his secretary for the French tongue; an active man, but turbulent and discontented. This Frion had fled over to Charles the French King, and put himself into his service, at such time as he began to be in open enmity with the King.[4] Now King Charles, when he understood of the person and attempts of Perkin, ready of himself to embrace all advantages against the King of England, instigated by Frion, and formerly prepared by the Lady Margaret, forthwith despatched one Lucas and this Frion in nature[5] of ambassadors to Perkin, to advertise him of the King's good inclination to him, and that he was resolved to aid him to recover his right against King Henry, an usurper of England and an enemy of France; and wished him to come over unto him at Paris. Perkin thought

[1] *Vi quâdam ad quicquid illi vellent agnoscendum eum adegissent.*

[2] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "wrote." This statement is accidentally confirmed by an entry in the Treasurer's Books of Scotland, quoted by Tytler, vol. iv. p. 373.: — "Given at the King's command to an Englishman, called Edward Ormond, that brought letters forth of Ireland *fra King Edward's son* and the Earl of Desmond, ix lb." The entry is dated March 2, 1491; that is, of course, 1491–2: a date worth remarking in connexion with the refusal of the Scotch King to ratify the five-years' truce with England which was concluded by the Commissioners in the preceding December and signed by Henry on the 12th of January. The arrival and reception of Perkin in Ireland would be a sufficient motive to make James unwilling to bind himself to peace with Henry for so long a period. See note 4. p. 121. By the time the nine-months' truce that was substituted was about to expire, Henry had made his peace with France, and Perkin had been sent away from the French court. And then it was that James agreed to prolong the truce for a year and a half. See note 2. p. 131.

[3] The Latin translation has *circa idem tempus*. Perkin in his confession mentions *Maister Stephen Fryam* as one of the persons sent from France to invite him to the French court. Another French secretary was appointed by the King on the 16th of June, 1490. See Cal. Pat. Rolls, p. 53.

[4] *i. e.* as King Charles began to be in open enmity with King Henry. The Latin translation expresses it more correctly: *quo tempore bellum inter reges pullulare cœpisset.*

[5] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "in the nature."

himself in heaven now that he was invited by so great a King in so honourable a manner. And imparting unto his friends in Ireland for their encouragement how fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, sailed presently into France. When he was comen to the court of France, the King received him with great honour, saluted, and stiled him by the name of the Duke of York, lodged him and accommodated him in great state; and the better to give him the representation and the countenance of a Prince, assigned him a guard for his person, whereof the Lord Congresall was captain. And the courtiers likewise (though it be ill mocking with the French[1]) applied themselves to their King's bent, seeing there was reason of state for it. At the same time there repaired unto Perkin divers Englishmen of quality; Sir George Neville, Sir John Taylor, and about one hundred more; and amongst the rest, this Stephen Frion of whom we spake, who followed his fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principal counsellor and instrument in all his proceedings. But all this on the French King's part was but a trick, the better to bow King Henry to peace. And therefore upon the first grain of incense that was sacrificed upon the altar of peace at Bulloigne, Perkin was smoked away. Yet would not the French King deliver him up to King Henry (as he was laboured to do[2]), for his honour's sake; but warned him away and dismissed him. And Perkin on his part was as ready to be gone, doubting he might be caught up under-hand. He therefore took his way into Flanders unto the Duchess of Burgundy; pretending that having been variously tossed by fortune he directed his course thither as to a safe harbour; no ways taking knowledge that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his first address. The Duchess on the other part made it as new and strange to see him; and pretending at the first she[3] was taught and made wise by the example of Lambert Symnell, how she did admit of any counterfeit stuff (though even in that she said she was not fully satisfied), she pretended at the first (and that was ever in the presence of

[1] *i. e.* though they are not good at playing a part. *Licet apud Gallos ludos facere in proclivi non sit.*

[2] *Licet ab eo de hoc interpellatus.*

[3] So MS. Ed. 1622 omits "and" before "pretending," inserts "that" before "she," and has a full stop after "satisfied;"—a correction possibly,—to avoid the awkwardness of the repetition; which however it hardly removes. The construction as it stands is more natural, and the only change wanted is the substitution of some equivalent phrase for "pretending at the first."

others) to pose him and sift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very Duke of York or no. But seeming to receive full satisfaction by his answers, then she feigned herself to be transported with a kind of astonishment, mixt of joy and wonder, of[1] his miraculous deliverance; receiving him as if he were risen from death to life; and inferring that God, who had in such wonderful manner preserved him from death, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous fortune. As for his dismission out of France, they interpreted it, not as if he were detected or neglected for a counterfeit deceiver; but contrariwise that it did shew manifestly unto the world that he was some great matter; for that it was his abandoning that (in effect) made the peace[2]; being no more but the sacrificing of a poor distressed Prince unto the utility and ambition of two mighty monarchs. Neither was Perkin for his part wanting to himself either in gracious and princely behaviour, or in ready and apposite answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did apply themselves unto him, or in pretty scorns or disdains[3] to those that seemed to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himself: insomuch as it was generally believed (as well amongst great persons as amongst the vulgar) that he was indeed Duke Richard. Nay himself with long and continual counterfeiting and with often telling a lie, was turned (by habit) almost into the thing he seemed to be, and from a liar to a believer.[4] The Duchess therefore, as in a case out of doubt, did him all princely honour, calling him always by the name of her nephew, and giving him the delicate title of the White Rose of England; and appointed him a guard of thirty persons, halberdiers, clad in a party-coloured livery of murrey and blue, to attend his person. Her court likewise, and generally the Dutch and strangers[5], in their usage towards him expressed no less respect.

The news hereof came blazing and thundering over into

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "at."

[2] *Quoniam causæ ejus destitutio et desertio revera tanti erat, ut, si quis recte animadvertat, pacem confecisset.*

[3] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "scorn or disdain."

[4] *Quasi quæ fingeret simul et crederet.* This suggestion comes from Speed. Shakespeare, in the Tempest, has the same thought —

"Like one
Who having unto Truth, by telling oft,
Made such a sinner of his memory
To credit his own lie, he did believe
He was indeed the Duke."

[5] The translation has *tam Flandri quam peregrini*: the *Flemings* and strangers both.

England, that the Duke of York was sure alive. As for the name of Perkin Warbeck, it was not at that time comen to light, but all the news ran[1] upon the Duke of York; that he had been entertained in Ireland, bought and sold in France, and was now plainly avowed and in great honour in Flanders. These fames took hold of divers; in some upon discontent, in some upon ambition, in some upon levity and desire of change, in some few upon conscience and belief, but in most upon simplicity[2], and in divers out of dependence upon some of the better sort who did in secret favour and nourish these bruits. And it was not long ere these rumours of novelty had begotten others of scandal and murmur against the King and his government, taxing him for a great taxer of his people and discountenancer of his nobility. The loss of Brittaine and the peace with France were not forgotten; but chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his Queen, and that he did not reign in her right; wherefore they said that God had now brought to light a masculine branch of the House of York that would not be at his courtesy, howsoever he did depress his poor lady. And yet (as it fareth in things which are current with the multitude and which they affect) these fames grew so general, as the authors were lost in the generality of speakers; they being like running weeds that have no certain root, or like footings up and down impossible to be traced. But after a while these ill humours drew to an head, and settled secretly in some eminent persons[3]; which were Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain of the King's household, the Lord Fitzwater, Sir Symond Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaits. These entered into a secret conspiracy to favour Duke Richard's title; nevertheless none engaged their fortunes in this business openly but two, Sir Robert Clifford and master William Barley, who sailed over into Flanders, sent indeed from the party of the conspirators here to understand the truth of those things that passed there, and not without some help of moneys from hence, provisionally to be delivered — if they found and were satisfied that there was truth in these pretences. The person of Sir Robert Clifford (being a gentleman of fame and family) was ex-

[1] So Ed. 1622. The MS. has "came."

[2] *Imbecillitatem judicii.*

[3] *Atque occulto in viris aliquibus magnæ dignitatis, veluti in partibus nobilibus, sedes repererunt: quorum præcipui erant,* &c.

tremely welcome to the Lady Margaret, who after she had conference with him brought him to the sight of Perkin, with whom he had often speech and discourse. So that in the end, won either by the Duchess to affect[1] or by Perkin to believe, he wrote back into England, that he knew the person of Richard Duke of York as well as he knew his own, and that this young man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to revolt and sedition here, and the conspiracy came to have a correspondence between Flanders and England.[2]

The King on his part was not asleep. But to arm or levy forces yet, he thought he would but show fear, and do this idol too much worship. Nevertheless the ports he did shut up, or at least kept a watch on them, that none should pass to or fro that was suspected. But for the rest he chose to work by countermine. His purposes were two; the one to lay open the abuse; the other to break the knot of the conspirators.[3] To detect the abuse, there were but two ways; the first to make it manifest to the world that the Duke of York was indeed murdered; the other to prove that (were he dead or alive) yet Perkin was a counterfeit. For the first, thus it stood. There were but four persons that could speak upon knowledge to the murder of the Duke of York; Sir James Tirrell (the employed-man from King Richard), John Dighton and Myles Forrest his servants (the two butchers or tormentors), and the priest of the Tower that buried them; of which four, Myles Forrest and the priest were dead, and there remained alive only Sir James Tirrell and John Dighton. These two the King caused to be committed to the Tower[4] and examined touching the manner of the death of the

[1] The translation has *ut conatibus suis faveret.* From which it would appear that the word "affect" is used here in its old sense of "to regard with affection;" however its modern sense of "to pretend" may seem to suit the context.

[2] *i. e.* the conspiracy in Flanders and the conspiracy in England came into correspondence. The expression in the Latin is more exact and clear — *Hoc modo factum est ut omnia hic in Angliâ ad defectionem et seditionem spectarent; et conjuratio foveri cœpit mutuo tractatu inter Flandriam et Angliam.*

[3] *Ut conjuratos inter se committeret.*

[4] This is not mentioned by any historian who preceded Bacon; and I have not been able to discover his authority for stating that Tirrell and Dighton were examined on the subject *at this time.* The account of their confession which follows comes no doubt from the history ascribed to Sir Thomas More; who adds, "Very troth is it and well known that at such time as Sir James Tirrell was in the Tower for treason committed against the most famous prince King Henry VII., both Dighton and he were examined and confessed the murder in manner above written." But the time when Tirrell was in the Tower for treason against Henry was many years after, in

two innocent princes. They agreed both in a tale (as the King gave out) to this effect: That King Richard having directed his warrant for the putting of them to death to Brackenbury, the Lieutenant of the Tower, was by him refused; whereupon the King directed his warrant to Sir James Tirrell to receive the keys of the Tower from the lieutenant (for the space of a night) for the King's especial service. That Sir James Tirrell accordingly repaired to the Tower by night, attended by his two servants afore-named, whom he had chosen for the[1] purpose. That himself stood at the stair-foot, and sent these two villains to execute the murder. That they smothered them in their bed; and, that done, called up their master to see their naked bodies dead[2], which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the stairs, and some stones cast upon them. That when the report was made to

1502. And there is nothing in More's narrative to make one think that he supposed the confession to have been made at an earlier period. It was a point however in which he might easily be mistaken, (especially if Tirrell *repeated* at his death the same story which he had told before, as he very likely might), and Bacon may have had sufficient evidence for correcting him. Certainly among the persons arrested at the same time with Tirrell in 1502 there is no mention of *Dighton*.

But there is a circumstance which makes me suspect that Henry had in fact obtained a confession from Tirrell some time before.

On the 9th of August, 1484, Sir James Tyrrell had received a grant from Richard III. of the stewardship of the Duchy of Cornwall, and on the 13th of September following "a grant of the offices of Sheriff of the Lordship of Wenllouk, and steward of the Lordships of Newport, Wenllouk, Kovoeth-Meredith, Lavenithevery, and Lanthoesant, in Wales and the marches thereof" (see Ninth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, App. 94.); and on the 19th of February, 1485–6, he had received from Henry himself a grant for life of the offices of Sheriff of the County of Glamorgan and Margannot, &c. (Cal. Pat. Rolls, i. p. 236.) Two years after however, viz. on the 26th of February, 3 Hen. VII. (*i. e.* 1487–8), — I find that a commission was granted to certain persons there named, reciting that "in consideration of the services of Sir James Tyrrell, a knight of the King's body, it had been granted to him to be recompensed of the issues of the County of Guysnes in the marches of Calais, in such wise as he holdeth him content; amounting to the value of all the profits of his lands, rents, &c. in Wales, at the beginning of this reign:" which lands were now transferred to the charge of the Commissioners. (Cal. Pat. Rolls, ii. p. 89.) Now it will be remembered that in the interval between Feb. 19, 1485–6 and Feb. 26, 1487–8 had occurred the rebellion of Lambert Symnell, which was suppressed in the summer of 1487; and that Symnell had been originally intended to play the part of Edward Duke of York, one of the murdered princes. This would naturally stir Henry to search out the history of the murder. And if in the course of his inquiries he became acquainted with the part which Tirrell had played in it, he would naturally wish to get him out of England as soon as he could. To punish him for the murder, for which we must suppose that he had obtained from Richard a full pardon, was probably not in Henry's power; and he may very likely have elicited the confession upon a promise of not harming him; but he would wish to get him out of the way; and for that purpose might offer him an equivalent abroad for what he possessed at home. The story which he told, Henry may with characteristic closeness have kept to himself; till the appearance of Perkin Warbeck in the same character made it expedient to divulge it. And the time when the story was "given out" may have led to an error as to the time when the confession was made.

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "that."

[2] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "naked dead bodies."

King Richard that his will was done, he gave Sir James Tirrell great thanks; but took exception to the place of their burial, being too [1] base for them that were King's children; whereupon another night by the King's warrant renewed, their bodies were removed by the priest of the Tower, and buried by him in some place which (by means of the priest's death soon after) could not be known. Thus much was then delivered abroad, to be the effect of those examinations; but the King nevertheless made no use of them in any of his declarations. Whereby, as it seems, those examinations left the business somewhat perplexed. And as for Sir James Tirrell, he was long [2] after beheaded in the Tower-yard for other matters of treason. But John Dighton, who it seemeth spake best for the King, was forthwith set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition. Therefore this kind of proof being left so naked [3], the King used the more diligence in the latter, for the tracing of Perkin. To this purpose he sent abroad into several parts, and especially into Flanders, divers secret and nimble scouts and spies; some feigning themselves to fly over unto Perkin, and to adhere unto him; and some under other pretences to learn, search, and discover all the circumstances and particulars of Perkin's parents, birth, person, travels up and down, and in brief, to have a journal (as it were) of his life and doings; and [4] furnished these his employed-men liberally with money, to draw on and reward intelligences; giving them also in charge, to advertise continually what they found, and nevertheless still to go on. And ever as one advertisement and discovery called up another, he employed other new men, where the business did require it. Others he employed in a more special nature and trust, to be his pioners in the main countermine. These were directed to insinuate themselves into the familiarity

[1] So Ed. 1622. The MS. has "so base."

[2] So the MS. The edition of 1622 has "*soon* after:" an alteration which can hardly have been made by Bacon, because it is inconsistent with his own narrative. But it may very well have been hazarded by a corrector of the press, who thought the context required it.

It must be confessed however that, if "long" be the right reading, the sentence is oddly introduced and hardly to the purpose. And it would rather seem as if Bacon when writing this part of his narrative had been under a wrong impression as to the date of Tirrell's execution, and had made the correction afterwards. This MS. is of earlier date, it is true, than the printed book; but the book may have been printed from another copy in which the correction had not been made.

[3] *i. e.* ill-furnished. The translation has *nudam et jejunam*.

[4] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "he furnished."

and confidence of the principal persons of the party in Flanders, and so to learn what associates they had and correspondents either here in England or abroad; and how far every one was[1] engaged; and what new ones they meant afterwards to try or board[2]: and as this for the persons, so for the actions themselves, to discover to the bottom (as they could) the utmost of Perkin and the conspirators their intentions, hopes, and practices. These latter best betrust[3] spies had some of them further instructions, to practise and draw off the best friends and servants of Perkin, by making remonstrance to them how weakly his enterprise and hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a King they had to deal; and to reconcile them to the King with promise of pardon and good conditions of reward. And above the rest to assail, sap, and work into the constancy of Sir Robert Clifford, and to win him (if they could), being the man that knew most of their secrets, and who being won away would most appall and discourage the rest, and in a manner break the knot. There is a strange tradition, that the King lost[4] in a wood of suspicions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both intelligence[5] with the confessors and chaplains of divers great men; and for the better credit of his espials abroad with the contrary side, did use to have them cursed at Paul's (by name) amongst the bead-roll of the King's enemies, according to the custom of those times. These spials plied their charge so roundly, as the King had an anatomy of Perkin alive; and was likewise well informed of the particular correspondent conspirators in England, and many other mysteries were revealed; and Sir Robert Clifford in especial won to be assured to the King, and industrious and officious for his service. The King therefore (receiving a rich return of his diligence, and great satisfaction touching a number of particulars,) first divulged and spread abroad the imposture and juggling of Perkin's person and travels, with the circumstances thereof, throughout the realm; not by proclamation (because things were yet in examination, and so might receive the more or the less,) but by court-fames, which commonly print better than printed proclamations. Then thought he it also time to send an ambassage unto Archduke Philip into Flanders, for the

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 omits "was."
[2] *Tentare et allicere.*
[3] *Exploratores pro fidelioribus habiti.*
[4] So MS. Ed 1622 has "being lost."
[5] *Secreto egisse ut ex iis de consiliis adversariorum suorum edoceretur.*

abandoning and dismissing of Perkin. Herein he employed Sir Edward Poynings, and Sir William Warham[1] doctor of the canon law. The Archduke was then young and governed by his counsel. Before whom the ambassadors had audience. And Dr. Warham spake in this manner:

"My lords, the King our master is very sorry, that England and your country here of Flanders having been counted as man and wife for so long time, now this country of all others should be the stage where a base counterfeit should play the part of a King of England, not only to his Grace's disquiet and dishonour, but to the scorn and reproach of all sovereign Princes. To counterfeit the dead image of a King in his coin is an high offence by all laws. But to counterfeit the living image of a King in his person exceedeth all falsifications, except it should be that of a Mahomet or an Antichrist, that counterfeit divine honour. The King hath too great an opinion of this sage counsel, to think that any of you is caught with this fable (though way may be given by you to the passion of some), the thing in itself is so improbable. To set testimonies aside of the death of Duke Richard, which the King hath upon record plain and infallible, (because they may be thought to be in the King's own power,) let the thing testify for itself. Sense and reason no power can command. Is it possible (trow you) that King Richard should damn his soul and foul his name with so abominable a murder, and yet not mend his case? Or do you think that men of blood (that were his instruments) did turn to pity in the midst of their execution? whereas in cruel and savage beasts, and men also[2], the first draught of blood doth yet make them more fierce and enraged. Do you not know that the bloody executioners of tyrants do go to such errands with an halter about their neck, so that if they perform not they are sure to die for it? And do you think that these men would hazard their own lives for sparing another's? Admit they should have saved him; what should they have done with him? Turn him into London streets? that the watchmen, or any passenger that should light upon him, might carry him before a justice, and so all come to light? Or should they have kept

[1] In Ellis's Letters, 2nd series, vol. i. p. 167., there is a privy seal for payment of money to Sir E. Poynings and Sir W. Warham, for their embassy. It is dated the 5th of July (1493); and it appears that they had not then set out.

[2] *In feris ipsis, nec minus in hominibus ferinæ naturæ.*

him by them secretly? That surely would have required a great deal of care, charge, and continual fears. But, my lords, I labour too much in a clear business. The King is so wise, and hath so good friends abroad, as now he knoweth Duke Perkin from his cradle. And because he is a great Prince, if you have any good poet here, he can help him with notes to write his life, and to parallel him with Lambert Symnell, now the King's falconer. And therefore, to speak plainly to your lordships, it is the strangest thing in the world, that the Lady Margaret (excuse us if we name her, whose malice to the King is both causeless and endless,) should now when she is old, at the time when other women give over child-bearing, bring forth two such monsters, being not the births of nine or ten months, but of many years. And whereas other natural mothers bring forth children weak, and not able to help themselves; she bringeth forth tall stripplings, able soon after their coming into the world to bid battle to mighty Kings. My lords, we stay unwillingly upon this part: we would to God that lady would once taste the joys which God Almighty doth serve up unto her, in beholding her niece to reign in such honour, and with so much royal issue, which she might be pleased to account as her own. The King's request unto the Archduke and your lordships might be, that according to the example of King Charles, who hath already discarded him, you would banish this unworthy fellow out of your dominions. But because the King may justly expect more from an ancient confederate than from a new reconciled enemy, he maketh it[1] his request unto you to deliver him up into his hands: pirates and impostors of this sort being fit to be accounted the common enemies of mankind, and no ways to be protected by the law of nations."

After some time of deliberation, the ambassadors received this short answer: That the Archduke, for the love of King Henry, would in no sort aid or assist the pretended Duke, but in all things conserve the amity he had with the King. But for the Duchess Dowager, she was absolute in the lands of her dowry, and that he could not let her to dispose of her own.

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 omits "it."

The King, upon the return of the ambassadors, was nothing satisfied with this answer: for well he knew that a patrimonial dowry carried no part of sovereignty or command of forces.[1] Besides the ambassadors told him plainly, that they saw the Duchess had a great party in the Archduke's counsel; and that howsoever it was carried in a course of connivance[2], yet the Archduke underhand gave aid and furtherance to Perkin. Wherefore (partly out of courage[3] and partly out of policy) the King forthwith banished all Flemings (as well their persons as their wares) out of his kingdom; commanding his subjects likewise (and by name his Merchants Adventurers) which had a resiance in Antwerp, to return; translating the mart (which commonly followed the English cloth) unto Calais, and embarred also all further trade for the future.[4] This the King did, being sensible in point of honour[5] not to suffer a pretender to the crown of England to affront him so near at hand, and he to keep terms of friendship with the country where he did set up. But he had also a further reach; for that he knew well that the subjects of Flanders drew so great commodity from the trade of England, as by this embargo they would soon wax weary of Perkin; and that the tumults of Flanders had been so late and fresh, as it was no time for the Prince to displease the people. Nevertheless for form's sake, by way of requital, the Archduke did likewise banish the English out of Flanders; which in effect was done to his hand.

The King being well advertised that Perkin did more trust upon friends and partakers within the realm than upon foreign arms, thought it behoved him to apply the remedy where the disease[6] lay, and to proceed with severity against some of the

[1] *i. e.* none of the prerogatives of sovereignty, such as the command of forces: as it is more clearly expressed in the translation — *nihil quod absoluti imperii esset (quale est copiarum administratio) secum transferre.*

[2] *i. e.* howsoever the Archduke pretended only to connive at the entertainment of Perkin. *Utcunque Archidux ad res Perkini connivere tantum simularet.*

[3] *Animum explere cupiens.*

[4] *i. e.* all trade between the English and the Flemings. The translation has *cum Burgundis*; by which word *Flemings* a few lines above is rendered. It was on the 18th of September, 1493, that the sheriffs were directed to publish the proclamation forbidding mercantile intercourse (by importation or exportation without license under the great seal) with the subjects of the Archduke of Austriche and the Duke of Burgoyne. See Cal. Pat. Rolls, 9 Hen. VII. p. 80.

[5] *i. e.* feeling himself interested in point of honour. The Latin is a little fuller: *partim ut nihil honori suo indignum fieri permitteret, qui haud parum perstringi posset si quis ad coronam Angliæ prætensor, &c.*

[6] *Fomes morbi.*

principal conspirators here within the realm; thereby to purge the ill humours in England, and to cool the hopes in Flanders. Wherefore he caused to be apprehended, almost at an instant, John Ratcliffe Lord Fitzwater, Sir Symon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Dawbeny, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Chressenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high treason, in adhering and promising aid to Perkin. Of these the Lord Fitzwater was conveyed to Calais, and there kept in hold and in hope of life, until soon after (either impatient or betrayed) he dealt with his keeper to have escaped, and thereupon was beheaded. But Sir Symon Mountford, Robert Ratcliffe, and William Dawbeny, were beheaded immediately after their condemnation. The rest were pardoned, together with many others[1], clerks and laics, amongst which were two Dominican friars, and William Worseley[2] Dean of Paul's; which latter sort[3] passed examination, but came not to public trial.[4]

The Lord Chamberlain at that time was not touched; whether it were that the King would not stir too many humours at once, but, after the manner of good physicians, purge the head last;

[1] This is omitted in the translation.

[2] William Worsely, Clk., Dean of St. Paul's, London, received his pardon on the 6th of June, 1495. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 10 Hen. VII. p. 57.

[3] *Clerici autem.*

[4] Tytler in his History of Scotland (vol. iv. p. 374–5.) supplies a fact, not mentioned in any previous history, which is of considerable importance to the understanding of Henry's position at this juncture, and particularly of his relations with Scotland. "This discovery," he says, speaking of the information given by Sir R. Clifford, "was a fatal blow to the Yorkists. Their project was probably to have proclaimed Perkin in England, whilst his numerous adherents prepared to rise in Ireland; *and the Scottish monarch was to break at the head of his army across the Borders, and compel Henry to divide his force.* But the Border chiefs, impatient for war, invaded England too soon; and it happened, unfortunately for Warbeck, that *whilst a tumultuous force, including the Armstrongs, Elwalds, Crossars, Wighams, Nyksons, and Henrisons, penetrated into Northumberland, with the hope of promoting a rising in favour of the counterfeit Duke of York,* the treachery of Clifford had revealed the whole particulars of the conspiracy; and the apprehension and execution of the ringleaders struck such terror into the nation, that the cause of Perkin in that country was for the present considered hopeless." "This raid or invasion," adds Mr. Tytler in a note, "which is unknown to our historians, is mentioned nowhere but in the record of justiciary, Nov. 1493. Mr. Stirling's MS. Chron. Notes, p. 55." The total omission from our histories of so considerable a fact as an incursion of this kind at such a conjuncture and during a truce (especially if Mr. Tytler be right in supposing that it was intended to be part of a combined movement in concert with Flanders, Ireland, and the Yorkists in England) shows how ill we can judge of the questions of state with which Henry had to deal.

It appears from an entry in the Calendar of Patent Rolls, dated 8 March, 8 Hen. VII. [1592–3], that an armed force was then about to be sent into Ireland under Sir Roger Cotton, "to war with the rebels" (p. 71.); who seem to have been speedily suppressed, for we find general pardons granted to several principal persons in Ireland on the 22nd and 30th of March, the 10th of April, and the 29th of May following. See Cal. Pat. Rolls, pp. 85. 81, 82. A fact which agrees very well with Tytler's statement.

or that Clifford (from whom most of these discoveries came) reserved that piece for his own coming over[1]; signifying only to the King in the mean time that he doubted there were some greater ones in the business, whereof he would give the King farther account when he came to his presence.

Upon Allhallows-day-even, being now the tenth year of the King's reign, the King's second son Henry was created Duke of York; and as well the Duke, as divers others, noblemen, knights-bachelors, and gentlemen of quality, were made Knights of the Bath according to the ceremony. Upon the morrow after Twelfth-day, the King removed from Westminster[2] (where he had kept his Christmas) to the Tower of London. This he did as soon as he had advertisement that Sir Robert Clifford (in whose bosom or budget most of Perkin's secrets were laid up) was comen into England. And the place of the Tower was chosen to that end, that if Clifford should accuse any of the great ones, they might without suspicion or noise or sending abroad of warrants be presently attached; the court and prison being within the cincture of one wall. After a day or two the King drew unto him a selected counsel, and admitted Clifford to his presence; who first fell down at his feet, and in all humble manner craved the King's pardon; which the King then granted[3], though he were indeed secretly assured of his life before. Then, commanded to tell his knowledge, he did amongst many others (of himself not interrogated) impeach Sir William Stanley, the Lord Chamberlain of the King's household.

The King seemed to be much amazed at the naming of this lord; as if he had heard the news of some strange and fearful prodigy. To hear a man that had done him service of so high a nature as to save his life and set the crown upon his head; a man that enjoyed by his favour and advancement so great a fortune both in honour and riches; a man that was tied unto him in so near a band of alliance, his brother having married the King's mother; and lastly a man to whom he had committed the trust of his person, in making him his chamberlain: that this man, no ways disgraced, no ways discontent, no ways

[1] The translation adds *ut rem maximi momenti.*

[2] So Stowe. According to the old Chronicle (Cott. Vitel. A. xvi.) he kept his Christmas at Greenwich.

[3] Sir Robert Clifford received his pardon on the 22nd of December, 1494. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 10 Hen. VII. p. 33.

put in fear, should be false unto him. Clifford was required to say over again and again the particulars of his accusation; being warned, that in a matter so unlikely, and that concerned so great a servant of the King's, he should not in any wise go too far. But the King finding that he did sadly and constantly (without hesitation or varying, and with those civil protestations that were fit,) stand to that that he had said, offering to justify it upon his soul and life; he caused him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoaned himself unto his counsel there present, gave order that Sir William Stanley should be restrained in his own chamber, where he lay before, in the square tower. And the next day he was examined by the lords. Upon his examination he denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his fault. So that (not very wisely), thinking to make his offence less by confession, he made it enough for condemnation. It was conceived that he trusted much to his former merits and the interest that his brother had in the King. But those helps were over-weighed by divers things that made against him, and were predominant in the King's nature and mind. First, an over-merit; for convenient merit, unto which reward may easily reach, doth best with Kings: Next, the sense of his power; for the King thought that he that could set him up was the more dangerous to pull him down: Thirdly, the glimmering of a confiscation; for he was the richest subject for value in the kingdom; there being found in his castle of Holte forty thousand marks in ready money and plate, besides jewels, household-stuff, stocks upon his grounds, and other personal estate exceeding great; and for his revenue in land and fee, it was three thousand pounds a year of old rent [1], a great matter in those times: [2] Lastly, the nature of the time; for if the King had been out of fear of his own estate, it was not unlike he would have spared his life; but the cloud of so great a rebellion hanging over his head made him work sure. Wherefore after some six weeks' distance of time, which the King did honourably interpose, both to give space to his brother's intercession, and to shew to the world that he had a conflict with himself what he should do, he was arraigned

[1] *Antiqui census.*

[2] *Res mira et fere inaudita.* The inventory of the money found at Holt is preserved in the Rolls-house. Chapter-House Records, A. 3-10. fo. 29.

of high-treason, and condemned, and presently after beheaded.[1]

It is yet[2] to this day left but in dark memory, both what the case of this noble person was, for which he suffered; and what likewise was the ground and cause of his defection and alienation[3] of his heart from the King. His case was said to be this; that in discourse between Sir Robert Clifford and him he had said, That if he were sure that that young man were King Edward's son, he would never bear arms against him. This case seems somewhat a hard case, both in respect of the conditional, and in[4] respect of the other words. But for the conditional, it seemeth the judges of that time (who were learned men, and the three chief of them of the privy counsel,) thought it was a dangerous thing to admit Ifs and Ands to qualify words of treason; whereby every man might express his malice, and blanch his danger. And it was like to the case (in the following times) of Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent, who had said, That if King Henry the Eighth did not take Catherine his wife again, he should be deprived of his crown, and die the death of a dog. And infinite cases may be put of like nature; which it seemeth the grave judges taking into consideration, would not admit of treasons upon condition.[5] And as for the positive words, That he would not bear arms against King Edward's son; though the words seem calm, yet it was a plain and direct over-ruling of the King's title, either by the line of Lancaster or by act of Parliament; which no doubt pierced the King more than if Stanley had charged his lance upon him in the field. For if Stanley would hold that opinion, That a son of King Edward had still the better right, he being so principal a person of authority and favour about the King, it was to teach all England to say as much. And therefore, as those times were[6], that speech touched the quick. But some writers do put this out of doubt; for they say that Stanley did expressly promise to aid Perkin, and sent him some help of treasure.[7]

Now for the motive of his falling off from the King. It is

[1] He was arraigned on the 31st of January, and executed on the 16th of February, 1494–5. (Old Chron.)

[2] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "Yet is it."

[3] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "the allenation."

[4] MS. omits "in."

[5] *Noluerunt prorsus proditionibus cum clausulâ conditionali patrocinari.*

[6] *Si quis temporum illorum conditionem, ita introspiciat.*

[7] This is the statement of Bernard André, as quoted by Speed.

true that at Bosworth field the King was beset, and in a manner inclosed round about by the troops of King Richard, and in manifest danger of his life; when this Stanley was sent by his brother with three thousand men to his rescue, which he performed so, that King Richard was slain upon the place. So as the condition of mortal men is not capable of a greater benefit than the King received by the hands of Stanley; being like the benefit of Christ, at once to save and crown. For which service the King gave him great gifts[1], made him his counsellor and chamberlain; and (somewhat contrary to his nature) had winked at the great spoils of Bosworth-field, which came almost wholly to this man's hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet nevertheless, blown up with the conceit of his merit, he did not think he had received good measure from the King, at least not pressing-down and running over, as he expected. And his ambition was so exorbitant and unbounded, as he became suitor to the King for the Earldom of Chester: which ever being a kind of appanage to the principality of Wales, and using to go to the King's son, his suit did not only end in a denial but in a distaste: the King perceiving thereby that his desires were intemperate, and his cogitations vast and irregular, and that his former benefits were but cheap and lightly regarded by him. Wherefore the King began not to brook him well[2]; and as a little leaven of new distaste doth commonly sour the whole lump of former merits, the king's wit began now to suggest unto his passion, that Stanley at Bosworth-field, though he came time enough to save his life, yet he stayed long enough to endanger it. But yet having no matter against him, he continued him in his places until this his fall.

After him was made Lord Chamberlain Giles Lord Dawbeny, a man of great sufficiency and valour, the more[3] because he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common opinion, that Sir Robert Clifford (who now was becomen the state-informer) was from the beginning an emissary and spy of the King's; and that he fled over into Flanders with his consent and privity. But this is not probable; both because he never recovered that degree of grace which he

[1] So Polydore Vergil says. In the Latin translation, Bacon substitutes *maximam gratiam habuit.*

[2] *Ei intra animum suum minus favere.*

[3] *i. e.* qualities which were of the greater value because &c. *Quæ virtutes magis in eo enituerunt quod,* &c.

had with the King before his going over; and chiefly for that the discovery which he had made touching the Lord Chamberlain (which was his great service) grew not from anything he learned abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

These executions, and specially that of the Lord Chamberlain which was the chief strength of the party, and by means of Sir Robert Clifford who was the most inward man of trust amongst them, did extremely quail the design of Perkin and his complices, as well through discouragement as distrust. So that they were now like sand without lime; ill bound together; especially as many as were English, who were at a gaze, looking strange one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their side; but thinking that the King (what with his baits and what with his nets) would draw them all unto him that were any thing worth. And indeed it came to pass that divers came away by the thrid, sometimes one and sometimes another. Barley[1], that was joint-commissioner with Clifford, did hold out one of the longest, till Perkin was far worn; yet made his peace at length.[2] But the fall of this great man, being in so high authority and favour (as was thought) with the King, and the manner of carriage of the business, as if[3] there had been secret inquisition upon him for a great time before; and the cause for which he suffered, which was little more than for saying in effect that the title of York was better than the title of Lancaster, which was the case almost of every man, at the least in opinion; was matter of great terror amongst all the King's servants and subjects; insomuch as no man almost thought himself secure, and men durst scarce commune or talk one with another, but there was a general diffidence everywhere; which nevertheless made the King rather more absolute than more safe.[4] For bleeding inwards and shut vapours strangle soonest and oppress most.

Hereupon presently came forth swarms and vollies of libels (which are the gusts of liberty of speech restrained, and the females of sedition,) containing bitter invectives and slanders against the King and some of the counsel: for the contriving and

[1] "William Barlee, alias Barley, of Aldebury (Herts), Esquire," received his pardon on 12 July, 1498. See Cal. Pat. Rolls, 13 Hen. VII. p. 39.

[2] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "at the length."

[3] The Latin puts it more strongly. *Unde liquido patebat.*

[4] In the translation he says more absolute but *less* safe. *Ex quo factum est ut res magis absoluto certe, sed minus tuto, imperio frueretur.*

dispersing whereof (after great diligence of enquiry) five mean persons were caught up and executed.

Meanwhile the King did not neglect Ireland, being the soil where these mushrooms and upstart weeds that spring up in a night did chiefly prosper. He sent therefore from hence (for the better settling of his affairs there) commissioners of both robes[1], the Prior of Lanthony[2] to be his Chancellor in that kingdom, and Sir Edward Poynings, with a power of men, and a marshall commission, together with a civil power of his Lieutenant[3], with a clause, That the Earl of Kildare, then Deputy, should obey him. But the wild Irish, who were the principal offenders, fled into the woods and bogs, after their manner; and those that knew themselves guilty in the pale fled to them. So that Sir Edward Poynings was enforced to make a wild chase upon the wild Irish; where (in respect of the mountains

[1] Sir Edward Poynings (or Ponynges), and "Henry, Prior of Langtony and Bishop elect of Bangor" received their commissions,—the one as "Deputy of Ireland, with power to act as Lieutenant in the absence of Henry, second son of the King;" the other as Chancellor,—on the 13th of September, 1494. See Cal. Pat. Rolls, 10 Hen. VII. p. 31. 36. On the same day, Sir Robert Poyntz was commissioned "to superintend the muster of the King's troops destined for Ireland, and to ship them in certain vessels at Bristol thereto appointed." Id. ibid. p. 81.

I suspect that Bacon's description of Sir Edward Poynings's commission, which does not agree exactly with the description in the Calendar of Patent Rolls, was drawn from the tenor of the previous commission to James Ormond and Thomas Garth, 6th December, 1491. See note 4, p. 136. At that time the Duke of Bedford was Lieutenant of Ireland; who was Deputy in his absence I do not know; but on the 11th of June, 1492, Walter Archbishop of Dublin was appointed to that office. See Cal. Pat. Rolls.

The statement that the Earl of Kildare *was Deputy* when Poynings was sent over, that he was apprehended, sent to England, cleared himself, and *was replaced*, comes from Polydore Vergil: whose dates are not much to be relied upon. It is true however that the Earl was attainted by Poinings's Parliament, 1 Dec. 1494, and that the attainder was reversed by Parliament in England in October, 1495. See *Stat. of Realm*, vol. ii. p. 612. The entries in the Calendar of Patent Rolls would lead one to suspect that Sir Edward Poynings discharged the office of Deputy till the end of 1495; that he was then succeeded (provisionally perhaps) by the Prior of Lanthony, who was still Chancellor, and whose appointment as "Deputy and Justice of Ireland, during the absence of Henry, the King's son," &c. is dated 1 Jan. 1495–6 (see Cal. Pat. Rolls, 11 Hen. VII. p. 25); that he continued to discharge both offices till the 6th August, 1496, when he was succeeded as Chancellor by Walter Archbishop of Dublin, and as Deputy by Gerald Fitz Moryce, Earl of Kildare, to whom that office, with the same privileges, &c. as Sir Edward Poynings had enjoyed in the same, was then granted for ten years, and afterwards during pleasure. See Cal. Pat. Rolls, 11 Hen. VII. pt. 1. p. 25. and pt. 2. pp. 15. 18. It may be worth mentioning that Gerald Earl of Kildare had previously received a general pardon on the 30th of March, 1493. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 8 Hen. VII. p. 81.

[2] Henry Dene, now bishop elect of Bangor; translated to Salisbury in 1500; and to Canterbury in August, 1501, upon the death of Cardinal Morton. Died 16 Feb. 1502–3. See old Chron. 204. *b*.

[3] *Atque una diploma dedit auctoritatem in eum conferens locumtenentis sui in regimine civili.* This is not expressly stated by Polydore, though his narrative seems to imply as much.

and fastnesses) he did little good: which (either out of a suspicious melancholy upon his bad success, or the better to save his service from disgrace,) he would needs impute unto the comfort that the rebels should receive underhand from the Earl of Kildare; every light suspicion growing upon the Earl, in respect of the Kildare that was in the action of Lambert Symnell, and slain at Stokefield. Wherefore he caused the Earl to be apprehended, and sent into England; where upon examination he cleared himself so well as he was replaced in his government. But Poynings, the better to make compensation of the meagreness of his service in the wars by acts of peace, called a Parliament; where was made that memorable act which at this day is called Poynings' Law; whereby all the statutes of England were made to be of force in Ireland. For before they were not; neither are any now in force in Ireland, which were made in England since that time; which was the tenth year of the King.

About this time began to be discovered in the King that disposition, which afterwards nourished and whet on by bad counsellors and ministers proved the blot of his times: which was the course he took to crush treasure out of his subjects' purses, by forfeitures upon penal laws. At this men did startle the more (at this time), because it appeared plainly to be in the King's nature, and not out of his necessity; he being now in float for treasure: for that he had newly received the peace-money from France, the benevolence-money from his subjects, and great casualties upon the confiscations of the Lord Chamberlain and divers others. The first noted case of this kind was that of Sir William Capell[1], Alderman of London; who upon sundry penal laws was condemned in the sum of seven and twenty hundred pounds, and compounded with the King for sixteen hundred: and yet after, Empson would have cut another chop out of him, if the King had not died in the instant.

The summer following[2], the King, to comfort his mother, whom he did always tenderly love and revere, and to make

[1] This fact is recorded by Stowe; without any remark. And it is worth observing that the predominance of avarice in Henry's character (which has since become almost proverbial, and to which our modern historians refer almost every action of his life,) had not been noticed by any historian before Bacon, except Speed; and he professes to have derived the observation from Bacon himself. This case occurred in May, 1495. See old Chron. Sir William Capell received a pardon on the 7th Nov. following. See Cal. Pat. Rolls, 11 Hen. VII. p. 19.

[2] *i. e.* the summer of 1495: the 25th of June, according to Polydore.

demonstration[1] to the world that the proceeding against Sir William Stanley (which was imposed upon him by necessity of state) had not in any degree diminished the affection he bore to Thomas his brother, went in progress to Latham, to make merry with his mother and the Earl, and lay there divers days.

During this progress Perkin Warbeck, finding that time and temporising, which while his practices were covert and wrought well in England made for him, did now when they were discovered and defeated rather make against him (for that when matters once go down the hill they stay not without a new force), resolved to try his adventure in some exploit upon England; hoping still upon the affections of the common people towards the House of York. Which body of common people he thought was not to be practised upon as persons of quality are; but that the only practice upon their affections was to set up a standard in the field. The place where he should make his attempt he chose to be the coast of Kent.

The King by this time was grown to such a height of reputation for cunning and policy, that every accident and event that went well was laid and imputed to his foresight, as if he had set it before. As in this particular of Perkin's design upon Kent. For the world would not believe afterwards, but the King, having secret intelligence of Perkin's intention for Kent, the better to draw it on, went of purpose into the north afar off; laying an open side unto Perkin to make him come to the close, and so to trip up his heels, having made sure in Kent beforehand.

But so it was, that Perkin had gathered together a power of all nations[2], neither in number nor in the hardiness and courage of the persons contemptible; but in their nature and fortunes to be feared as well of friends as enemies; being bankrupts, and many of them felons, and such as lived by rapine. These he put to sea, and arrived upon the coast of Sandwich and Deal in Kent about July.[3]

There he cast anchor, and to prove the affections of the people, sent some of his men to land, making great boasts of

[1] The MS. and the Ed. 1622 both have "to make open demonstration." In the list "faults escaped," at the end of the volume, "open" is directed to be omitted.

[2] *Colluvies quaedam.*

[3] On the 3rd of July, 1595; according to the old Chronicle, p. 154. b.

the power that was to follow. The Kentish men, perceiving that Perkin was not followed by any English of name or account, and that his forces consisted but of strangers born, and most of them base people and free-booters, fitter to spoil a coast than to recover a kingdom; resorting unto the principal gentlemen of the country, professed their loyalty to the King, and desired to be directed and commanded for the best of the King's service. The gentlemen, entering into consultation, directed some forces in good number to shew themselves upon the coast, and some of them to make signs to entice Perkin's soldiers to land, as if they would join with them; and some others to appear from some other places, and to make semblance as if they fled from them, the better to encourage them to land. But Perkin, who by playing the Prince, or else taught by secretary Frion, had learned thus much, that people under command do use to consult and after to march on in order [1], and rebels contrariwise run upon an head together in confusion; considering the delay of time, and observing their orderly and not tumultuary arming, doubted the worst. And therefore the wily youth would not set one foot out of his ship, till he might see things were sure. Wherefore the King's forces, perceiving that they could draw on no more than those that were formerly landed, set upon them and cut them in pieces ere they could fly back to their ships. In which skirmish (besides those that fled and were slain) there were taken about an hundred and fifty persons, which, for that the King thought, that to punish a few for example was gentleman's pay, but for rascal people they were to be cut off every man, especially in the beginning of an enterprise; and likewise for that he saw that Perkin's forces would now consist chiefly of such rabble and scum of desperate people [2]; he therefore [3] hanged them all for the greater terror. They were brought to London all railed in ropes, like a team of horses in a cart, and were executed some of them at London and Wapping, and the rest at divers places upon the sea-coast of Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk; for sea-marks or light-houses to teach Perkin's people to avoid the coast. The King being advertised of the landing of the rebels, thought to leave his progress: but being certified the

[1] *Primo stare et postea ordine incedere.* Ed. 1622 has "to march in order."

[2] *Simulque animo prospiciens copias Perkini posthac ex colluvie et sentinâ hominum projectorum compositas fore.*

[3] So Ed. 1622. The MS. omits "he therefore."

next day that they were partly defeated and partly fled, he continued his progress, and sent Sir Richard Guildford into Kent in message; who calling the country together, did much commend (from the King) their fidelity, manhood, and well handling of that service; and gave them all thanks, and in private promised reward to some particulars.

Upon the sixteenth of November (this being the eleventh year of the King) was holden the Serjeants' feast at Ely Place, there being nine serjeants of that call. The King, to honour the feast, was present with his Queen at the dinner; being a Prince that was ever ready to grace and countenance the professors of the law; having a little of that, that as he governed his subjects by his[1] laws, so he governed his laws by his lawyers.

This year also the King entered into league with the Italian potentates for the defence of Italy against France. For King Charles had conquered the realm of Naples, and lost it again, in a kind of felicity of a dream. He passed the whole length of Italy without resistance; so that it was true which Pope Alexander was wont to say, That the Frenchmen came into Italy with chalk in their hands to mark up their lodgings, rather than with swords to fight. He likewise entered and won in effect the whole kingdom of Naples itself, without striking stroke. But presently thereupon he did commit and multiply so many errors, as was too great a task for the best fortune to overcome. He gave no contentment to the barons of Naples, of the faction of the Angeovines; but scattered his rewards according to the mercenary appetites of some about him: He put all Italy upon their guard, by the seizing and holding of Ostia, and the protecting of the liberty of Pisa; which made all men suspect that his purposes looked further than his title of Naples: He fell too soon at difference with Ludovico Sfortza, who was the man that carried the keys which brought him in and shut him out: He neglected to extinguish some relicks of the war: And lastly, in regard of his easy passage through Italy without resistance, he entered into an overmuch despising of the arms of the Italians, whereby he left the realm of Naples at his departure so much the less provided. So that not long after his return, the whole kingdom revolted to Ferdinando the younger, and the French were quite driven out. Nevertheless Charles did make both great threats and great preparations to

[1] So Ed. 1622. The MS. omits "his."

re-enter Italy once again: wherefore at the instance of divers of the states of Italy (and especially of Pope Alexander) there was a league concluded between the said Pope, Maximilian King of the Romans, Henry King of England, Ferdinando and Isabella King and Queen of Spain (for so they are constantly placed in the original treaty throughout), Augustino Barbadico Duke of Venice, and Ludovico Sforza Duke of Milan, for the common defence of their estates: wherein though Ferdinando of Naples was not named as principal, yet no doubt the kingdom of Naples was tacitly included[1] as a fee of the church.

There died also this year Cecile Duchess of York, mother to King Edward the Fourth, at her castle of Barkhamsted, being of extreme years, and who had lived to see three princes of her body crowned, and four murdered. She was buried at Foderingham, by her husband.

This year also the King called his Parliament[2], where many laws were made of a more private and vulgar nature than ought to detain the reader of an history. And it may be justly suspected, by the proceedings following, that as the King did excell in good commonwealth laws, so nevertheless he had in secret a design to make use of them as well for collecting of treasure as for correcting of manners; and so meaning thereby to harrow his people, did accumulate them the rather.

The principal law that was made this Parliament was a law of a strange nature, rather just than legal[3], and more magnanimous than provident. This law did ordain, That no person that did assist in arms or otherwise the King for the time being, should after be impeached therefore, or attainted either by the course of law[4] or by act of Parliament; but if any such act of attainder did hap[5] to be made, it should be void and of none effect; for that it was agreeable to reason of estate that the subject should not inquire of the justness of the King's title or quarrel, and it was agreeable to good conscience that (whatsoever the fortune of the war were) the subject should not suffer for his obedience. The spirit of this law was wonderful pious and noble, being like, in matter of war, unto the spirit of

[1] *Tacitly* is omitted in the translation. The original league (without Henry) was signed 25 March, 1495. It was ratified by Henry on the 13th of September, 1496.

[2] It met on the 14th of October, 1495.

[3] *Justa potius secundum æquitatem naturalem quam ex normâ juris.* The act was the 11 H. 7. c. 1.

[4] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "the law."

[5] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "happen."

David in matter of plague; who said, If I have sinned strike me, but what have these sheep done? Neither wanted this law parts of prudent and deep foresight. For it did the better take away occasion for the people to busy themselves to pry into the King's title; for that (howsoever it fell) their safety was already provided for. Besides it could not but greatly draw unto him the love and hearts of the people, because he seemed more careful for them than for himself. But yet nevertheless it did take off from his party that great tie and spur of necessity to fight and go victors out of the field; considering their lives and fortunes were put in safety and protected whether they stood to it or ran away. But the force and obligation of this law was in itself illusory, as to the latter part of it; (by a precedent act of Parliament to bind or frustrate a future). For a supreme and absolute power cannot conclude itself, neither can that which is in nature revocable be made fixed; no more than if a man should appoint or declare by his will that if he made any later will it should be void. And for the case of the act of Parliament, there is a notable precedent of it in King Henry the Eighth's time; who doubting he might die in the minority of his son, procured an act to pass, That no statute made during the minority of a King should bind him or his successors, except it were confirmed by the King under his great seal at his full age. But the first act that passed in King Edward the Sixth's time, was an act of repeal of that former act; at which time nevertheless the King was minor. But things that do not bind may satisfy for the time.

There was also made a shoaring or underpropping act for the benevolence[1]: to make the sums which any person had agreed to pay, and nevertheless were not brought in, to be leviable by course of law. Which act did not only bring in the arrears, but did indeed countenance the whole business, and was pretended to be made at the desire of those that had been forward to pay.

This Parliament also was made that good law which gave the attaint upon a false verdict between party and party[2], which before was a kind of evangile, irremediable. It extends not to causes capital, as well because they are for the most part at the King's suit; as because in them, if they be followed in course

[1] 11 H. 7. c. 10.

[2] *Quæ breve de attinctâ vocatum introduxit; per quod judicia juratorum (quæ veredicta vocantur) falsa rescindi possint.* 11 H. 7. c. 21.

of indictment[1], there passeth a double jury, the indictors and the triers, and so not twelve men but four and twenty. But it seemeth that was not the only reason; for this reason holdeth not in the appeal.[2] But the great reason was, lest it should tend to the discouragement of jurors in cases of life and death, if they should be subject to suit and penalty, where the favour of life maketh against them. It extendeth not also to any suit where the demand is under the value of forty pounds; for that in such cases of petty value it would not quit the charge to go about again.[3]

There was another law made against a branch of ingratitude in women, who having been advanced[4] by their husbands, or their husbands' ancestors, should alien and thereby seek to defeat the heirs or those in remainder of the lands whereunto they had been so advanced. The remedy was by giving power to the next to enter for a forfeiture.[5]

There was also enacted that charitable law for the admission of poor suitors *in forma pauperis*, without fee to counsellor, attorney, or clerk; whereby poor men became rather able to vex than unable to sue.[6] There were divers other good laws made that Parliament, as we said before; but we still observe our manner in selecting out those that are not of a vulgar nature.

The King this while though he sat in Parliament as in full peace, and seemed to account of the designs of Perkin (who was now returned into Flanders) but as of a May-game[7]; yet having the composition of a wise King, stout without and apprehensive within, had given order for the watching of beacons upon the coast, and erecting more where they stood too thin; and had a careful eye where this wandering cloud would break. But Perkin, advised to keep his fire (which hitherto burned as it were upon green wood) alive with continual blowing, sailed

[1] *Si per viam indictamenti, quod regis nomine semper procedit, tractentur.*

[2] *Ubi causa capitalis a parte gravata peragitur.*

[3] *Superaturæ essent impensæ summam principalem si retractarentur.* The entire sum at issue would not pay the expense of the process.

[4] *i. e.* received lands: *ad terras promotæ.*

[5] *In terrarum possessionem, nomine forisfacturæ, non expectata morte mulieris, continuo venire.* 11 H. 7. c. 20.

[6] *Unde tamen factum est ut homines egeni, sicut lege experiri melius possent, ad alios vexandos promptiores essent.* The meaning is, that the charity of the legislature thought it better that the poor man should be able to vex than that he should not be able to sue.—This was 11 H. 7. c. 12.

[7] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "but as a May-game."

again into Ireland[1]; whence he had formerly departed, rather upon the hopes of France than upon any unreadiness or discouragement he found in that people. But in the space of time between, the King's diligence and Poyning's commission had so settled things there, as there was nothing left for Perkin but the blustering affection of the wild[2] and naked people. Wherefore he was advised by his counsel to seek aid of the King of Scotland; a Prince young and valorous, and in good terms with his nobles and people, and ill affected to King Henry. At this time also both Maximilian and Charles of France began to bear no good will to the King: the one being displeased with the King's prohibition of commerce with Flanders; the other holding the King for suspect, in regard of his late entry into league with the Italians. Wherefore besides the open aids of the Duchess of Burgundy, which did with sails and oars put on and advance Perkin's designs, there wanted not some secret tides from Maximilian and Charles which did further his fortunes; insomuch as they both by their secret letters and messages recommended him to the King of Scotland.

Perkin therefore coming into Scotland[3] upon those hopes, with a well-appointed company, was by the King of Scots (being formerly well prepared) honourably welcomed; and soon after his arrival admitted to his presence in a solemn manner. For the King received him in state in his chamber of presence, accompanied with divers of his nobles. And Perkin, well attended as well with those that the King had sent before him as with his own train, entered the room where the King was, and coming near to the King, and bowing a little to embrace him, he retired some paces back, and with a loud voice,

[1] Probably soon after the failure of his descent upon Kent. For we hear of a royal fleet under the command of Sir Roger Cotton destined for Ireland on the 26th of July, 1495 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 10 Hen. VII. p. 97.); and on the 26th of November following, license was granted to the owner of a ship which had been seized and despoiled *at Youghal by the rebel Peter Warbeck*, to seize or detain any ship or goods, &c. (Id. 11 Hen. VII. p. 18. A.) A letter from Yarmouth, in the Paston Correspondence (v. p. 431.), dated 'Relyk Sonday' [12 July, 1495], says "as for the ships with the King's rebellers they be forth out of Cambyr *westwards*."

[2] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "of wild."

[3] He arrived in Stirling on the 20th of November, 1495. But the King of Scotland had been prepared to receive him more than a year before. See the entry in the Treasurer's books, Nov. 6, 1494, quoted by Tytler. "Items for carriage of the arras work forth of Edinburgh to Stirling, for receiving the Prince of England, xxx *sh.*" This may have been the occasion of the busy deliberations in the English Council mentioned in one of the Paston letters, dated Allhallowtide, 1594. "Sir, there hath been so great counsel for the King's matters that my Lord Chancellor kept not the Star Chamber this eight days, but one day at London, on St. Leonard's day." Vol. v. p. 423.

that all that were present might hear him, made his declaration in this manner[1].

"High and mighty King; your Grace and these your nobles here present may be pleased benignly to bow your ears to hear the tragedy of a young man, that by right ought to hold in his hand the ball of a kingdom, but by fortune is made himself a ball, tossed from misery to misery, and from place to place. You see here before you the spectacle of a Plantagenet, who hath been carried from the nursery to the sanctuary, from the sanctuary to the direful prison, from the prison to the hand of the cruel tormentor, and from that hand to the wide wilderness (as I may truly call it), for so the world hath been to me. So that he that is born to a great kingdom, hath not ground to set his foot upon, more than this where he now standeth by your princely favour. Edward the Fourth, late King of England, (as your Grace cannot but have heard,) left two sons, Edward and Richard Duke of York, both very young. Edward the eldest succeeded their father in the crown, by the name of King Edward the Fifth. But Richard Duke of Glocester, their unnatural uncle, first thirsting after the kingdom through ambition, and afterwards thirsting for their blood out of desire to secure himself, employed an instrument of his (confident to him as he thought,) to murder them both. But this man that was employed to execute that execrable tragedy, having cruelly slain King Edward, the eldest of the two,

[1] It is not to be supposed that there is any authentic report of Perkin's speech to the Scotch King, except for the general tenor and effect of it. The speech which is given here is taken almost entirely from Speed; who seems to have made it up partly from Perkin's Proclamation (to be mentioned presently) and partly from the narrative of John Leslie Bishop of Rosse; with a touch here and there taken from Polydore Vergil. Speed gives it in the third person, as the substance of what Perkin said. Bacon retains all that is in Speed, almost word for word; interweaving here and there a sentence or two, apparently of his own, by way of introduction or transition; or to fill up an apparent gap in the argument. The three first sentences, and those in which Perkin is made to touch upon the manner of his escape from the Tower, may be taken as specimens of the matter added. I have not thought it worth while to point out each expression which varies from previously recorded versions of the speech. It is enough to say that no statement or material modification of any *fact* has been introduced by Bacon without the authority (such as it is) of preceding historians. In point of form and expression there is no version of it which has any claim to be taken for authentic. Such things, unless taken down by a short-hand writer, must always be in great part the composition of the narrator; as any one may satisfy himself by trying to write out a continuous narrative of the last conversation, or a continuous report of the last speech, that was uttered in his presence: and if the version of the speech which is here given contains Bacon's guesses, instead of Polydore's or Leslie's or Speed's, it is not the less likely on that account to represent truly the effect of what Perkin said.

was moved partly by remorse, and partly by some other mean, to save Richard his brother; making a report nevertheless to the tyrant that he had performed his commandment for both brethren. This report was accordingly believed [1], and published generally. So that the world hath been possessed of an opinion that they both were barbarously made away, though ever truth hath some sparks that fly abroad until it appear in due time, as this hath had. But Almighty God, that stopped the mouth of the lions [2], and saved little Joas from the tyranny of Athaliah when she massacred the King's children, and did save Isaac when the hand was stretched forth to sacrifice him, preserved the second brother. For I myself that stand here in your presence, am that very Richard Duke of York, brother of that unfortunate Prince King Edward the Fifth, now the most rightful surviving heir-male to that victorious and most noble Edward, of that name the Fourth, late King of England. For the manner of my escape, it is fit it should pass in silence, or at least in a more secret relation; for that it may concern some alive, and the memory of some that are dead. Let it suffice to think, that I had then a mother living, a Queen, and one that expected daily such a commandment from the tyrant for the murdering of her children. Thus in my tender age escaping by God's mercy out of London, I was secretly conveyed over sea; where after a time the party that had me in charge (upon what new fears, change of mind, or practice, God knoweth) suddenly forsook me; whereby I was forced to wander abroad, and to seek mean conditions for the sustaining of my life. Wherefore distracted between several passions, the one of fear to be known, lest the tyrant should have a new attempt upon me, the other of grief and disdain to be unknown and to live in that base and servile manner that I did, I resolved with myself to expect the tyrant's death, and then to put myself into my sister's hands, who was next heir to the crown. But in this season it happened one Henry Tidder [3], son to Edmund Tidder Earl of Richmond,

[1] Believed, that is, by Richard. *Isti relationi a tyranno fides adhibita est, eademque publicis declarationibus est confirmata.*

[2] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "lion."

[3] So spelt throughout Perkin's original proclamation; and in the MS. and original edition of this work.

The sentences which follow, down to the words "if I had been such a feigned

to come from France and enter into the realm, and by subtile and foul means to obtain the crown of the same, which to me rightfully appertained: so that it was but a change from tyrant to tyrant. This Henry, my extreme and mortal enemy, so soon as he had knowledge of my being alive, imagined and wrought all the subtile ways and means he could to procure my final destruction. For my mortal enemy hath not only falsely surmised me to be a feigned person, giving me nick-names so abusing the world; but also to defer and put me from entry into England, hath offered large sums of money to corrupt the Princes and their ministers with whom I have been retained; and made importune labours to certain servants about my person to murder or poison me[1], and others to forsake and leave my righteous quarrel and to depart from my service; as Sir Robert Clifford and others. So that every man of reason may well perceive, that Henry, calling himself King of England, needed not to have bestowed such great sums of treasure, nor so to have busied himself with importune and incessant labour and industry, to compass my death and ruin, if I had been such a feigned person. But the truth of my cause being so manifest, moved the most Christian King Charles, and the Lady Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, my most dear aunt, not only to acknowledge the truth thereof, but lovingly to assist me. But it seemeth that God above, for the good of this whole island, and the knitting of these two kingdoms of England and Scotland in a strait concord and amity by so great an obligation, hath reserved the placing of me in the imperial throne of England for the arms and succours of your Grace. Neither is it the first time that a King of Scotland hath supported them that were reft[2] and spoiled of the kingdom of England, as of late in fresh memory it was done in the person of Henry the Sixth. Wherefore for that your Grace hath given clear signs that you are in no noble quality inferior to your royal ancestors,

person," are taken almost verbatim from Speed, by whom they were copied almost verbatim from the first paragraph of Perkin's proclamation. The discrepancies between Speed's extract and the original (presuming that the copy of the original which has been preserved is correct) seem to have arisen from the difficulty of decyphering it.

The remainder of the speech is also taken — with no more change than the turning it from the third person into the first, and the insertion of a transitional sentence — from Speed; who took it from Bishop Leslie.

[1] So Speed. The MS. copy has "some of them to murdere our psone, us (*sic*) and other to forsack," &c.

[2] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "bereft."

I, so distressed a Prince, was hereby moved to come and put myself into your royal hands; desiring your assistance to recover my kingdom of England, promising faithfully to bear myself towards your Grace no otherwise than if I were your own natural brother; and will, upon the recovery of mine inheritance, gratefully do to you[1] all the pleasure that is in my utmost power."

After Perkin had told his tale, King James answered bravely and wisely, That whosoever he were, he should not repent him of putting himself into his hands. And from that time forth (though there wanted not some about him that would have persuaded him that all was but an illusion) yet notwithstanding, either taken by Perkin's amiable and alluring behaviour, or inclining to the recommendation of the great Princes abroad, or willing to take an occasion of a war against King Henry, he entertained him in all things as became the person of Richard Duke of York, embraced his quarrel, and, the more to put it out of doubt that he took him to be a great Prince and not a representation only, he gave consent that this Duke should take to wife the Lady Katheren Gordon daughter to the Earl of Huntley, being a near kinswoman to the King himself, and a young virgin of excellent beauty and virtue.

Not long after[2], the King of Scots in person, with Perkin in his company, entered with a great army (though it consisted chiefly of borderers being raised somewhat suddenly) into Northumberland. And Perkin, for a perfume before him as he

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "do you."

[2] All Bacon's authorities represented this predatory incursion of the Scotch as following close upon Perkin's arrival. And Fabyan, whose authority is good for dates, says that the Scotch King made sharp war upon the marches in the eleventh year; that is 1495–6. I find also in the Calendar of Patent Rolls several commissions for warlike preparations dated during that year: on the 18th of November, 1495, a commission of array for Yorkshire: on the 16th of March, 1495–6, a commission to impress carpenters, masons, &c. for the King's works on the northern parts and the marches towards Scotland: on the 23rd of April, commissions of muster and array for Sussex, Kent, Worcestershire, Lincolnshire, the cinque ports, Surrey, Hants, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire. (See Cal. Pat. Rolls, 11 Hen. VII. pp. 49. 51. 29–33.) It is probable therefore that some predatory incursions did take place soon after Perkin's arrival in Scotland. The principal invasion however of which Bacon proceeds to speak does not appear to have been made for ten months or more after. See Ellis's Letters, 1st ser. vol. i. pp. 23. 32.; and Tytler's Extracts from the Treasurer's Books.

The author of the Pictorial History of England puts it still later. He says that James did not cross the borders till the beginning of the winter of 1496, though he had been expected to do so as early as the middle of September. But he does not quote his authority. In the Calendar of Patent Rolls there are several commissions for the conveyance of various warlike stores towards Scotland dated in September, November, January, and February, 1496–7. And these were no doubt the preparations against the "great army" which the Scotch King led across the borders in person.

went, caused to be published a proclamation of this tenor following[1], in the name of Richard Duke of York, true inheritor of the crown of England:

"It hath pleased God, who putteth down the mighty from their seat, and exalteth the humble, and suffereth not the hopes of the just to perish in the end, to give us means at the length to show ourselves armed unto our lieges and people of England. But far be it from us to intend their hurt or damage, or to make war upon them, otherwise than to deliver ourself and them from tyranny and oppression. For our mortal enemy Henry Tidder, a false usurper of the crown of England which to us by natural and lineal right appertaineth, knowing in his own heart our undoubted right, (we being the very Richard Duke of York, younger son and now surviving heir-male of the noble and victorious Edward the Fourth, late King of England), hath not only deprived us of our kingdom, but likewise by all foul and wicked means sought to betray us and bereave us of our life. Yet if his tyranny only extended itself to our person, (although our royal blood teacheth us to be sensible of injuries,) it should be less to

The original of this proclamation remaineth with Sir Robert Cotton, a worthy preserver and treasurer of rare antiquities: from whose manuscripts I have had much light for the furnishing of this work.

[1] Of this *tenor*; not in these *words*. This proclamation stands on a different footing from the speech in the last page; and I have therefore treated it differently. Of this there is extant a literal copy; not indeed the original copy of which Bacon speaks as then remaining with Sir Robert Cotton; but a transcript in a well-known hand, with the following note prefixed by the transcriber himself. "The original of this, in old written hand, is in the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, the 18 of August, 1616." That original (which, to judge by the many confused and scarcely intelligible passages that occur in the copy, was probably either very incorrect or very hard to read) is not now to be found: but the transcript may be seen among the Harleian MSS. No. 283. fo. 123. b.

Bacon's manner of treating it is peculiar, and (for modern readers at least) requires explanation. It seems that he had read the original and remembered its tenor, but had no copy within reach from which he could quote the words. Speed however had printed some extracts from it; and all these he has quoted almost verbatim, — with only the occasional substitution of a familiar for an obsolete word. Of the rest he has given, not a transcript, but a *representation*; the sort of representation which a clear-headed reporter will give of a confused message, or a judge of the evidence of a blundering witness. The spirit and effect he has preserved faithfully; but he has omitted repetitions, changed the order, marked the transitions, and in some cases inserted a sentence or two to make the meaning clearer or more forcible.

Now if he had treated the extracts which he found in Speed in the same way as the rest, one could only have supposed that he had done it in obedience to some law of historical composition, — because a literal transcript of such a thing could not have been introduced into his work with a good effect. But since this is not so; since he has made so very little alteration in those portions of which he certainly had an exact copy at hand, and so very much in all the rest; the only natural inference is that though he had read the original and remembered well enough its general character and purport, he had no copy of the words within reach, and either had not the means or did not think it worth while to procure one.

I have pointed out in the foot-notes the principal passages in which Bacon's representation varies from the real proclamation; and a copy of the proclamation itself will be found in the appendix.

our grief. But this Tidder, who boasteth himself to have overthrown a tyrant, hath ever since his first entrance into his usurped reign, put little in practice but tyranny and the feats thereof.[1] For King Richard, our unnatural uncle, (although desire of rule did blind him) yet in his other actions, like a true Plantagenet, was noble, and loved the honour of the realm and the contentment and comfort of his nobles and people. But this our mortal enemy, agreeable to the meanness of his birth, hath trodden under foot the honour of this nation; selling our best confederates for money, and making merchandise of the blood, estates, and fortunes of our peers and subjects, by feigned wars and dishonourable peace, only to enrich his coffers.[2] Nor unlike hath been his hateful misgovernment and evil deportments here at home. First he hath to fortify his false quarrel[3] caused divers nobles of this our realm (whom he held suspect and stood in dread of) to be cruelly murdered; as our cousin Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain[4], Sir Simon[5] Mountfort, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, William Dawbeney, Humphrey Stafford, and many others, besides such as have dearly bought their lives with intolerable ransoms: some of which nobles are now in the sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in prison, our right

[1] This first paragraph is a kind of abstract of the first page and half of the real proclamation; of which the words, or a great part of them, have already been given (from Speed) as part of Perkin's speech to the King. The substance of them is here recast in quite a different form.

[2] I cannot find any passage in the real proclamation in which any such allusion to the recent peace is contained, either explicitly or implicitly. I fancy that, in this instance, Bacon's memory, endeavouring to recover its impression of the original,—an impression derived perhaps from a single reading of an inaccurate and illegible manuscript—mistook a suggestion of his own for a recollection of what he had seen there. His thought as he read had outrun his eye. He had seen the sort of topics which Perkin was looking for; that topic had at once presented itself to his mind; and it remained afterwards in his memory so associated with the passage, that he forgot it was not a part of it. In men of quick faculties and large memories largely tasked, there is no kind of error of memory so common as this. Indeed I suppose there is hardly any man who, if he make a point of referring distinctly to his authorities and verifying his references, will not find himself occasionally turning for his authority with the greatest confidence to a place where no such thing is to be found. The value of Bacon's testimony to matters of fact (which I hold very high) depends not upon any particular faculty for remembering details,—for his references and quotations are often inaccurate,—but upon the capacity and the habit, far more important to substantial accuracy than the most impeccable memory, of taking true impressions in the first instance.

[3] The rest of this and the following paragraph are taken word for word from Speed; who copied them word for word (with a very few differences probably accidental and two or three omissions indicated by *et cæteras*) from Sir Robert Cotton's MS.

[4] So Speed. The MS. copy of the proclamation has "*our cousin the Lord Fitzwater*, Sir William Stanley, Sir Robert Chamberlain, &c." Lord Fitzwater was beheaded at Calais, according to the old Chronicle, fo. 161. b. in November, 1496; after the date which Bacon would have assigned to the proclamation.

[5] So Ed. 1622. The MS. has "Edmond."

entirely well-beloved cousin, Edward, son and heir to our uncle Duke of Clarence, and others; withholding from them their rightful inheritance, to the intent they should never be of might and power to aid and assist us at our need, after the duty of their legiances. He also married by compulsion certain of our sisters, and also the sister of our said cousin the Earl of Warwick, and divers other ladies of the royal blood, unto certain of his kinsmen and friends of simple and low degree; and, putting apart all well disposed nobles, he hath none in favour and trust about his person, but Bishop Foxe, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King[1], David Owen, Riseley, Turbervile[2], Tyler[3], Cholmeley, Empson[4], James Hobarte, John Cutte, Garth, Henry Wyate, and such other caitifs and villains of birth[5], which by subtile inventions and pilling of the people have been the principal finders, occasioners, and counsellors of the misrule and mischief now reigning in England.[6]

"We remembering these premises, with the great and execrable offences daily committed and done by our foresaid great enemy and his adherents, in breaking the liberties and franchises of our mother the holy church, upon pretences of wicked and heathenish policy, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, besides the manifold treasons, abominable murders, manslaughters, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of the people by dismes, taskes, tallages, benevolences, and other unlawful impositions and grievous exactions, with many other hainous effects[7], to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole realm[8]: shall by God's grace, and the help and assistance of the great lords of our blood, with

[1] The name of *Sir Charles Somerset*, which follows that of Oliver King both in Speed and in the MS. proclamation, has been omitted, I suppose by accident.

[2] The MS. proclamation has *Sir Joseph Trobulvill*: Speed gives *Sir John Trobutuile*. Sir John Turbervile is the name given in the Calendar of Patent Rolls.

[3] After the name of *Tyler* there follow in the MS. proclamation the names *Robert Lytton, Gylforde*;— they are omitted by Speed.

[4] The name of *Empson* is given in the MS. proclamation, but *not* in Speed: a circumstance worth observing, because we must suppose that Bacon supplied the omission from his recollection of the original; the name of Empson being too notable a one in connexion with Henry VII. to be overlooked.

[5] So Speed. The MS. proclamation has *villains of simple birth*.

[6] Here Speed inserts *etc.* to mark the omission of a long clause which follows in the original. It relates to the reward offered for the taking of Henry, and the substance of it will be found a little further on,—in the last paragraph but one.

[7] So Speed. The MS. proclamation has "offences;" which is probably the right word.

[8] Here Speed inserts an *&c.*; a few lines being omitted.

the counsel of other sad persons[1], see that the commodities of our realm be employed to the most advantage of the same; the intercourse of merchandise betwixt realm and realm to be ministered and handled as shall more be to the common weal and prosperity of our subjects; and all such dismes, taskes, tallages, benevolences, unlawful impositions, and grievous exactions as be above rehearsed, to be foredone and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in such cases as our noble progenitors Kings of England have of old time been accustomed to have the aid, succour, and help of their subjects and true liege-men.[2]

"And farther we do out of our grace and clemency hereby as well publish and promise to all our subjects remission and free pardon of all by-past offences whatsoever against our person or estate, in adhering to our said enemy, by whom we know well they have been misled; if they shall within time convenient submit themselves unto us. And for such as shall come with the foremost to assist our righteous quarrel, we shall make them so far partakers of our princely favour and bounty, as shall be highly for the comfort of them and theirs both during their life and after their death. As also we shall, by all means which God shall put into our hands, demean ourselves to give royal contentment to all degrees and estates of our people; maintaining the liberties of holy church in their entire, preserving the honours, privileges, and preeminences of our nobles from contempt or disparagement, according to the dignity of their blood: we shall also unyoke our people from all heavy burdens and endurances, and confirm our cities, boroughs, and towns in their charters and freedoms, with enlargement where it shall be deserved; and in all points give our subjects cause to think that the blessed and debonaire government of our noble father King Edward in his last times is in us revived.

"And forasmuch as the putting to death or taking alive of our said mortal enemy may be a mean to stay much effusion

[1] Here again Speed inserts an &c.; a passage being omitted of some length, the substance of which Bacon has worked up into the following paragraph.

[2] This is the end of Speed's extract; who gives no more. The three remaining paragraphs appear to have been supplied by Bacon from memory: and contain the substance of all the rest. He has made no attempt (or else an unsuccessful one) to preserve the form and order of the real proclamation; but upon a careful comparison of the two I have not been able to find anything material here which is not implied in the original, or anything material in the original which is not expressed here.

of blood, which otherwise may ensue if by compulsion or fair promises he shall draw after him any number of our subjects to resist us; which we desire to avoid (though we be certainly informed that our said enemy is purposed and prepared to fly the land, having already made over great masses of the treasure of our crown the better to support him in foreign parts); we do hereby declare that whosoever shall take or distress our said enemy, though the party be of never so mean a condition, he shall be by us rewarded with 1000*l.* in money, forthwith to be laid down to him, and an hundred marks by the year of inheritance; besides that he may otherwise merit, both toward God and all good people, for the destruction of such a tyrant.

"Lastly, we do all men to wit (and herein we take also God to witness) that whereas God hath moved the heart of our dearest cousin the King of Scotland to aid us in person in this our righteous quarrel, that it is altogether without any pact or promise, or so much as demand, of any thing that may prejudice our crown or subjects; but contrariwise with promise on our said cousin's part, that whensoever he shall find us in sufficient strength to get the upper hand of our enemy (which we hope will be very suddenly), he will forthwith peaceably return into his own kingdom, contenting himself only with the glory of so honourable an enterprise, and our true and faithful love and amity: which we shall ever by the grace of Almighty God so order as shall be to the great comfort of both kingdoms."

But Perkin's proclamation did little edify with the people of England. Neither was he the better welcome for the company he came in. Wherefore the King of Scotland, seeing none came in to Perkin nor none stirred any where in his favour, turned his enterprise into a rode[1]; and wasted and destroyed the country of Northumberland with fire and sword. But hearing that there were forces coming against him, and not willing that they should find his men heavy and laden with booty, he returned into Scotland with great spoils, deferring further prosecution till

[1] Spelt "road" in MS.—James's preparations seem to have been complete by the middle of September, 1496; but he waited, I suppose, for the promised rising of the English in Perkin's favour. Henry in the meantime was informed by his friends in the Scotch Court of everything that was going on: and knew that he was secure against any serious impression from that side. Whether he was prepared for this kind of predatory incursion or not, seems to be doubtful.

another time. It is said that Perkin, acting the part of a prince handsomely, when he saw the Scottish fell to waste the country, came to the King in a passionate manner, making great lamentation, and desired that that might not be the manner of making the war; for that no crown was so dear to his mind, as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruin of his country. Whereunto the King answered half in sport, that he doubted much he was careful for that that was none of his; and that he should be too good a steward for his enemy, to save the country to his use.[1]

By this time, being the eleventh year of the King, the interruption of trade between the English and the Flemish began to pinch the merchants of both nations very sore, which moved them by all means they could devise to affect and dispose their sovereigns respectively to open the intercourse again. Wherein time favoured them. For the Archduke and his counsel began to see that Perkin would prove but a runagate and citizen of the world; and that it was the part of children to fall out about babies.[2] And the King on his part, after the attempts upon Kent and Northumberland[3], began to have the business of Perkin in less estimation; so as he did not put it to account in any consultation of state. But that that moved him most was, that being a King that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the gate-vein, which disperseth that blood. And yet he kept state so far, as first to be sought unto. Wherein the Merchant Adventurers likewise being a strong company (at that time) and well under-set with rich men and good order[4], did hold out bravely; taking off the commodities of the kingdom, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of vent. At the last, commissioners met at London to treat. On the King's part, Bishop Foxe Lord Privy Seal, Viscount Wells, Kendall Prior of Saint John's, and Warham Master of the Rolls (who began to gain much upon the King's opinion), and Urswick, who was almost every one, and Riseley. On the Archduke's part, the Lord

[1] This, and most of the particulars of Perkin's proceedings in Scotland, may be found in Buchanan. See *Rer. Scot. Hist.* XIII. 10, et seq.

[2] *Pupas: i. e.* dolls. So in Macbeth: "the *baby* of a girl."

[3] *Post impressiones illas in Cantium et Northumbriam factas et frustratas.* It is to be remembered however that the attempt upon *Northumberland* had not yet been made. At the time Bacon is now speaking of, Perkin's fortunes at the Scotch Court were in full flower. See note 2. p. 166.

[4] *Magno locupletum numero et bonis contributionibus corroborata.*

Bevers his Admiral, the Lord Verunsell President of Flanders, and others. These concluded a perfect treaty[1] both of amity and intercourse between the King and the Archduke; containing articles both of state, commerce, and free fishing. This is that treaty which the Flemings call at this day *intercursus magnus;* both because it is more complete than the precedent treaties of the third and fourth year of the King; and chiefly to give it a difference from the treaty that followed in the one and twentieth year of the King, which they call *intercursus malus.* In this treaty there was an express article against the reception of the rebels of either prince by other; purporting that if any such rebel should be required by the prince whose rebel he was of the prince confederate, that forthwith the prince confederate should by proclamation command him to avoid his country: which if he did not within fifteen days, the rebel was to stand proscribed, and put out of protection. But nevertheless in this article Perkin was not named, neither perhaps contained, because he was no rebel. But by this means his wings were clipt of his followers that were English. And it was expressly comprised in the treaty, that it should extend to the territories of the Duchess Dowager. After the intercourse thus restored, the English merchants came again to their mansion at Antwerp, where they were received with procession and great joy.

The winter following, being the twelfth year of his reign, the King called again his Parliament[2]; where he did much

[1] I find from the old Chronicle (Vitel. A. xvi. fo. 157. b.) that the Archduke's commissioners were received in London on Candlemas Even (1. Feb.) 1495–6: and that the treaty was concluded in the following April.

The Chronicler (evidently a contemporary citizen) adds a circumstance which is worth recording as an illustration of the relation which subsisted between the King and the City of London.

"For the assurance of the same," he says speaking of the treaty, "above and beside both the seals of either princes was granted divers towns of this land to be bound; whereof London was one; . . . . which sealing when it should have been performed, the Commons of the City would not be agreeable that their seal should pass. And albeit that my Lord of Derby, the Lord Treasurer, the Chief Justice of England, Master Bray, and the Master of the Rolls, by the King's commandment came unto Guildhall to exhort the said Commons for the same, yet in no wise they would not be agreeable that the town seal should pass; but besought the said Lords to grant unto them respite of six days, trusting by that season to show in writing such considerations unto the King's Grace and his Counsel that his Grace should be therewith well contented. Which was to them granted, and thereupon divers bills were devised" &c. The end was that the *Mayor's* seal was taken only.

[2] So Polydore Vergil: *coacto principum concilio.*

A Parliament met on the 16th of January, 1496–7, in which supplies were voted for the Scottish war. But on this, as on the two former occasions already mentioned, Henry had taken the precaution to call a "Great Council" first. He seems to have been in no hurry, and it is probable that he waited purposely until some overt act of hostility on the part of the Scotch should excite the alarm or exasperate the resentment

exaggerate both the malice and the cruel predatory war lately made by the King of Scotland: That that King, being in amity

of his own people, and make them less careful of their money. It is certain that on the 8th of September one of his spies in the Scotch Court sent him word that James would be upon the borders at the head of his army on the 15th, and that before the end of the following month, a Great Council had been held and agreed to a grant of 120,000*l.* for defence against the Scots.

"In this year" (says the old Chronicle, meaning the 12th year of Henry's reign, — *i.e.* 22 Aug. 1496—21 Aug. 1497) "the 24th of October, began a Great Counsel holden at Westminster by the King and his Lords spiritual and temporal; to the which Counsel come certain burgesses and merchants of all cities and good towns of England; at which Counsel was granted unto the King for the defence of the Scots 120.000*l.*: which Counsel ended the 6th day of November."

In addition to this "grant," as the Chronicler calls it,—(which was no more, I suppose, than a pledge on the part of the members of the Council to support such a grant if proposed in Parliament)—they appear to have offered in the meantime to *lend* the King large sums of ready money, each for himself; and to have advised the borrowing of money upon privy seals, to the amount of 40,000*l.* more. This circumstance (of which, singularly enough, no trace appears in any of our histories) is proved beyond dispute by an original Privy Seal bearing Henry the 7th's sign manual, and dated at Westminster on the 1st of December; which is still preserved among the Cotton MSS. (Titus, B. V. fo. 145.) It is addressed to a gentleman of Hereford and the sum applied for is 20*l.* But blank spaces have been left for the county and the sum; which shows that it was a general form. It sets forth that "for the revenging of the great cruelty and dishonour that the King of Scots hath done unto us, our realm, and subjects of the same, as our Commissioners in our County of Hereford where ye be inhabited shall shew unto you at length, we lately in our Great Counsel of Lords spiritual and temporal, of Judges, Sergeants in our law, and of others some headwisemen of every city and good town of this our land, have at their instances and by their advices determined us to make by sea and by land two armies royal for a substantial war to be continued upon the Scots unto such time as we shall invade the realm of Scotland in our own person and shall have with God's grace revenged their great outrages done unto us our realm and subjects aforesaid, so and in such wise as we trust the same our subjects shall live in rest and peace for many years to come. The lords and others of our said Great Counsel, considering well that the said substantial war cannot be borne but by great sums of ready money, have prested unto us, every one of them for his part, great sums of money contented; besides that we have of ourself avanced out of our own coffers; yet natheless 40,000*l.* more, as our said Counsel hath cast it, must of necessity be borrowed and avanced in ready money of others our loving subjects for the furniture of this matter. And because as we hear ye be a man of good substance, we desire and pray you to make loan unto us of the sum of 20*l.* whereof ye shall be undoubtedly and assuredly repaid," &c. &c.

In confirmation again of this we find in the old Chronicle (fo. 161. b.) that "upon the Sunday following" [the 18th of November being the date last mentioned] "was sent from the King's ma. Sir Reginald Bray with other of the King's Counsel to the Mayor to borrow of the city 10,000*l.* And upon the Thursday next following was granted by a Common Counsel to lend to the King 4000*l.*" The Chronicler adds, a little further on (fo. 162. b.) that there was that year "lent unto the King for a year day throughout all England many and great sums of money, whereof the foresaid sum of 4000*l.* lent by the City of London, as before is said, was parcel of the same. The whole sum of all the land borrowed amounted to 58,000*l.* and more."

Among the records preserved in the Rolls-house are to be found two more of these privy seals (see B. V. 1. Nos. 32, 33.), as well as an account of all the sums borrowed (see B. V. 20.); amounting in all to £57,388 10*s.* 2*d.* This latter document is inaccurately described on the cover as an account of the *Benevolence*, A° H. 7. 12°. It should have been called *Loan*.

I have not been able to ascertain the exact period at which the Scotch incursion took place, but it seems probable that this hurried borrowing of money (partly for immediate use and partly perhaps as a collateral security for the promised Parliamentary grant) followed immediately upon it, while the alarm and resentment were fresh. Thus the King was provided with the sinews of war for the present and might

with him, and no ways provoked, should so burn in hatred towards him, as to drink of the lees and dregs of Perkin's intoxication, who was every where else detected and discarded: and that when he perceived it was out of his reach to do the King any hurt, he had turned his arms upon unarmed and unprovided people, to spoil only and depopulate, contrary to the laws both of war and peace; concluding, that he could neither with honour nor with the safety of his people to whom he did owe protection, let pass these wrongs unrevenged. The Parliament understood him well, and gave him a subsidy limited to the sum[1] of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides two fifteens: for his wars were always to him as a mine of treasure of a strange kind of ore[2]; iron at the top, and gold and silver at the bottom. At this[3] Parliament, for that there had been so much time spent in making laws the year before, and for that it was called purposely in respect of the Scottish war, there were no laws made to be remembered. Only there passed a law, at the suit of the Merchant Adventurers of England[4], against the Merchant Adventurers of London, for monopolising and exacting upon the trade[5]; which it seemeth they did a little to save themselves, after the hard time they had sustained by want of trade. But those innovations were taken away by Parliament.

But it was fatal to the King to fight for his money. And though he avoided to fight with enemies abroad, yet he was still enforced to fight for it with rebels at home. For no sooner began the subsidy to be levied[6] in Cornwall, but the people there grew[7] to grudge and murmur; the Cornish being a race of men stout of stomach, mighty of body and limb, and that lived hardly in a barren country, and many of them could for a need live under-ground, that were tinners. They mut-

act as he saw occasion. But as yet he was only furnished with money *lent*, which was to be repaid. The next thing was to secure the grant; and for this purpose a Parliament was called on the 16th of January, which granted him for the Scotch war, first two fifteenths and tenths; and then (because this was not enough) a subsidy *equal* to two fifteenths and tenths; which it seems amounted to 120,000*l*. (See Stat. of Realm, p. 644.) In the "index vocabulorum" Bacon explains that a *Fifteen* was a kind of pecuniary aid granted only by authority of Parliament: which, to judge by the name, should be a fifteenth part of men's goods, but had in fact a fixed value, — not nearly so much: *Consuetudine in solutionem certam, et longe minus gravem, redactum.*

[1] *Limitatum certe; sed tamen amplissimum; ad summam videlicet*, &c.
[2] Spelt *ure* in MS.
[3] So Ed. 1622. The MS. has "the."
[4] *Per Anglium sparsorum.*
[5] *Propter monopolium quoddam, et exactiones novas mercibus impositas.*
[6] The grant was passed on the 13th of February, 1496–7.
[7] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "began."

tered extremely, that it was a thing not to be suffered that for a little stir of the Scots, soon blown over, they should be thus grinded to powder with payments: and said it was for them to pay that had too much, and lived idly; but they would eat their bread that they got with the sweat of their brows, and no man should take it from them. And as in the tides of people once up there want not commonly stirring winds to make them more rough; so this people did light upon two ringleaders or captains of the rout.[1] The one was Michael Joseph, a blacksmith or farrier of Bodmin, a notable talking fellow, and no less desirous to be talked of. The other was Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, that[2] by telling his neighbours commonly upon any occasion that the law was on their side, had gotten great sway amongst them. This man talked learnedly, and as if he could tell how to make a rebellion and never break the peace. He told the people[3] that subsidies were not to be granted nor levied in this case; that is for wars of Scotland: for that the law had provided another course by service of escuage[4], for those journeys; much less when all was quiet, and war was made but a pretence to poll and pill the people. And therefore that it was good they should not stand[5] like sheep before the shearers, but put on harness and take weapons in their hands; yet to do no creature hurt, but go and deliver the King a strong petition[6] for the laying down of those grievous payments, and for the punishment of those that had given him that counsel, to make others beware how they did the like in time to come. And said for his part he did not see how they could do the duty of true Englishmen and good liege-men, except they did deliver the King from such wicked ones that would destroy both him and the country. Their aim was at Archbishop Morton and Sir Reignold Bray, who were the King's screens in this envy.

After that these two, Flammock and the blacksmith, had by joint and several pratings[7] found tokens of consent in the multitude, they offered themselves to lead them, until they should

[1] *Rebellionis faces.*
[2] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "who."
[3] *Populum autem magno cum supercilio edocuit.*
[4] *Obligatio tenentis qua astringebatur ad bella cum Scotis.* (Ind. Vocab.)
[5] Ed. 1622 "stand now."
[6] *Petitionem validâ manu porrigerent.*
[7] *i. e.* by talking to the people sometimes in companies, and sometimes singly. The translation expresses it more at large — *garrulitate sua, partim publice partim secreto, aures populi implessent et animos vulgi inclinatos et promptos ad consilia sua in venissent.*

hear of better men to be their leaders, which they said would be ere long: telling them further, that they would be but their servants, and first in every danger; but doubted not but to make both the west-end and the east-end of England to meet in so good a quarrel; and that all (rightly understood) was but for the King's service.

The people upon these seditious instigations did arm, most of them with bows and arrows, and bills, and such other weapons of rude and country people; and forthwith under the command of their leaders (which in such cases is ever at pleasure)[1] marched out of Cornwall[2] through Devonshire unto Taunton in Somersetshire, without any slaughter, violence, or spoil of the country. At Taunton[3] they killed in fury an officious and eager commissioner for the subsidy, whom they called the Provost of Perin. Thence they marched to Wells, where the Lord Audley (with whom their leaders had before some secret intelligence), a nobleman of an ancient family, but unquiet and popular and aspiring to ruin, came in to them, and was by them with great gladness and cries of joy accepted as their general; they being now proud that they were led by a nobleman. The Lord Audley led them on from Wells to Salisbury, and from Salisbury to Winchester. Thence the foolish people (who in effect led their leaders) had a mind to be led into Kent; fancying that the people there would join with them; contrary to all reason or judgment; considering the Kentish men had shewed great loyalty and affection to the King so lately before. But the rude people[4] had heard Flammock say that Kent was never conquered, and that they were the freest people[5] of England. And upon these vain noises, they looked for great matters at their hands in a cause which they conceited to be for the liberty of the subject. But when they were comen into Kent, the country was so well settled, both by the King's late kind usage towards them, and by the credit and power of the Earl of Kent, the Lord Abergavenny, and the Lord Cobham, as neither gentleman nor yeoman came in to their

[1] *Ad placitum populi.*

[2] In the latter end of May, according to the old Chronicle.

[3] So Stowe; and after him Speed. The old Chronicle however dates this fact later: *i. e.* in the latter end of September when Perkin was in sanctuary, and says it was done by "one James, a robber, who had gathered 6 or 700 rebels to assist Perkin." (Vitel. A. xvi. fo. 167.)

[4] *Fatuus iste populus.* [5] *Homines inter Anglos in libertate asserenda acerrimos.*

aid; which did much damp and dismay many of the simpler sort; insomuch as divers of them did secretly fly from the army and went home; but the sturdier sort, and those that were most engaged, stood by it, and rather waxed proud than failed in hopes and courage. For as it did somewhat appall them, that the people came not in to them; so it did no less encourage them, that the King's forces had not set upon them, having marched from the west unto the east of England. Wherefore they kept on their way, and encamped upon Blackheath[1], between Greenwich and Eltham; threatening either to bid battle to the King (for now the seas went higher than to Morton and Bray), or to take London within his view; imagining with themselves there to find no less fear than wealth.

But to return to the King. When first he heard of this commotion of the Cornishmen occasioned by the subsidy, he was much troubled therewith; not for itself, but in regard of the concurrence of other dangers that did hang over him at that time. For he doubted lest a war from Scotland, a rebellion from Cornwall, and the practices and conspiracies of Perkin and his partakers, would come upon him at once: knowing well that it was a dangerous triplicity to a monarchy, to have the arms of a foreigner, the discontents of subjects, and the title of a pretender to meet. Nevertheless the occasion took him in some part well provided. For as soon as the Parliament had broken up, the King had presently raised a puissant army to war upon Scotland. And King James of Scotland likewise on his part had made great preparations, either for defence or for a new assailing[2] of England. But as for the King's forces, they were not only in preparation, but in readiness presently to set forth, under the conduct of Dawbeney the Lord Chamberlain. But as soon as the King understood of the rebellion of Cornwall, he stayed those forces, retaining them for his own service and safety. But therewithal he dispatched the Earl of Surrey into the north, for the defence and strength of those parts, in case the Scots should stir. But for the course he held towards the rebels, it was utterly differing from his former custom and practice; which was ever full of forwardness and celerity to make head against them, or to set upon them as soon as ever they were in action. This he was wont to do;

[1] On Friday, June 16th (old Chron. fo. 163. b). [2] So MS. Ed. 1622 omits "a."

but now, besides that he was attempered by years, and less in love with dangers by the continued fruition of a crown, it was a time when the various appearance to his thoughts of perils of several natures and from divers parts did make him judge it his best and surest way to keep his strength together in the seat and centre of his kingdom; according to ~~the~~ the ancient Indian emblem—in such a swelling season, to hold the hand upon the middle of the bladder, that no side might rise. Besides, there was no necessity put upon him to alter this counsel. For neither did the rebels spoil the country, in which case it had been dishonour to abandon his people, neither on the other side did their forces gather or increase, which might hasten him to precipitate, and assail them before they grew too strong. And lastly, both reason of estate and war seemed to agree with this course. For that insurrections of base people are commonly more furious in their beginnings. And by this means also he had them the more at vantage, being tired and harassed with a long march[1]; and more at mercy, being cut off far from their country, and therefore not able by any sudden flight to get to retreat, and to renew the troubles.

When therefore the rebels were encamped in[2] Blackheath upon the hill, whence they might behold the city of London, and the fair valley about it; the King, knowing well that it stood him upon[3], by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the time in not encountering them, by so much the sooner to dispatch with them[4]; that it might appear to have been no coldness in fore-slowing but wisdom in choosing his time; resolved with all speed to assail them; and yet with that providence and surety as should leave little to venture or fortune. And having very great and puissant forces about him, the better to master all events and accidents, he[5] divided them into three parts. The first was led by the Earl of Oxford in chief, assisted by the Earls of Essex and Suffolk. These noblemen were appointed, with some cornets[6] of horse and

[1] These words are omitted in the translation: which only has *eos plus in arcto habebat et magis sibi obnoxios, cum longe a patria sua remoti essent; ideoque fieri non poterat ut domum se reciperent et motus fortasse renovarent.*

[2] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "on."

[3] *Plurimum honoris sui interesse.* So Hamlet;

"Doth it not, think'st thou, *stand me now upon?*"

The expression was in use as late as Locke's time.

[4] *Prælium consereret.* [5] So Ed. 1622. The MS omits "he."

[6] *Turmis aliquot equitum.*

bands of foot, and good store of artillery, wheeling about to put themselves beyond the hill where the rebels were encamped, and to beset all the skirts and descents thereof, except those that lay towards London; thereby to have these wild beasts as it were in a toil. The second part of his forces (which were those that were to be most in action, and upon which he relied most for the fortune of the day) he did assign to be led by the Lord Chamberlain, who was appointed to set upon the rebels in front, from that side which is towards London. The third part of his forces (being likewise great and brave forces) he retained about himself, to be ready upon all events; to restore the fight or consummate the victory; and meanwhile to secure the city. And for that purpose he encamped in person in Saint George's Fields, putting himself between the city and the rebels.

But the City of London, especially at the first upon the near encamping of the rebels, was in great tumult; as it useth to be with wealthy and populous cities, especially those which being for greatness and fortune queens of their regions, do seldom see out of their windows or from their towers an army of enemies.[1] But that which troubled them most was the conceit that they dealt with a rout of people, with whom there was no composition or condition, or orderly treating, if need were; but likely to be bent altogether upon rapine and spoil. And although they had heard that the rebels had behaved themselves quietly and modestly by the way as they went; yet they doubted much that would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite to fall upon spoil in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of people, some to the gates, some to the walls, some to the water-side; giving themselves alarms and panic fears continually. Nevertheless both Tate the Lord Mayor and Shaw and Haddon the Sheriffs did their parts stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the people; and the King likewise did adjoin some captains of experience in the wars to advise and assist the citizens. But soon after when they understood that the King had so ordered the matter, that the rebels must win three battles before they could approach the city, and that he had put his own person

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "as it useth to be with wealthy and populous cities (especially those which for greatness and fortune are Queens of their regions) who seldom see," &c.

between the rebels and them, and that the great care was rather how to impound the rebels that none of them might escape, than that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to be quiet and out of fear; the rather for the confidence they reposed (which was not small) in the three leaders, Oxford, Essex, and Dawbeney; all men well famed and loved amongst the people. As for Jasper Duke of Bedford, whom the King used to employ with the first in his wars, he was then sick, and died soon after.

It was the two and twentieth of June[1], and a Saturday (which was the day of the week the King fancied[2]), when the battle was fought; though the King had by all the art he could devise given out a false day, as if he prepared to give the rebels battle on the Monday following, the better to find them unprovided and in disarray. The lords that were appointed to circle the hill, had some days before planted themselves (as at the receipt[3]) in places convenient. In the afternoon towards the decline of the day, (which was done the better to keep the rebels in opinion that they should not fight that day,) the Lord Dawbeney marched on towards them, and first beat some troops of them from Deptford-bridge; where they fought manfully, but being in no great number were soon driven back, and fled up to their main army upon the hill. The army[4] at that time hearing of the approach of the King's forces, were putting themselves in array not without much confusion. But neither had they placed[5] upon the first high ground towards the bridge any forces to second the troops below that kept the bridge; neither had they brought forwards their main battle (which stood in array far into the heath) near to the ascent of the hill[6]; so that the Earl with his forces mounted the hill and recovered[7] the plain without resistance. The Lord Dawbeney charged them with great fury; insomuch as it had like by

[1] This is the date given by Stowe. The old Chronicle however (fo. 64.), calls it the 17th; which is no doubt right. The 22nd of June, 1497, fell on a Thursday.

[2] *Pro fausto ducebat.*

[3] I suppose this means "as having to make arrangements for receiving them." The translation has *rebelles intercepturi.*

[4] *i. e.* the main army of the rebels. *Exercitus rebellium.*

[5] The translation adds *ut ratio belli postulabat.*

[6] Thereby giving up their vantage-ground. *Neque exercitum suum promoverunt ad acclivia collis, ubi iniquo loco a regis copiis pugnam conseri necesse fuisset; sed in planitie collis procul instruxerunt.*

[7] "Recovered" means merely "gained;" not "got back again." *Æquo loco se sisteret.* It was a very common use of the word in Bacon's time.

accident to have brandled the fortune of the day.[1] For by inconsiderate forwardness in fighting in the head of his troops, he was taken by the rebels, but immediately rescued and delivered. The rebels maintained the fight for a small time, and for their persons shewed no want of courage.[2] But being ill armed and ill led and without horse or artillery, they were with no great difficulty cut in pieces[3] and put to flight. And for their three leaders, the Lord Audley, the blacksmith, and Flammock, (as commonly the captains of commotions are but half-couraged men,) suffered themselves to be taken alive. The number slain on the rebels' part were some two thousand men[4]; their army amounting as it is said, unto the number sixteen thousand.[5] The rest were in effect all taken; for that the hill (as was said) was encompassed with the King's forces round about. On the King's part there died about three hundred, most of them shot with arrows, which were reported to be of the length of a taylor's yard[6]; so strong and mighty a bow the Cornishmen were said to draw.

The victory thus obtained, the King created divers bannerets, as well upon Blackheath, where his lieutenant had won the field, (whither he rode in person to perform the said creation) as in St. George's Fields, where his own person had been encamped. And for matter of liberality, he did by open edict give the goods of all the prisoners unto those that had taken them; either to take them in kind or compound for them as they could. After matter of honour and liberality, followed matter of severity and execution. The Lord Audley was led from Newgate to Tower-Hill, in a paper coat painted with his own arms; the arms reversed, the coat torn; and at Tower-Hill beheaded.[7] Flammock and the blacksmith were hanged drawn and quartered at Tyburn[8]: the blacksmith taking pleasure upon the hurdle (as it seemeth by words that he uttered) to think that he should be famous in after-times. The King was once in mind to have sent down Flammock and the blacksmith to have been executed

[1] *Ita ut fortuna ejus dici periclitaretur.* [2] *Neque ignave rem gesserunt.*
[3] *Devicti.* [4] So Polydore. Stowe says only 300.
[5] "And their company," says the old Chronicle, fo. 163., "was that day [Monday 12 June] accounted to the number of 15,000 men."
[6] "Whose arrows" (says Hall) "as is reported, were in length *a full yard.*" There is a question as to the length of the "cloth-yard shaft," but "a full yard" must be taken, I presume, to mean thirty-six inches.
[7] On Wednesday the 28th of June (old Chron.). Ed. 1622 has "and he at Tower Hill beheaded."
[8] On Tuesday the 27th of June (old Chron.).

in Cornwall, for the more terror. But being advertised that the country was yet unquiet and boiling, he thought better not to irritate the people further. All the rest were pardoned by proclamation, and to take out their pardons under seal as many as would. So that more than the blood drawn in the field, the King did satisfy himself with the lives of only three offenders for the expiation of this great rebellion.

It was a strange thing to observe the variety and inequality of the King's executions and pardons: and a man would think it at the first a kind of lottery or chance. But looking into it more nearly, one shall find there was reason for it; much more perhaps, than after so long a distance of time we can now discern. In the Kentish commotion (which was but an handful of men) there were executed to the number of one hundred and fifty; and[1] in this so mighty a rebellion but three. Whether it were that the King put to account the men that were slain in the field; or that he was not willing to be severe in a popular cause; or that the harmless behaviour of this people, that came from the west of England to the east without mischief (almost) or spoil of the country, did somewhat mollify him and move him to compassion; or lastly, that he made a great difference between people that did rebel upon wantonness, and them that did rebel upon want.

After the Cornishmen were defeated, there came from Calais to the King an honourable ambassage from the French King; which had arrived at Calais a month before, and was there stayed in respect of the troubles; but honourably entertained and defrayed. The King at their first coming sent unto them, and prayed them to have patience, till a little smoke that was raised in his country, were over; which would soon be: slighting (as his manner was) that openly, which nevertheless he intended seriously. This ambassage concerned no great affair, but only the prolongation of days for payment of money, and some other particulars of the frontiers: and it was indeed but a wooing ambassage, with good respects to entertain the King in good affection. But nothing was done or handled to the derogation of the King's late treaty with the Italians.

But during the time that the Cornishmen were in their march towards London, the King of Scotland, well advertised of all that passed and knowing himself sure of a war from England

[1] So Ed. 1622. The MS. has "but."

whensoever those stirs were appeased, neglected not his opportunity; but thinking the King had his hands full, entered the frontiers of England again with an army, and besieged the castle of Norham in person with part of his forces, sending the rest to forage the country. But Foxe Bishop of Duresme, a wise man, and one that could see through the present to the future, doubting as much before, had caused his castle of Norham to be strongly fortified, and furnished with all kind of munition; and had manned it likewise with a very great number of tall soldiers [1] more than for the proportion of the castle, reckoning rather upon a sharp assault than a long siege. And for the country likewise, he had caused the people to withdraw their cattle and goods into fast places, that were not of easy approach; and sent in post to the Earl of Surrey (who was not far off in Yorkshire) to come in diligence to the succour. So as the Scottish King both failed of doing good upon the castle, and his men had but a catching harvest of their spoils.[2] And when he understood that the Earl of Surrey was coming on with great forces, he returned back into Scotland. The Earl finding the castle freed, and the enemy retired, pursued with all celerity into Scotland; hoping to have overtaken the Scottish King, and to have given him battle. But not attaining him in time, sat down before the castle of Aton, one of the strongest places (then esteemed) between Berwick and Edinburgh; which in a small time he took. And soon after the Scottish King retiring further into his country, and the weather being extraordinary foul and stormy; the Earl returned into England. So that the expeditions on both parts were (in effect) but a castle taken and a castle distressed; not answerable to the puissance of the forces, nor to the heat of the quarrel, nor to the greatness of the expectation.

Amongst these troubles both civil and external, came into England from Spain, Peter Hialas, some call him Elias (surely he was the forerunner of the good hap that we enjoy at this day:) for his ambassage set [3] the truce between England and

[1] *Militum fortissimorum.*

[2] *Et militibus prædam satis jejunam compararet.*

According to Stowe the army under Surrey was sent in July. The "*an. reg.* 13" in the margin is probably misplaced. It must have been in 1497, — the 11th month of Henry's 12th year. Fabyan gives the year, but I think not the month.

Buchanan (xiii. 16.) represents the invasion as having taken place immediately upon news arriving in Scotland of the Cornish rebellion: which would be about the end of May.

[3] *Induxit.*

Scotland; the truce drew on the peace; the peace the marriage; and the marriage the union of the kingdoms); a man of great wisdom [1], and (as those times were) not unlearned; sent from Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain, unto the King, to treat a marriage between Katherine, their second daughter, and Prince Arthur. This treaty was by him set in a very good way [2]; and almost brought to perfection. But it so fell out by the way, that upon some conference which he had with the King touching this business, the King (who had a great dexterity in getting suddenly into the bosom of ambassadors of foreign Princes, if he liked the men; insomuch as he would many times communicate with them of his own affairs, yea and employ them in his service,) fell into speech and discourse incidently, concerning the ending of the debates and differences with Scotland. For the King naturally did not love the barren wars with Scotland; though he made his profit of the noise of them: and he wanted not in the counsel of Scotland those that would advise their King to meet him at the half way, and to give over the war with England; pretending to be good patriots, but indeed favouring the affairs of the King. Only his heart was too great to begin with Scotland for the motion of peace. On the other side, he had met with an ally of Ferdinando of Arragon, as fit for his turn as could be. For after that King Ferdinando had upon assured confidence of the marriage to succeed taken upon him the person of a fraternal ally to the King, he would not let [3], in a Spanish gravity, to counsel the King in his own affairs. And the King on his part not being wanting to himself, but making use of every man's humours, made his advantage of this in such things as he thought either not decent or not pleasant to proceed from himself; putting them off as done by the counsel of Ferdinando: wherefore he was content that Hialas (as in a matter moved and advised from Hialas himself) should go into Scotland, to treat of a concord between the two Kings. Hialas took it upon him, and coming to the Scottish King, after he had with much art brought King James to hearken to the more safe and quiet counsels, writ unto the King that he hoped that peace would with no great difficulty cement and close, if he would send some wise and temperate counsellor of his own,

[1] *Prudens.* Wherever "wise" occurs in the English, it is translated *prudens* in the Latin.

[2] *Dexteritate legati non segniter promotus.*

[3] *Non dubitabat.*

that might treat of the conditions. Whereupon the King directed Bishop Foxe (who at that time was at his castle of Norham) to confer with Hialas, and they both to treat with some commissioners deputed from the Scottish King. The commissioners on both sides met.[1] But after much dispute upon the articles and conditions of peace propounded upon either part, they could not conclude a peace. The chief impediment thereof was the demand of the King to have Perkin delivered into his hands; as a reproach to all Kings, and a person not protected by the law of nations. The King of Scotland on the other side peremptorily denied so to do; saying that he for his part was no competent judge of Perkin's title: but that he had received him as a suppliant, protected him as a person fled for refuge, espoused him with his kinswoman, and aided him with his arms, upon the belief that he was a Prince; and therefore that he could not now with his honour so unrip and in a sort put a lie upon all that he had said and done before, as to deliver him up to his enemies. The Bishop likewise (who had certain proud instructions from the King[2], at the least in the front, though there were a pliant clause at the foot, that remitted all to the Bishop's discretion, and required him[3] by no means to break off in ill terms,) after that he had failed to obtain the delivery of Perkin, did move a second point of his instructions; which was, that the Scottish King would give the King an interview in person at Newcastle. But this being reported to the Scottish King, his answer was, that he meant to treat a peace, and not to go a begging for it. The Bishop also according to another article of his instructions, demanded restitution of the spoils taken by the Scottish, or damages for the same. But the Scottish commissioners answered, that that was but as water spilt upon the ground, which

[1] At Jedburgh, according to Buchanan, xiii. 17.; from whom most of these particulars appear to have been taken. But one of the commentators, speaking on the authority of documents, says they met at Aton.

[2] A copy of instructions answering this description, and dated at Shene, 5 July, 1497, may be seen in the Cotton MSS. Vesp. C. xvi. fo. 141. Reference is made in them to a previous treaty lately made at "Jenynhaugh" (date not mentioned) in which it seems that certain offers were made by the Earl of Angus and Lord Home, which could not be accepted, — apparently because they did not include the delivery of Perkin into Henry's hands. It is possible that Fox had similar instructions for his guidance in that previous negotiation, and that it was that which ended in the "recess" which Bacon speaks of; during which James took occasion to send Perkin away. For it was on the 6th of July, according to Tytler (iv. p. 385.), that he sailed: therefore before the instructions of the 5th could have been received.

[3] *Etiam disertis verbis præcipiens.*

could not be gotten up again; and that the King's people were better able to bear the loss than their master to repair it. But in the end as persons capable of reason [1] on both sides, they made rather a kind of recess than a breach of treaty, and concluded upon a truce for some months following.[2] But the King of Scotland, though he would not formally retract his judgment of Perkin, wherein he had engaged himself so far; yet in his private opinion, upon often speech with the Englishmen and divers other advertisements, began to suspect him for a counterfeit; wherefore in a noble fashion he called him unto him, and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him in making him his ally, and in provoking a mighty and opulent King by an offensive war in his quarrel, for the space of two years together; nay more, that he had refused an honourable peace, whereof he had a fair offer if he would have delivered him; and that to keep his promise with him, he had deeply offended both his nobles and people, whom he might not hold in any long discontent: and therefore required him to think of his own fortunes, and to choose out some fitter place for his exile: telling him withal that he could not say but the English had forsaken him before the Scottish; for that upon two several trials, none had declared themselves on his side: but nevertheless he would make good what he said to him at his first receiving, which was that he should not repent him for putting himself into his hands; for that he would not cast him off, but help him with shipping and means to transport him where he should desire.

Perkin, not descending at all from his stage-like greatness, answered the King in few words; That he saw his time was not yet come; but whatsoever his fortunes were, he should both think and speak honour of the King. Taking his leave, he would not think on Flanders, doubting it was but hollow ground for him since the treaty of the Archduke concluded the

[1] *Moderati et rationi non recalcitrantes.*

[2] So Buchanan, xiii. 17. But the truce "for some months" was probably the result of the previous negotiation at Jenynhaugh. By the time Fox received the instructions of the 5th of July, Perkin was gone and the obstacle removed. The commissioners met, D'Ayala acting as a kind of mediator, and agreed in the first instance upon a truce for seven years. This was concluded on the 30th of September, 1497. Soon after a new negotiation was commenced, D'Ayala acting on the part of James, and Warham on the part of Henry; which ended in an extension of the term to the lives of the two kings and a year after the death of the survivor. It was signed by Warham in London on the 5th of December; proclaimed in London the next day (see old Chronicle); and ratified by James on the 10th of February, 1497–8.

year before; but took his lady, and such followers as would not leave him, and sailed over into Ireland.

This twelfth year of the King a little before this time [1], Pope Alexander, who loved best those Princes that were furthest off and with whom he had least to do; and taking very thankfully the King's late entrance into league for the defence of Italy; did remunerate him with an hallowed sword and cap of maintenance, sent by his Nuncio. Pope Innocent had done the like, but it was not received in that glory.[2] For the King appointed the Mayor and his brethren to meet the Pope's orator at London-bridge, and all the streets between the bridge-foot and the palace of Paul's (where the King then lay) were garnished with the citizens [3], standing in their liveries. And the morrow after being Allhallown-day [4], the King, attended with many of his prelates and [5] nobles and principal courtiers, went in procession to Paul's, and the cap and sword were borne before him; and after the procession, the King himself remaining seated in the quire, the Lord Archbishop upon the greese [6] of the quire made a long oration; setting forth the greatness and eminency of that honour which the Pope (in these ornaments and ensigns of benediction) had done the King; and how rarely and upon what high deserts they used to be bestowed: and then recited the King's principal acts and merits, which had made him appear worthy in the eyes of his Holiness of this great honour.

All this while the rebellion of Cornwall (whereof we have spoken) seemed to have no relation to Perkin; save that perhaps Perkin's proclamation had stricken upon the right vein, in promising to lay down exactions and payments; and so had made them now and then have a kind thought on Perkin. But

[1] These words are omitted in the translation. If it was at Allhallowmass (1 Nov.) in the 12th year of the King, it was a good deal before the time Bacon is speaking of. Henry's 12th year began on the 22nd of August, 1496. We are now in July, 1497.

[2] There was probably no account of the reception of the cap of maintenance sent by Pope Innocent in any of the histories to which Bacon had access. But there is a full account of it in the Herald's journal (Cott. Jul. B. xi.; printed by Leland, vol. iv. p. 244.) and the arrangements were much the same as those which Bacon proceeds to describe. So much so, that if the old Chronicle from which his account is taken (Vitel. A. xvi. f. 161.) had been lost and the Herald's journal preserved, one might have suspected him of having mistaken the date. The former occasion was in 1488.

[3] The translation makes it part of the King's directions that the streets should be thus garnished. *Etenim rex nunc mandavit majori &c. ut oratori Papæ ad pedem pontis Londinensis obviam fierent, atque plateæ universæ inter pontem et palatium episcopi Londinensis (ubi rex tunc hospitabatur) civium fraternitatibus, in sagulis suis vestitis, utrinque clauderentur.*

[4] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "All-hallowes."

[5] Ed. 1622 omits "and."

[6] *Super gradus ante chorum stans.* Ed. 1622 has "greece."

now these bubbles by much stirring began to meet, as they use to do upon the top of water. The King's lenity (by that time the Cornish rebels, who were taken and pardoned, and as it was said many of them sold by them that had taken them for twelve pence and two shillings apiece, were come down into their country) had rather emboldened them than reclaimed them[1]; insomuch as they stuck[2] not to say to their neighbours and countrymen that the King did well to pardon them; for that he knew he should leave few subjects in England, if he hanged all that were of their mind: and began whetting and inciting one another to renew the commotion. Some of the subtlest of them, hearing of Perkin's being in Ireland, found means to send to him to let him know that if he would come over to them they would serve him. When Perkin heard this news, he began to take heart again, and advised upon it with his counsel; which were principally three[3]; Herne a mercer that had fled for debt; Skelton a taylor, and Astley a scrivener (for secretary Frion was gone.) These told him that he was mightily overseen both when he went into Kent and when he went into Scotland; the one being a place so near London, and under the King's nose; and the other a nation so distasted with the people of England, that if they had loved him never so well, yet they would never have taken his part in that company. But if he had been so happy as to have been in Cornwall at the first, when the people began to take arms there, he had been crowned at Westminster before this time: for these Kings (as he had now experience) would sell poor princes for shoes: but he must rely wholly upon people; and therefore advised him to sail over with all possible speed into Cornwall: which accordingly he did; having in his company four small barks, with some sixscore or sevenscore fighting-men. He arrived in September at Whitsand-Bay, and forthwith came to Bodmin, the blacksmith's town[4]; where there assembled unto him to the number of three thousand men of the rude people.

There he set forth a new proclamation, stroking the people with fair promises, and humouring them with invectives against

[1] This rather awkward sentence is more clearly expressed in the Latin. *Regis clementia rebelles Cornubienses (postquam domum rediissent, sine pœna dimissi, verum ut diximus solidi unius aut duorum pretio redempti) magis animaverat quam sanaverat.*

[2] The MS. has "stick."

[3] *Ex quibus tres plurimum apud eum poterant.*

[4] Michael Joseph. *Oppidum fabri ferrarii de quo ante diximus.*

the King and his government. And as it fareth with smoke that never leeseth itself till it be at the highest, he did now before his end raise his stile, intitling himself no more Richard Duke of York, but Richard the Fourth, King of England.[1] His counsel advised him by all means to make himself master of some good walled town; as well to make his men find the sweetness of rich spoils, and to allure to him all loose and lost people by like hopes of booty; as to be a sure retreat to his forces, in case they should have any ill day or unlucky chance in the field. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went on and besieged the city of Exeter[2], the principal town for strength and wealth in those parts. When they were comen before Exeter, they forbore to use any force at the first, but made continual shouts and outcries to terrify the inhabitants, and[3] did likewise in divers places call and talk to them from under the walls, to join with them, and be of their party; telling them that the King[4] would make them another London, if they would be the first town that should acknowledge him: but they had not the wit to send to them, in any orderly fashion, agents or chosen men to tempt them and to treat with them. The citizens on their part shewed themselves stout and loyal subjects; neither was there so much as any tumult or division amongst them, but all prepared themselves for a valiant defence, and making good the town. For well they saw that the rebels were of no such number or power that they needed to fear them as yet: and well they hoped that before their numbers increased the King's succours would come in. And howsoever, they thought it the extremest of evils to put themselves at the mercy of those hungry and disorderly people. Wherefore setting all things in good order within the town, they nevertheless let down with cords from several parts of the walls privily, several

[1] These words from "he did now," are omitted in the translation; where it is only said *magnifice admodum de seipso loquebatur;* Bacon having remembered, no doubt, or been reminded, that Perkin's Scotch proclamation ran in the name of "Richard, by the grace of God, King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, Prince of Wales." He had been misled by Speed, who speaks of that proclamation (p. 741.) as "made in the name of *Richard Duke of York;*" and says afterwards that Perkin after his landing in Cornwall, found means to raise thousands of people "whom with most lavish promises, invective proclamations, and strong impudency, he held together *under the title of Richard the Fourth King of England.*"

[2] On Sunday, September 17. About 1 p.m. See Ellis's Letters, 1st ser. vol. i. p. 34.

[3] So MS. Ed. 1622 has a full stop after "inhabitants," and begins the next sentence with "They."

[4] *Regem Richardum.*

messengers (that if one came to mischance another might pass on), which should advertise the King of the state of the town, and implore his aid. Perkin also doubted that succours would come ere long, and therefore resolved to use his utmost force to assault the town. And for that purpose having mounted scaling-ladders in divers places upon the walls, made at the same instant an attempt to force one of the gates. But having no artillery nor engines, and finding that he could do no good by ramming with logs of timber, nor by the use of iron bars and iron crows and such other means at hand, he[1] had no way left him but to set one of the gates on fire; which he did. But the citizens well perceiving the danger, before the gate could be fully consumed, blocked up the gate and some space about it on the inside with faggots and other fuel, which they likewise set on fire, and so repulsed fire with fire; and in the mean time raised up rampiers of earth, and cast up deep trenches, to serve instead of wall and gate. And for the escaladaes, they had so bad success, as the rebels were driven from the walls with the loss of two hundred men.[2]

The King when he heard of Perkin's siege of Exeter, made sport with it; and said to them that were about him, that the King of rake-hells was landed in the west, and that he hoped now to have the honour to see him, which he could never yet do. And it appeared plainly to those that were about the King, that he was indeed much joyed with the news of Perkin's being in English ground, where he could have no retreat by land; thinking now, that he should be cured of those privy stitches, which he had had[3] long about his heart, and had sometimes broken his sleeps in the midst of all his felicity. And to set all men's hearts on fire, he did by all possible means let it appear, that those that should now do him service to make an end of these troubles, should be no less accepted of him than he that came upon the eleventh hour and had the whole wages of the day. Therefore now, like the end of a play, a great number came upon the stage at once. He sent the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Brooke, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, with expedite forces to speed to Exeter to the rescue of the town,

[1] So Ed. 1622. MS. omits "he."
[2] Above three or four hundred, according to King Henry. See Ellis's Letters, 1st ser. vol. i. p. 34.
[3] So MS. In Ed. 1622 "had long had."

and to spread the fame of his own following in person with a royal army. The Earl of Devonshire and his son, with the Carews and the Fulfordes and other principal persons of Devonshire (uncalled from the court, but hearing that the King's heart was so much bent upon this service), made haste with troops that they had raised to be the first that should succour the city of Exeter, and prevent the King's succours. The Duke of Buckingham likewise with many brave gentlemen put themselves in arms, not staying either the King's or Lord Chamberlain's[1] coming on, but making a body of forces of themselves, the more to endear their merit; signifying to the King their readiness, and desiring to know his pleasure. So that according to the proverb, In the coming down every Saint did help.

Perkin hearing this thunder of arms and preparations against him from so many parts, raised his siege[2] and marched to Taunton, beginning already to squint one eye upon the crown and another upon the sanctuary; though the Cornishmen were become like metal often fired and quenched, churlish[3], and that would sooner break than bow; swearing and vowing not to leave him till the uttermost drop of their blood were spilt. He was at his rising from Exeter between six and seven thousand strong, many having comen unto him after he was set before Exeter, upon fame of so great an enterprise, and to partake of the spoil; though upon the raising of the[4] siege some did slip away. When he was comen near Taunton, he dissembled all fear; and seemed all the day to use diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about midnight he fled with threescore horse to Bewley[5] in the New Forest; where he and divers of his company registered themselves sanctuary-men, leaving his Cornishmen to the four winds; but yet thereby easing them of their vow; and using his wonted compassion, not to be by when his subjects blood should be spilt. The King as soon as he heard of Perkin's flight, sent presently five hundred horse to pursue and apprehend him, before he should get either to the sea or to that same little island called a sanctuary. But they came too late

[1] Ed. 1622 "the Lord Chamberlaines."
[2] On the 18th of September. See Ellis's Letters, 1st ser. vol. i. p. 34.
[3] *Obstinati*.
[4] So Ed. 1622. The MS. has "his siege."
[5] On the 21st of September. See Ellis's Letters, 1st ser. vol. i. p. 34.

for the latter of these. Therefore all they could do was to beset the sanctuary, and to maintain a strong watch about it, till the King's pleasure were further known. As for the rest of the rebels, they (being destituted of their head) without stroke stricken submitted themselves unto the King's mercy. And the King who commonly drew blood (as physicians do) rather to save life than to spill it, and was never cruel when he was secure, now he saw the danger was past, pardoned them all in the end; except some few desperate persons, which he reserved to be executed, the better to set off his mercy towards the rest. There were also sent with all speed some horse to Saint Michael's Mount in Cornwall, where the Lady Katherine Gordon was left by her husband, whom in all fortunes she entirely loved; adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of her sex. The King sent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether she might be with child, whereby the business would not have ended in Perkin's person. When she was brought to the King, it was commonly said that the King received her not only with compassion but with affection; pity giving more impression to her excellent beauty. Wherefore comforting her, to serve as well his eye as his fame, he sent her to his Queen, to remain with her; giving her very honourable allowance for the support of her estate, which she enjoyed both during the King's life and many years after. The name of the White Rose, which had been given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty.

The King went forwards on his journey, and made a joyful entrance into Exeter[1], where he gave the citizens great commendations and thanks; and taking the sword he wore from his side, he gave it to the Mayor, and commanded it should be ever after carried before him. There also he caused to be executed some of the ringleaders of the Cornishmen, in sacrifice to the citizens; whom they had put in fear and trouble. At Exeter the King consulted with his counsel, whether he should offer life to Perkin if he would quit the sanctuary and voluntarily submit himself. The counsel were divided in opinion. Some advised the King to take him out of sanctuary per-

[1] It appears by an entry in the Privy Purse expences that Perkin was brought to Taunton on the 5th of October, where the King was, on his way to Exeter. He reached Exeter on the 7th.

force, and to put him to death, as in a case of necessity, which in itself dispenseth with consecrated places and things; wherein they doubted not also but the King should find the Pope tractable to ratify his deed, either by declaration or at least by indulgence. Others were of opinion, since all was now safe and no further hurt could be done, that it was not worth the exposing of the King to new scandal and envy. A third sort fell upon the opinion [1] that it was not possible for the King ever either to satisfy the world well touching the imposture or to learn out the bottom of the conspiracy, except by promise of life and pardon and other fair means he should get Perkin into his hands. But they did all in their preambles much bemoan the King's case, with a kind of indignation at his fortune; that a Prince of his high wisdom and virtue should have been so long and so oft exercised and vexed with idols. But the King said that it was the vexation of God Almighty himself to be vexed with idols, and therefore that that was not to trouble any of his friends: and that for himself he always despised them, but was grieved that they had put his people to such trouble and misery. But in conclusion he leaned to the third opinion; and so sent some to deal with Perkin; who seeing himself a prisoner and destitute of all hopes, having tried princes and people, great and small, and found all either false, faint, or unfortunate, did gladly accept of the condition. The King did also while he was at Exeter appoint the Lord Darcy and others commissioners for the fining of all such as were of any value [2], and had any hand or partaking in the aid or comfort of Perkin or the Cornishmen, either in the field or in the flight. These commissioners proceeded with such strictness and severity, as did much obscure the King's mercy in sparing of blood, with the bleeding of so much treasure. Perkin was brought unto the King's court, but not to the King's presence; though the King to satisfy his curiosity saw him sometimes out of a window [3] or in passage. He was in shew at liberty, but guarded with all care and watch that was possible, and willed to follow the King to London. But from his first appearance upon the stage in his new person

[1] In the translation he says they distinctly advised him: *regem diserte premonebat.*

[2] The original return of the fines levied is preserved in the British Museum. See Ellis's Letters, 1st ser. vol. i. p. 38.

[3] This is omitted in the translation.

of a sycophant or juggler, instead of his former person of a Prince, all men may think how he was exposed to the derision not only of the courtiers but also of the common people, who flocked about him as he went along, that one might know afar off where the owl was, by the flight of birds; some mocking, some wondering, some cursing, some prying and picking matter out of his countenance and gesture to talk of. So that the false honour and respects which he had so long enjoyed was plentifully repaid in scorn and contempt. As soon as he was comen to London, the King gave also the City the solace of this may-game. For he was conveyed leisurely on horseback, but not in any ignominious fashion, through Cheapside and Cornhill[1] to the Tower, and from thence back again unto Westminster, with the churmne[2] of a thousand taunts and reproaches. But to amend the show, there followed a little distance off Perkin, an inward counsellor of his, one that had been serjeant farrier to the King. This fellow, when Perkin took sanctuary, chose rather to take an holy habit than a holy place, and clad himself like an hermit, and in that weed wandered about the country, till he was discovered and taken. But this man was bound hand and foot upon the horse, and came not back with Perkin, but was left at the Tower[3], and within few days after executed. Soon after, now that Perkin could tell better what himself was, he was diligently examined; and after his confession taken, an extract was made of such parts of them[4] as were thought fit to be divulged; which was printed and dispersed abroad: wherein the King did himself no right: for as there was a laboured tale of particulars of Perkin's father and mother and grandsire and grandmother and uncles and cousins, by names and surnames, and from what places he travelled up and down; so there was little or nothing to purpose of any thing concerning his designs, or any practices that had been held with him; nor the Duchess of Burgundy herself, that all the world did take knowledge of as the person that had put life and being into the whole business, so much as named or pointed at[5]; so that men missing of that they looked

[1] The MS. as well as the edition of 1622 has *Cornewall*; which is evidently wrong. The Latin translation has *Cornhill*. This, according to Stowe, was on the 20th of November, 1497; the 13th of the King.

[2] *Churm* is an old Saxon word, meaning a confused murmuring noise. In the translation *cum choro* is substituted.

[3] These words are omitted in the translation. [4] So both MS. and Ed. 1622.

[5] The translation adds *sed prorsus silentio prætermissa.*

for, looked about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before. But the King chose rather not to satisfy than to kindle coals.[1] At that time also it did not appear by any new examinations or commitments that any other person of quality was discovered or appeached, though the King's closeness made that a doubt dormant.

About this time[2] a great fire in the night-time suddenly began at the King's palace of Shyne, near unto the King's own lodgings; whereby a great part of the building was consumed, with much costly household-stuff; which gave the King occasion of building from the ground that fine pile of Richmond, which is now standing.

Somewhat before this time also, there fell out a memorable accident. There was one Sebastian Gabato, a Venetian, dwelling in Bristow, a man seen and expert in cosmography and navigation. This man seeing the success and emulating perhaps the enterprise of Christopherus Columbus in that fortunate discovery towards the south-west, which had been by him made some six years before[3], conceited with himself that lands might likewise be discovered towards the north-west. And surely it may be he had more firm and pregnant conjectures of it than Columbus had of his at the first. For the two great islands of the old and new world, being in the shape and making of them broad towards the north and pointed towards the south, it is likely that the discovery first began where the lands did nearest meet. And there had been before that time a discovery[4] of some lands, which they took to be islands, and were indeed the continent of America, towards the north-west. And it may be, that some relation of this nature coming afterwards to the knowledge of Columbus, and by him suppressed (desirous rather to make his enterprise the child of his science and fortune than the follower of a former discovery), did give him better assurance that all was not sea from the west of Europe and Africke unto Asia, than either Seneca's prophecy, or Plato's antiquities, or the nature of the tides and land-winds and the

[1] *Verum regi magis placebat vulgo non satisfacere quam grandium animos irritare.*

[2] On St. Thomas's Day, at night, about nine o'clock. (Old Chron. fo. 171. *b*).

[3] Columbus saw the light on San Salvador on the 3rd of October, 1492 (see Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen, vol. i. p. 100.); — while Henry was arranging the treaty of Estaples.

[4] *Quin et memoria extabat aliquarum terrarum ad zephyro-boream ante discoopertarum et pro insulis habitarum; quæ tamen revera essent pars continentis Americæ borealis.*

like, which were the conjectures that were given out whereupon he should have relied: though I am not ignorant that it was likewise laid unto the casual and wind-beaten discovery a little before of a Spanish pilot who died in the house of Columbus. But this Gabato bearing the King in hand [1] that he would find out an island endued with rich commodities, procured him to man and victual a ship at Bristow for the discovery of that island: with whom ventured also three small ships of London merchants [2], fraught with some gross and slight wares, fit for commerce with barbarous people. He sailed, as he affirmed at his return (and made a card thereof), very far westwards, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of Terra de Labrador, until he came to the latitude of sixty-seven degrees and a half, finding the seas still open.[3] It is certain also that the King's fortune had a tender of that great empire of the West-Indies. Neither was it a refusal on the King's part, but a delay by accident, that put by so great an acquest. For Christopherus Columbus, refused by the King of Portugal (who would not embrace at once both east and west), employed his brother Bartholomeus Columbus unto King

[1] *Regi fidem faciens.*

[2] "Which departed (says the old Chronicle, Vitel. A. xvi. p. 173) from the west country in the beginning of summer; *but to this present month came never knowledge of their exploit.*"

This was in Henry's thirteenth year,—1498. Stowe puts it on the fourteenth; probably by an accidental misplacement of the A. R. in the margin. But it is very singular that neither of them takes any notice of Sebastian Cabot's *first* voyage, which took place the year before, and which had resulted in no less an "exploit" than the first discovery of the North American continent. It was on the 24th of June, 1497, at five o'clock in the morning, that they saw land first; at what exact point we do not know; but apparently at some part of the coast of Labrador, with an island not far off. The result of the expedition was known in England in the beginning of August; for in the Privy Purse Expences of Henry VII. we find an entry (p. 113.) of 10*l.* paid on the 10th of August, 1497, "to him that found the new isle." And the second voyage of 1498 appears to have been undertaken with a view rather to settlement than discovery, the commission (3rd Feb. 1497-8) having special reference to "the Londe and Isles of late found." The fate of it (strange to say) is to this day a matter of conjecture; but it is supposed to have been a failure. For an elaborate discussion of all questions connected with this subject, see "A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot; with a review of the History of Maritime Discovery," 2nd ed. Lond. 1832. Compare also an account of a paper in the Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society, communicated by Mr. Cheney,—in Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. No. 105, 2nd Jan. 1858.

The old Chronicle (it should be added) does not mention Sebastian Cabot's name; but merely calls him "a stranger Venisian which by a caart mad hym self expert in knowing of the world."

[3] This statement comes, through Stowe, from "Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Discovery for a new passage to Catala;" whose authority appears to have been a letter from Sebastian Cabot to Ramusio. But the date of the voyage in question is not given; and there is reason to believe that it took place in 1517. See "Memoir of Cabot," p. 118. Perhaps the three contradictory statements as to the northernmost point reached by Cabot may be best explained by supposing that in 1497 he sailed to the 56th degree, in 1498 to the 58th, and in 1517 to the 67½th.

Henry to negotiate for his discovery. And it so fortuned that he was taken by pirates at sea; by which accidental impediment he was long ere he came to the King; so long, that before he had obtained a capitulation with the King for his brother the enterprise by him was achieved [1], and so the West-Indies by providence were then reserved for the crown of Castilia. Yet this sharpened the King so, that not only in this voyage, but again in the sixteenth year of his reign, and likewise in the eighteenth thereof, he granted forth new commissions for the discovery and investing of unknown lands.

In this fourteenth year also [2], by God's wonderful providence,

[1] The translation says only that it was *undertaken*, meaning that Christopher Columbus had made his arrangements with Ferdinand and Isabella. *Tum dis ut prius quam cum rege Henrico transegisset expeditio illa a fratre suo Christophoro suscepta esset.*

[2] If there be no oversight here, we must conclude that Bacon (following Stowe) supposed Sebastian Gabato's expedition to have taken place in Henry's fourteenth year, that is between 22 August, 1498, and 21 August, 1499: in which case it must have been nearly a year *after* the events he had been speaking of, instead of a little before. We do not indeed know the exact date of the publication of Perkin's confession. But he was shown in London at the end of November, 1497; in Henry's thirteenth year; and his confession is represented as having been made "soon after." The accident at Norham appears to have occurred in November, 1498: for on the 26th of that month the Sheriff of Northumberland was directed to make proclamation summoning several persons, inhabitants of Ryddesdale and Tyndale (northward), to appear within three days at Berwick before Thomas Darcy, Knt., Lieutenant of the East and Middle marches towards Scotland, *to answer for murder committed on certain Scotchmen*, contrary to the peace between England and Scotland. (See Cal. Pat. Rolls, 14 Hen. VII. pt. 1. p. 39.) The "peace" alluded to was no doubt the truce concluded in December, 1497, and ratified by James on the 10th of February following. (See note 2. p. 187.) The error as to the date of this accident comes from Polydore Vergil; who begins his account of it (immediately after relating the capture of Perkin at Exeter and the proceedings consequent) with *eodem anno*.

The season of quiet which followed the suppression of the insurrection in Cornwall, the capture of Perkin, and the conclusion of this truce, was taken advantage of by Henry, not only for quenching the embers of the rebellion in England by examining, punishing, and pardoning; but also for making an attempt to civilise Ireland. Sir Edward Poynings's Parliament, three years before, had extended the English statutes to Ireland. Henry wished now to try whether English manners and customs could not be introduced likewise. Accordingly on the 28th of March, 1498, he commissioned the Earl of Kildare to summon a Parliament for the purpose of taking into consideration, among other things, measures for prohibiting absenteeism, except for purposes of education;—for causing the English dress to be worn and English weapons used;—for enforcing the cleansing of towns, ditching, draining, paving, &c.; and for levying customs and other dues. It was proposed that the Lords in Parliament should wear robes as in England; that every Lord or other person having livelihood or benefice worth 20 marks a year should "ride in a saddle after the English guise;" and that merchants and others of that degree should wear gowns and cloaks, instead of the usual "hucks and foldings." Provision was also to be made for the election of a Justice (in absence of the Lieutenant) to hold the Government during the interval. The reversal of the attainder of the Earl of Kildare by the English Parliament was to be ratified. And William Barry, commonly called Lord Barry, of Munster, and John Water, of Cork, merchant, having of late received divers letters from "Parkyn Wosebek" and treasonably concealed the same from the King and his Council, were to be attainted of high treason.

Such was to be the principal business of this Parliament, as detailed in the Calendar

that boweth things unto his will, and hangeth great weights upon small wires, there fell out a trifling and untoward accident, that drew on great and happy effects. During the truce with Scotland, there were certain Scottish young gentlemen that came into Norham town, and there made merry with some of the English of the town; and having little to do, went sometimes forth, and would stand looking upon the castle. Some of the garrison of the castle, observing this their doing twice or thrice, and having not their minds purged of the late ill blood of hostility, either suspected them or quarelled[1] them for spies. Whereupon they fell at ill words, and from words to blows, so that many were wounded of either side; and the Scottishmen, being strangers[2] in the town, had the worst; insomuch that some of them were slain, and the rest made haste home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the Wardens of Marches of both sides, and no good order taken, the King of Scotland took it to himself[3], and being much kindled, sent a herald to the King to make protestation that if reparation were not done, according to the conditions of the truce[4], his King did denounce war. The King, who had often tried fortune and was inclined to peace, made answer that what had been done was utterly against his will and without his privity; but if the garrison soldiers had been in fault, he would see them punished; and the truce in all points to be preserved. But this answer seemed to the Scottish King but a delay, to make the complaint breathe out with time; and therefore it did rather exasperate him than satisfy him. Bishop Foxe, understanding from the King that the Scottish King was still discontent and impatient, being troubled that the occasion of breaking the truce should grow from his men, sent many humble and deprecatory letters to the Scottish King to appease him. Whereupon King James, mollified by the Bishop's submiss and eloquent letters, writ back unto him, that though he were in part moved by his letters, yet he should not be fully satisfied except he spake with him; as well about the compounding of the present differences, as about other matters that might concern the good of both kingdoms. The Bishop,

of Patent Rolls, 13 Hen. VII. p. 33. What was done, and with what success, I do not know. No mention is made of it in the English histories.

[1] *Calumniabantur.* [2] The translation adds *uti verisimile est.*

[3] *In suam contumeliam factum esse interpretatus est.*

[4] This clause is omitted in the translation.

advising first with the King, took his journey for Scotland. The meeting was at Melrosse, an abbey of the Cistercians, where the King then abode. The King first roundly uttered unto the Bishop his offence conceived for the insolent breach of truce by his men of Norham-castle: whereunto Bishop Foxe made such an humble and smooth answer, as it was like oil into the wound, whereby it began to heal. And this was done in the presence of the King and his counsel. After the King spake with the bishop apart, and opened himself unto him, saying that these temporary truces and peaces were soon made and soon broken; but that he desired a straiter amity with the King of England; discovering his mind, that if the King would give him in marriage the Lady Margaret, his eldest daughter, that indeed might be a knot indissoluble: that he knew well what place and authority the Bishop deservedly had with his master: therefore if he would take the business to heart and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would succeed well. The Bishop answered soberly, that he thought himself rather happy than worthy to be an instrument in such a matter, but would do his best endeavour. Wherefore the Bishop returning to the King and giving him account of what had passed and finding the King more than well disposed in it [1], gave the King advice, first to proceed to a conclusion of peace, and then to go on with the treaty of marriage by degrees. Hereupon a peace was concluded, which was published a little before Christmas [2], in the fourteenth year of the King's reign, to continue for both the Kings' lives and the over-liver of them and a year after. In this peace there was an article contained, That no Englishman should enter into Scotland, and no Scottishman into England, without letters commendatory from the Kings of either nation. This at the first sight might seem a means to continue a strangeness between the nations; but it was done to lock in the borderers.[3]

[1] *Propensum et fere cupidum.* There was a commission for treating on the subject of this match granted by Henry in the summer of 1496. But I suppose it did not come to actual negotiation at that time, as James was then preparing to invade England with Perkin.

[2] I think this is a mistake. The former treaty (see note 2. p. 187.) was published a little before Christmas, 1497. The treaty now in question, which contains the article concerning the letters commendatory (Rymer xii. 724), was not concluded till the 12th July, 1499. It was ratified by James on the 20th, at Strivelin, and immediately after, that is on the 11th of September, a commission was granted to Bishop Fox to treat of the marriage.

[3] *Ad limitaneos coercendos, qui dissidiorum causa esse consueverant.*

This year there was also born to the King a third son, who was christened by the name of Edmond, and shortly after died.[1] And much about the same time came news of the death of Charles the French King[2]: for whom there were celebrated solemn and princely obsequies.

It was not long but Perkin, who was made of quicksilver (which is hard to hold or imprison), began to stir. For deceiving his keepers[3], he took him to his heels, and made speed to the sea-coast.[4] But presently all corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, as he was fain to turn back and get him to the house of Bethleem, called the Priory of Shyne (which had the privilege of sanctuary), and put himself into the hands of the Prior of that monastery. The Prior was thought an holy man, and much reverenced in those days. He came to the King and besought the King for Perkin's life only, leaving him otherwise to the King's discretion. Many about the King were again more hot than ever to have the King to take him forth and hang him. But the King that had an high stomach and could not hate any that he despised, bid take him forth and set the knave in the stocks. And so promising the Prior his life, he caused him to be brought forth. And within two or three days after[5], upon a scaffold set up in the palace-court at Westminster, he was fettered and set in the stocks for the whole day. And the next day after, the like was done by him at the cross in Cheapside, and in both places he read his confession of which we made mention before; and was from Cheapside conveyed and laid up in the Tower. Notwithstanding all this the King was (as was partly touched before) grown to be such a partner with fortune, as no body could tell what actions the one and what the other owned. For it was believed generally that Perkin was betrayed; and that this escape was not without the King's privity, who had him all the time of his flight in a line; and that the King did this to pick a quarrel to him, to put him to death, and to be rid of him at once;

[1] He was christened on the 24th February A° 14 [1498-9] and died on the Friday after Whitsunday. A° 15; which would be the 12th of June, 1500. (Old Chron. fo. 174 *b.* and 181.)

[2] The news arrived in London in April, 1498. (Old Chron. fo. 172.)

[3] I suppose he was under what they call *surveillance*; for according to the Chronicle (fo. 172), the King "kept him in his Court at liberty."

[4] "Upon Trinity Sunday even, upon Saturday the 9th of June," 1498. (Old Chron. f. 172.)

[5] "On the Friday next following." Id. fo. 172. *b.*

which is not probable[1]; for that the same instruments who observed him in his flight might have kept him from getting into sanctuary.

But it was ordained that this winding-ivy of a Plantagenet should kill the true tree itself. For Perkin after he had been a while in the Tower, began to insinuate himself into the favour and kindness of his keepers; servants to the Lieutenant of the Tower Sir John Digby; being four in number; Strangeways, Blewet, Astwood, and Long-Roger. These varlets with mountains of promises he sought to corrupt, to obtain his escape. But knowing well that his own fortunes were made so contemptible as he could feed no man's hopes; and by hopes he must work, for rewards he had none; he had contrived with himself a vast and tragical plot; which was, to draw into his company Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, then prisoner in the Tower, whom the weary life of a long imprisonment, and the often and renewing fears of being put to death, had softened to take any impression of counsel for his liberty. This young Prince he thought these servants would look upon, though not upon himself. And therefore after that by some message by one or two of them he had tasted of the Earl's consent, it was agreed that these four should murder their master the Lieutenant secretly in the night, and make their best of such money and portable goods of his as they should find ready at hand; and get the keys of the Tower, and presently to let forth Perkin and the Earl. But this conspiracy was revealed in time before it could be executed. And in this again the opinion of the King's great wisdom did surcharge him with a sinister fame, that Perkin was but his bait to entrap the Earl of Warwick. And in the very instant while this conspiracy was in working (as if that also had been the King's industry) it was fatal that there should break forth a counterfeit Earl of Warwick, a cord-wainer's son, whose name was Ralph Wilford, a young man taught and set on by an Augustin Friar called Patrick. They both from the parts of Suffolk came forwards into Kent, where they did not only privily and underhand give out that this Wilford was the true Earl of Warwick; but also the friar, finding some light credence in the people, took the boldness in the pulpit to declare as much, and to incite the people to come

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has: "But this is not probable."

in to his aid. Whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young fellow executed [1], and the friar condemned to perpetual imprisonment. This also happening so opportunely to represent the danger to the King's estate from the Earl of Warwick, and thereby to colour the King's severity that followed; together with the madness of the friar, so vainly and desperately to divulge a treason before it had gotten any manner of strength; and the saving of the friar's life, which nevertheless was indeed but the privilege of his order; and the pity in the common people (which if it run in a strong stream doth ever cast up scandal and envy), made it generally rather talked than believed that all was but the King's device. But howsoever it were, hereupon Perkin (that had offended against grace now the third time) was at the last proceeded with, and by commissioners of Oyer and Determiner arraigned at Westminster [2], upon divers treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on land within this kingdom (for so the judges advised, for that he was a foreigner), and condemned; and a few days after executed at Tyburn; where he did again openly read his confession, and take it upon his death to be true. This was the end of this little cockatrice of a King, that was able to destroy those that did not espy him first. It was one of the longest plays of that kind that hath been in memory, and might perhaps have had another end, if he had not met with a King both wise, stout, and fortunate.

As for Perkin's three counsellors, they had registered themselves sanctuary-men, when their master did; and whether upon pardon obtained or continuance within the privilege, they came not to be proceeded with.

There was executed with Perkin the Mayor of Cork and his son, who had been principal abettors of his treasons. And soon after were likewise condemned eight other persons about the Tower-conspiracy; whereof four were the Lieutenant's men. But of those eight but two were executed.[3] And immediately after was arraigned before the Earl of Oxford (then for the time High Steward of England) the poor Prince the Earl of Warwick; not for the attempt to escape simply, for that was not acted; and besides the imprisonment not being for treason,

[1] He was hanged on Shrove-Tuesday, which in 1498–9 fell on the 13th of February. Old Chron. fo. 174. *b* and Speed.

[2] On the 16th of November, 1499.

[3] This is omitted in the translation.

the escape by law could not be treason; but for conspiring with Perkin to raise sedition, and to destroy the King. And the Earl confessing the indictment had judgment, and was shortly after beheaded on Tower-hill.[1]

This was also the end not only of this noble and commiserable[2] person Edward the Earl of Warwick, eldest son to the Duke of Clarence, but likewise of the line-male of the Plantagenets, which had flourished in great royalty and renown from the time of the famous King of England, King Henry the Second. Howbeit it was a race often dipped in their own blood. It hath remained since, only transplanted into other names, as well of the imperial line as of other noble houses. But it was neither guilt of crime, nor reason of state, that could quench the envy that was upon the King for this execution. So that he thought good to export it out of the land, and to lay it upon his new ally Ferdinando King of Spain. For these two Kings understanding one another at half a word, so it was that there were letters shewed out of Spain, whereby in the passages concerning the treaty of the marriage, Ferdinando had written to the King in plain terms that he saw no assurance of his succession as long as the Earl of Warwick lived; and that he was loth to send his daughter to troubles and dangers. But hereby as the King did in some part remove the envy from himself, so he did not observe that he did withal bring a kind of malediction and infausting upon the marriage, as an ill prognostic; which in event so far proved true, as both Prince Arthur enjoyed a very small time after the marriage; and the Lady Katherine herself (a sad and a religious woman) long after, when King Henry the Eighth his resolution of a divorce from her was first made known to her, used some words, that she had not offended, but it was a judgment of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood; meaning that of the Earl of Warwick.[3]

[1] He was arraigned on the 19th and beheaded on the 29th of November. For a statement of the grounds of the arraignment, see Statutes of the Realm, p. 685. l. 7.

[2] *Vere commiserabilis.*

[3] Sir James Mackintosh construes these remarks, coupled with another a little further on (see note 3. p. 212), into a reluctant admission (for he chooses to regard everything that Bacon mentions to Henry's disadvantage as a reluctant admission) that the execution of Warwick had been determined on beforehand between Henry and Ferdinand, and that his offence was the result of a snare laid by Henry in order to bring it about. It does not seem to me that Bacon believed so much as this, or that the evidence requires us to believe it. Bacon appears to have thought that Henry's *real motive* for this unjustifiable severity was state-policy: the desire to put

This fifteenth year of the King, there was a great plague both in London and in divers parts of the kingdom. Wherefore the King after often change of places, whether to avoid

an end at last to these dangers and troubles; that the laying it upon Ferdinand was a *pretext*, to shift the unpopularity of the act from himself; and that Ferdinand, understanding the case and having himself an interest in it, had been willing to play into his hands and provide him with this pretext in case he should want it; which it was obvious that he very likely might. As long as a male representative of the house of York lived, Yorkist conspiracies were continually hatching against Henry, upon various pretences, but always with the one ultimate aim of reinstating the true heir on the throne. Whatever impostor might be put forward for convenience, it was in the true heir alone that the hopes of all the conspirators could meet and rest, and the chances therefore were that he would sooner or later be drawn into some plot which would involve him in a charge of treason. The question would *then* arise whether in such a case as Warwick's—a case so extremely cruel and unjust—the rigour of the law could be allowed to take its course. That it would be *convenient* it should, it is idle to deny. What Ferdinand is represented to have said was quite true: as long as the Earl of Warwick lived, the succession was not secure. That in the course of a negotiation for the marriage of his daughter he should put this fact strongly forward as a set-off against the advantages of the match, was natural and no way wrong: it *was* a very material objection. This would of itself account for the occurrence of such passages in his letters as are said to have been shown after the execution of Warwick; and would of itself bear out the whole of Bacon's statement as to the *facts*. The expression "understanding each other at half a word" does indeed imply something more as to Bacon's *opinion*. It implies an impression on his mind that there had been some collusion between the two Kings on the subject; that Ferdinand had done more than merely urge this point in his letters as making against the eligibility of the match (which he might certainly have done without any blame); that he had foreseen the use which Henry might make of such a pretext if he should have occasion to use unpopular severity towards Warwick, and had therefore the rather dwelt upon it.

Bacon may have had grounds for such an impression, independent of the rumour mentioned in the old histories. He may very likely have seen the letters he speaks of. But I do not think we are at liberty to conclude that his opinion went further than this. If he had believed as much as Sir James Mackintosh supposes him to admit, it is difficult to see why he did not adopt the narrative of Speed, who not only represents Warwick as entrapped into the conspiracy, but connects the plea for entrapping him with the case of Ralph Wilford that has just been mentioned: a theory with which, if other circumstances corroborated it, the dates suit very well. Wilford's conspiracy was in February, 1498–9. "This new device (says Speed) to uncrown King Henry so wakened his own fears and the eyes of the Castilians (who had secretly agreed to marry their princess Katherine to our prince Arthur) that there seemed no sure ground of succession if that the Earl of Warwick were not made away. . . . . But oh the narrow capacities of the most seeing men; *the confidence whereof did undoubtedly lead this King* (herein not justifiable, howsoever excusable in respect of human frailty, which might propound to itself many fears and respects both public and private) *to connive at the plotted death, or rather formal murder, of this harmless gentleman*, whose wrong may yet move the hardest to compassion, as it afterwards stirred God in justice to revenge, prospering no part of that great work which was therefore thus corruptly sought to be perpetuated." This is the "sinister fame" which Bacon mentions as having been current at the time, but not as believed by himself; as having been naturally suggested by that singular sequence of events; but not as being the true explanation of them. It may easily be supposed that Bacon and Speed had the very same evidence before them, but drew different conclusions from it.

My own difficulty is to understand how Henry could expect to relieve himself from any part of the odium of the business by laying it upon Ferdinand. One would think that the avowal of such a motive would only have made the act more odious than ever. But I suppose Ferdinand, being a great man and in alliance with England against France, was a popular favourite in England, and the match was popular; and the people, with true popular partiality, were disposed to excuse in the one the same crime which they abhorred in the other.

the danger of the sickness, or to give occasion of an interview with the Archduke, or both, sailed over with his Queen to Calais. Upon his coming thither the Archduke sent an honourable ambassage unto him, as well to welcome him into those parts, as to let him know that if it pleased him he would come and do him reverence. But it was said withal, that the King might be pleased to appoint some place that were out of any walled town or fortress, for that he had denied the same upon like occasion to the French King. And though he said he made a great difference between the two Kings, yet he would be loth to give a precedent, that might make it after to be expected at his hands by another whom he trusted less. The King accepted of the courtesy, and admitted of his excuse, and appointed the place to be at Saint Peter's Church without Calais. But withal he did visit the Archduke with ambassadors sent from himself, which were the Lord St. John and the secretary, unto whom the Archduke did the honour as (going to mass at St. Omer's) to set the Lord Saint John on his right hand and the secretary on his left, and so to ride between them to church. The day appointed for the interview the King went on horseback some distance from Saint Peter's Church to receive the Archduke. And upon their approaching, the Archduke made haste to light, and offered to hold the King's stirrup at his alighting, which he[1] would not permit, but descending from horseback they embraced with great affection. And withdrawing into the church to a place prepared, they had long conference, not only upon the confirmation of former treaties[2], and the freeing of commerce[2], but upon cross-marriages to be had between the Duke of York the King's second son, and the Archduke's daughter; and again between Charles the Archduke's son and heir, and Mary the King's second daughter. But these blossoms of unripe marriages were but of[4] friendly wishes, and the airs of loving entertainment; though one of them came afterwards to

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "which the King would not," &c.

[2] Some new regulations concerning the packers of wool, &c., and the sale of English cloths at Antwerp and Barugh, in the Archduke's dominions, had been agreed upon between Henry and Philip in the spring of 1499. The sheriffs were directed to proclaim it on the 29th of May of that year. See Cal. Pat. Rolls, 14 Hen. VII. fo. 3. p. 26.

[3] So Ed. 1622. The MS. has "comen," but a blank space is left between the n and the comma which follows, as if the transcriber had felt that it was not the right word, and left that space for the insertion of the proper letter at the end.

[4] So MS. Ed. 1622 omits "of."

a conclusion[1] in treaty, though not in effect. But during the time that the two Princes conversed and communed together in the suburbs of Calais, the demonstrations on both sides were passing hearty and affectionate; especially on the part of the Archduke; who (besides that he was a Prince of an excellent good nature) being conscious to himself how drily[2] the King had been used by his counsel in the matter of Perkin, did strive by all means to recover it in the King's affection. And having also his ears continually beaten with the counsels of his father and father-in-law, who in respect of their jealous hatred against the French King did always advise the Archduke to anchor himself upon the amity of King Henry of England, was glad upon this occasion to put in ure and practice their precepts: calling the King patron, and father, and protector, (these very words the King repeats, when he certified of the loving behaviour of the Archduke to the city[3],) and what else he could devise to express his love and observance to the King. There came also to the King the Governor of Picardy and the Bailiff of Amiens, sent from Lewis the French King to do him honour, and to give him knowledge of his victory and winning of the duchy of Milan. It seemeth the King was well pleased with the honours he received from those parts, while he was at Calais; for he did himself certify all the news and occurrents of them in every particular from Calais to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, which no doubt made no small talk in the City. For the King, though he could not entertain the good-will of the citizens as Edward the Fourth did, yet by affability and other princely graces did ever make very much of them, and apply himself to them.

This year also died John Morton[4], Archbishop of Canterbury,

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "to conclusion." The treaty alluded to was for a marriage between Charles and Mary.

[2] *Morose et parum amanter.*

[3] *Literis suis postea inseruit ad civitatem Londini missis, quibus humanitatem Archiducis prolixe commendavit.*

There is a copy of this letter in the old Chronicle (Vitel. A. xvi. fo. 178. *b.*) from which most of the particulars here given may have been taken. The chief difference is in a thing of very small importance—the sequence of the two embassies; which Bacon appears to have inverted. According to the King's letter, his embassy to the Archduke which was received with such distinction at St. Omer's was prior to the Archduke's message mentioned above. Henry's embassy was sent in acknowledgment of some former embassy of the Archduke's; the Archduke's message in acknowledgment of this. The King's letter is dated Calais, June 2; and was written before his personal interview with the Archduke; which was to be on the Monday or Tuesday in Whitsun week: *i. e.* the 8th or 9th of June.

[4] In the beginning of October, according t.. the old Chronicle, p. 181. *b.* Reckoning

Chancellor of England, and Cardinal. He was a wise man and an eloquent, but in his nature harsh and haughty, much accepted by the King, but envied by the nobility and hated of the people. Neither was his name left out of Perkin's proclamation [1] for any good will; but they would not bring him in amongst the King's casting counters, because he had the image and superscription upon him of the Pope, in his honour of Cardinal. He wanne the King with secrecy and diligence, but chiefly because he was his old servant in his less fortunes, and also for that in his affections he was not without an inveterate malice against the house of York, under whom he had been in trouble. He was willing also to take envy from the King more than the King was willing to put upon him. For the King cared not for subterfuges, but would stand envy, and appear in any thing that was to his mind; which made envy still grow upon him; more universal, but less daring. But in the matter of exactions, time did after shew that the Bishop in feeding the King's humour did rather temper it. He had been by Richard the Third committed as in custody to the Duke of Buckingham, whom he did secretly incite to revolt from King Richard. But after the Duke was engaged, and thought the Bishop should have been his chief pilot in the tempest, the Bishop was gotten into the cock-boat, and fled over beyond seas. But whatsoever else was in the man[2], he deserveth a most happy memory, in that he was the principal means of joining the two Roses. He died of great years, but of strong health and powers.[3]

The next year, which was the sixteenth year of the King and the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred, was the year of jubilee at Rome.[4] But Pope Alexander, to save the hazard and charges of men's journeys to Rome, thought good to make over those graces by exchange to such as would pay a convenient rate, seeing they could not come to fetch them.[5]

by the years of the King's reign, it should have been not *this* year, but the next, the 16th.

[1] *Neque ex benevolentiâ aliquâ nomen ejus omissum est in catalogo adulatorum regis quos edictum Perkini perstrinxit; sed eum noluerunt cum reliquis admiscere quoniam*, &c.

[2] *Utcumque iste vir laudandus aut reprehendendus occurrat.*

[3] *Corpore validus et animi facultatibus integris.*

The old Chronicle says that he died "passing the years of fourscore and odd."

[4] The year of Jubilee extended from Christmas 1499, to Christmas 1500. Therefore it coincided more nearly with the King's 15th year. Jasper Pons came in 1499–1500.

[5] *Cum minus grave esset eos in patriâ quemque suâ recipere.*

For which purpose was sent into England Gasper Pons a Spaniard, the Pope's commissioner, better chosen than were the commissioners of Pope Leo afterwards employed for Germany; for he carried the business with great wisdom and semblance of holiness: insomuch as he levied great sums of money within this land to the Pope's use, with little or no scandal. It was thought[1] the King shared in the money. But it appeareth by a letter[2] which Cardinal Adrian, the King's pensioner, writ to the King from Rome some few years after, that this was not so. For this Cardinal, being to persuade Pope Julius on the King's behalf to expedite the bull of dispensation for the marriage between Prince Henry and the Lady Katherine, finding the Pope difficile in granting thereof, doth use it as a principal argument concerning the King's merit towards that see, that he had touched none of those deniers which had been levied by Pons in England. But that it might the better appear (for the satisfaction of the common people) that this was consecrate money, the same nuncio brought unto the King a brief from the Pope, wherein the King was exhorted and summoned to come in person against the Turk. For that the Pope, out of the care of an universal father, seeing almost under his eyes the successes and progresses of that great enemy of the faith[3], had had in the conclave, and with the assistance of the ambassadors of foreign Princes, divers consultations about an holy war and general expedition of Christian Princes against the Turk. Wherein it was agreed and thought fit, that the Hungarians, Polonians, and Bohemians, should make a war upon Thracia: the French and Spaniards upon Græcia; and

[1] *Opinio prava inorebuerat.*

[2] This letter or one to the same effect is still to be seen in the Cotton collection. (Cleo. E. iii. fo. 164.) It contains the following passage; probably the one of which Bacon was thinking, though it does not appear to me to be quite decisive upon the point specially in question. "*Dixi et prædicavi, quod est verum, vestram Majestatem solum fuisse inter omnes Catholicos principes qui non solum admisit pro sede Apostolica dictas cruciatas et subsidia, sed etiam antequam colligerentur de suis propriis pecuniis 20^M millia scutorum auri sedi Apostolicæ solvenda hic Romæ promisisse et oratori Apostolicæ magistro Pon deliberasse.*"

It appears from Henry's Privy Purse expences that on the 16th of September, 1502, there was "delivered to Gasper Pon the Pope's orator, by the King's commandment, for and unto the Pope's use, 4000*l.*" Nicolas's Excerpt. Hist. p. 126.

Henry may possibly have repaid himself for this advance out of the money raised by Pons: and thence may have arisen the report that he shared in the money. I suppose it may easily have taken two years to complete the collection.

[3] "Also this year," says the old Chronicle, fo. 182., "come certain tidings to the King that the Turk had gotten the town Modon and made great destruction of the Christians."

that the Pope (willing to sacrifice himself in so good a cause) in person, and in company of the King of England, the Venetians, (and such other states as were great in maritime power), would sail with a puissant navy through the Mediterrane unto Constantinople. And that to this end his Holiness had sent nuncios to all Christian Princes, as well for a cessation of all quarrels and differences amongst themselves, as for speedy preparations and contributions of forces and treasure for this sacred enterprise. To this the King (who understood well the court of Rome)[1] made an answer[2] rather solemn than serious. Signifying that no Prince on earth should be more forward and obedient both by his person and by all his possible forces and fortunes to enter into this sacred war than himself. But that the distance of place was such, as no forces that he should raise for the seas could be levied or prepared but with double the charge and double the time (at the least) that they might be from the other Princes that had their territories nearer adjoining. Besides, that neither the manner of his ships (having no galleys) nor the experience of his pilots and mariners could be so apt for those seas as theirs. And therefore that his Holiness might do well to move one of those other Kings, who lay fitter for the purpose, to accompany him by sea, whereby both all things would be no sooner put in readiness, and with less charge; and the emulation and division of command which might grow between those Kings of France and Spain, if they should both join in the war by land upon Grœcia, might be wisely avoided. And that for his part he would not be wanting in aids and contribution. Yet nothwithstanding if both these Kings should refuse, rather than his Holiness should go alone, he would wait upon him as soon as he could be ready. Always provided that he might first see all differences of the Christian Princes amongst themselves fully laid down and appeased, (as for his own part he was in none.) And that he might have some good towns upon the coast in Italy put into his hands, for the retreat and safeguard of his men. With this answer Gasper Pons returned, nothing at all discontented.

And yet this declaration of the King (as superficial as it was) gave him that reputation abroad, as he was not long after elected

[1] *De animo et consiliis Papæ bene informatus.*

[2] The answer may be read at length in Ellis's letters, 1st ser. vol. i. p. 48; where it is printed from the original Cott. MSS. Cleo. E. iii. fo. 150. This which Bacon gives is only the substance of the business part of it.

by the Knights of the Rhodes protector of their order; all things multiplying to honour in a prince that had gotten such high estimation for his wisdom and sufficiency.[1]

There were these two last years some proceedings against heretics, which was rare in this King's reign; and rather by penances than by fire.[2] The King had (though he were no good schoolman) the honour to convert one of them[3] by dispute at Canterbury.

This year also, though the King were no more haunted with sprites, for that by the sprinkling partly of blood and partly of water he had chased them away; yet nevertheless he had certain apparitions that troubled him: still shewing themselves from one region, which was the house of York. It came so to pass that the Earl of Suffolk, son to Elizabeth eldest sister to King Edward the Fourth by John Duke of Suffolk her second husband, and brother to John Earl of Lincoln, that was slain at Stokefield, being of a hasty and choleric disposition, had killed a man in his fury. Whereupon the King gave him his pardon, but either willing to leave a cloud upon him or the better to make him feel his grace, produced him openly to plead his pardon. This wrought in the Earl, as in a haughty stomach it useth to do. For the ignominy printed deeper than the grace. Wherefore he being discontent fled secretly into Flanders[4] unto his aunt the Duchess of Burgundy. The King startled at it. But being taught by troubles to use fair and timely remedies, wrought so with him by messages (the Lady Margaret also growing by often failing in her alchemy weary of her experiments, and partly being a little sweetened for that the King had not touched her name in the confession of Perkin,) that he

[1] *In rebus civilibus peritiæ.*

[2] *Et si aliquando contigerat, pœnitentiis potius quam igne luebant.*

[3] This is recorded by the city Chronicler (p. 172.) who adds that he "died a Christian man, whereof his Grace have great honour."

"The King (says Fuller) by what arguments we know not, converted this priest and then presently gave order that he should be burned; which was done accordingly. Surely there was more in the matter than what appeared in the record, or else one may boldly say that, if the King's converts had no better encouragement, this was the first he made and the last he was ever likely to make." Church History, iv. 15. 32.

[4] In the month of August. Old Chron. fo. 183.

It seems the Earl had another ground of discontent. His elder brother John had been attainted during the Duke their father's life; when the Duke died Edmond claimed the honour and estate of his father. But Henry persisted in considering him as the heir of his brother, and gave him only the title of Earl, with a small portion of his patrimony;—an instance of the troubles Henry bred himself from his aversion to the House of York.

came over again upon good terms, and was reconciled to the King.

In the beginning of the next year, being the seventeenth of the King, the Lady Katherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, arrived in England at Plymouth the second of October, and was married to Prince Arthur in Paul's the fourteenth of November following: the Prince being then about fifteen years of age, and the lady about eighteen.[1] The manner of her receiving, the manner of her entry into London, and the celebrity of the marriage, were performed with great and true magnificence, in regard of cost, shew, and order.[2] The chief man that took the care was Bishop Foxe, who was not only a grave counsellor for war or peace, but also a good surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit for the active part belonging to the service of court or state of a great King. This marriage was almost seven years in treaty, which was in part caused by the tender years of the marriage-couple; especially of the Prince. But the true reason was that these two Princes, being Princes of great policy and profound judgment, stood a great time looking one upon another's fortunes, how they would go[3]; knowing

[1] So say both Stowe and Speed: but it seems to be a mistake. Miss Strickland, on the authority of a Spanish MS. in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillips, states that Katherine was born on the 15th of December, 1485: therefore was not quite sixteen at the time of her marriage.

[2] See a full account of it in the old Chronicle, p. 183. *b*.—201.

[3] This is the passage referred to in note 3. p. 204. It is quoted by Sir James Mackintosh as imputing to Henry and Ferdinand (clearly though not directly) a "criminal agreement" for the removal of Warwick. He could hardly, I think, have remembered his own admission that "history ought to be written without passion," when he found such a meaning in these words. Dr. Lingard's remark is more pertinent. "As almost three years elapsed (he says) between the treaty of marriage and the contract, this delay has been urged as a proof that Ferdinand would not consent to it till he was assured that the life of the Earl of Warwick, the real heir, would be taken by Henry. But the fact is that this was the earliest period stipulated in the treaty (Rymer, xii. 663.), which provided that as soon as Arthur had completed his twelfth year, the parents might, if they pleased, apply to the Pope for a dispensation." This seems to be a sufficient answer to Sir James Mackintosh's question "How came the espousal by proxy to occur only six months before the execution of Warwick, &c.?" Arthur had not completed his twelfth year till September, 1498. And if it be asked why this delay was provided for in the contract (marriages between children being in such cases—where Kings were the matchmakers and kingdoms the parties matched—not unusual), the reason here assigned by Bacon—if the obvious rationality and decency of the proceeding be not thought reason enough—is probably the true one. As no good could be got by closing the question, they thought it better to leave it open.

The thing which requires explanation is not the *delay* of the match, but the resolution to expedite it. It was first agreed upon in general terms on the 27th of March, 1489, before Arthur was three years old. On the 2nd of November, 1491, Katherine's dowry was settled, and it was agreed that she should be brought to England as soon as

well that in the mean time the very treaty itself gave abroad in the world a reputation of a strait conjunction and amity between them which served on both sides to many purposes that their several affairs required, and yet they continued still free. But in the end, when the fortunes of both the Princes did grow every day more and more prosperous and assured, and that looking all about them they saw no better conditions, they shut it up.

The marriage-money the Princess brought (which was turned over to the King by act of renunciation) was two hundred thousand ducats: whereof one hundred thousand were payable ten days after the solemnization, and the other hundred thousand at two payments annual; but part of it to be in jewels and plate, and a due course set down to have them justly and indifferently priced.[1] The jointure or advancement of the lady, was the third part of the principality of Wales, and of the dukedom of Cornwall, and of the earldom of Chester; to be after set forth in severalty. And in case she came to be Queen of England her advancement was left indefinite; but thus; that it should be as great as ever any former Queen of England had.

In all the devices and conceits of the triumphs of this marriage, there was a great deal of astronomy. The lady being resembled to Hesperus, and the Prince to Arcturus; and the old King Alphonsus (that was the greatest astronomer of

Arthur had completed his *fourteenth* year. On the 22nd of September, 1496, it was further agreed that as soon as the parties should be of "legitimate age" for it, the marriage should be celebrated "*per verba de præsenti.*" And on the first of October following it was arranged that, *if* for any urgent cause it were thought fit that the marriage should be celebrated *per verba de præsenti* as soon as Arthur had completed his *twelfth* year, then the two Kings would apply for a dispensation for that purpose. This I suppose was the treaty in which D'Ayala was concerned. Henry seems to have been in no hurry about it; for though concluded on the 1st of October, 1496, it was not confirmed by him till the 18th July, 1497. On the 15th of the following month the contract was solemnised at Woodstock as formally as it could be without the Pope's dispensation and while the parties were under age. The dispensation was granted in February, 1497-8. Arthur completed his twelfth year in the following September. On the 12th of March, 1498-9, Katherine appointed her procurator. On the 19th of May the marriage was solemnised by proxy. On the 20th of December the proxy marriage was acknowledged by Katherine and approved by Ferdinand and Isabella. On the 28th of May, 1500, the whole proceeding was formally recited and ratified by Henry. And four months had still to pass before the earliest time ever thought of for the actual union. If it be asked why it was resolved to celebrate the proxy marriage sooner than was originally intended (a resolution which seems to have been taken in October, 1496), the answer is simple and obvious. By the original treaty, Ferdinand had engaged to send his daughter to England *at his own charge* as soon as Arthur had completed his fourteenth year; which would be in September, 1500. And he naturally wished, before he commenced his preparations for sending her, to have the contract made irrevocable and indissoluble.

[1] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "prized."

Kings and was ancestor to the lady) was brought in to be the fortune-teller of the match. And whosoever had those toys in compiling, they were not altogether pedantical. But you may be sure that King Arthur the Briton, and the descent of the Lady Katherine from the house of Lancaster, was in no wise forgotten. But as it should seem, it is not good to fetch fortunes from the stars. For this young Prince (that drew upon him at that time not only the hopes and affections of his country, but the eyes and expectation of foreigners) after a few months, in the beginning of April, deceased at Ludlow Castle, where he was sent to keep his residance and court as Prince of Wales. Of this Prince, in respect he died so young, and by reason of his father's manner of education, that did cast no great lustre upon his children, there is little particular memory. Only thus much remaineth, that he was very studious and learned beyond his years, and beyond the custom of great Princes.

There was a doubt ripped up in the times following, when the divorce of King Henry the Eighth from the Lady Katherine did so much busy the world, whether Arthur was bedded with his lady or no, whereby that matter in fact (of carnal knowledge) might be made part of the case. And it is true that the lady herself denied it, or at least her counsel stood upon it, and would not blanch that advantage [1]; although the plenitude of the Pope's power of dispensing was the main question. And this doubt was kept long open in respect of the two Queens that succeeded, Mary and Elizabeth, whose legitimations were incompatible one with another; though their succession was settled by act of Parliament. And the times that favoured Queen Mary's legitimation would have it believed that there was no carnal knowledge between Arthur and Katherine; not that they would seem to derogate from the Pope's absolute power to dispense even in that case; but only in point of honour, and to make the case more favourable and smooth. And the times that favoured Queen Elizabeth's legitimation (which were the longer and the later) maintained the contrary. So much there remaineth in memory; that it was half a year's time [2] between the creation of Henry Prince of Wales and Prince Arthur's death; which was construed to be,

[1] *Ut firmamentum causæ non contemnendum omitti noluisse.*

[2] Nearly a year. Prince Arthur died about the 2nd of April, 1502. Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales on the 18th of February following.

for to expect a full time whereby it might appear whether the Lady Katherine were with child by Prince Arthur or no. Again the lady herself procured a bull for the better corroboration of the marriage, with a clause of (*vel forsan cognitam*) which was not in the first bull. There was given in evidence also when the cause of the divorce was handled, a pleasant passage [1], which was; that in a morning Prince Arthur upon his up-rising from bed with her called for drink, which he was not accustomed to do, and finding the gentleman of his chamber that brought him the drink to smile at it and to note it, he said merrily to him that he had been in the midst of Spain which was an hot region, and his journey had made him dry; and that if the other had been in so hot a clime he would have been drier than he. Besides the Prince was upon the point of sixteen years of age [2] when he died, and forward, and able in body.

The February following, Henry Duke of York was created Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester and Flint. For the dukedom of Cornwall devolved to him by statute. The King also being fast-handed [3] and loth to part with a second dowry, but chiefly being affectionate both by his nature and out of politic considerations to continue the alliance with Spain, prevailed with the Prince (though not without some reluctation [4], such as could be in those years, for he was not twelve years of age) to be contracted with the Princess Katherine: the secret

[1] *Scomma quoddam facetum*

[2] About fifteen and a half.

[3] *At rex ingenio tenax, et non libenter reditus novos, si alibi nupsisset Henricus, assignaturus; sed præcipue propter affectum suum, quo et naturâ et propter rationes politicas Ferdinandum prosecutus est, affinitatis prioris continuandi cupidus, &c.*

[4] Bacon's authority for this statement was probably Speed, who asserts it, on the strength apparently of Prince Henry's protestation, made on the 27th of June, 1505, when he was just turned fourteen. According to Dr. Lingard, however, this protestation was dictated by his father, and was not intended to imply any objection on the part of young Henry to marry Katherine, but only to leave him free. "The King assured Ferdinand (says Lingard) that his only object was to free his son from all previous obligation; he still wished to marry Katherine, but was also free to marry any other woman." (Chap. 6. p. 329.) Dr. Lingard also represents the proposition for this marriage as having come from Ferdinand and Isabella, and as one on which Ferdinand was much bent: which Henry knew, and kept the question open in order to engage him in furtherance of some matrimonial projects of his own.

Sir Richard Morysine in his *Apomaxis calumniarum, &c.* (1537) states that Henry himself afterwards, taking the failure of his own health and the death of his Queen (quam merito suo unice deamabat) as intimations of the divine displeasure at this contract, sent for his son, told him it was wrong to think that God's laws were not God's laws when the Pope chose, obtained a promise from him that he would not marry his brother's widow, and formally annulled the contract. And I believe that evidence in confirmation of this statement has recently been discovered.

providence of God ordaining that marriage to be the occasion of great events and changes.

The same year were the espousals of James King of Scotland with the Lady Margaret the King's eldest daughter; which was done by proxy, and published at Paul's Cross, the five and twentieth of January, and Te Deum solemnly sung. But certain it is, that the joy of the City thereupon shewed, by ringing of bells and bonfires and such other incense of the people, was more than could be expected in a case of so great and fresh enmity between the nations; especially in London, which was far enough off from feeling any of the former calamities of the war: and therefore might truly be attributed to a secret instinct and inspiring (which many times runneth not only in the hearts of Princes but in the pulse and veins of people) touching the happiness thereby to ensue in time to come. This marriage was in August following consummate at Edinburgh: the King bringing his daughter as far as Collyweston on the way; and then consigning her to the attendance of the Earl of Northumberland; who with a great troop of lords and ladies of honour brought her into Scotland to the King her husband. This marriage had been in treaty by the space of almost three years[1], from the time that the King of Scotland did first open his mind to Bishop Foxe. The sum given in marriage by the King was ten thousand pounds: and the jointure and advancement assured by the King of Scotland was two thousand pounds a year after King James his death, and one thousand pounds a year in present for the lady's allowance or maintenance: this to be set forth in lands, of the best and most certain revenue.[2] During the treaty it is reported that the King remitted the matter to his counsel, and that some of the table in the freedom of counsellors (the King being present) did put the case,—that if God should take the King's two sons without issue, that then the kingdom of England would fall to the King of Scotland, which might prejudice the monarchy of England. Whereunto the King himself replied; That if that should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland; for that the greater would draw the less: and that it was a safer union

[1] Rather more than three years. Fox was formally commissioned to treat of the marriage on the 11th September, 1499.

[2] *Qui reditus separandi erant ex præcipuis et certissimis reditibus.*

for England than that of France. This passed as an oracle, and silenced those that moved the question.

The same year was fatal as well for deaths as marriages; and that with equal temper. For the joys and feasts of the two marriages were compensed with the mournings and funerals of Prince Arthur (of whom we have spoken), and of Queen Elizabeth, who died in child-bed in the Tower, and the child lived not long after. There died also that year Sir Reignold Bray, who was noted to have had with the King the greatest freedom of any counsellor; but it was but a freedom the better to set off flattery; yet he bare more than his just part of envy for the exactions.

At this time the King's estate was very prosperous: secured by the amity of Scotland; strengthened by that of Spain; cherished by that of Burgundy; all domestic troubles quenched; and all noise of war (like a thunder afar off) going upon Italy. Wherefore nature, which many times is happily contained and refrained by some bands of fortune, began to take place[1] in the King; carrying as with a strong tide his affections and thoughts unto the gathering and heaping up of treasure. And as Kings do more easily find instruments for their will and humour than for their service and honour, he had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley; whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers: bold men and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a sieve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done[2]; putting off all other respects whatsoever. These two persons being lawyers in science and privy counsellors in authority, (as the corruption of the best things is the worst) turned law and justice into wormwood and rapine. For first their manner was to cause divers subjects to be indicted of sundry crimes; and so far forth to proceed in form of law; but when the bills were found, then presently to commit them;

[1] *Prævalere et prædominari effrænis.*

[2] *Factum semper urgebat deque eo triumphabat.* He was satisfied, so he got the thing done, no matter how: an explanation which I should not have thought it worth while to add, but that Sir James Mackintosh (who had a bad habit of altering Bacon's phraseology to suit his own ideas of elegance, even where he professes by inverted commas to quote the words) substitutes "*triumphed in his deeds:*" an expression which throws the emphasis so effectually on the wrong word that it may be said to miss all the meaning.

and nevertheless not to produce them in any reasonable time [1] to their answer; but to suffer them to languish long in prison, and by sundry artificial devices and terrors to extort from them great fines and ransoms, which they termed compositions and mitigations.

Neither did they, towards the end, observe so much as the half-face of justice [2], in proceeding by indictment; but sent forth their precepts to attach men and convent them before themselves and some others at their private houses, in a court of commission [3]; and there used to shuffle up a summary proceeding by examination [4], without trial of jury; assuming to themselves there [5] to deal both in pleas of the crown and controversies civil.

Then did they also use to inthral and charge the subjects' lands with tenures *in capite* [6], by finding false offices, [7] and thereby to work upon them for wardships, [8] liveries, premier seisins [9], and alienations, (being the fruits of those tenures); refusing (upon divers pretexts and delays) to admit men to traverse those false offices, according to the law.

Nay the King's wards after they had accomplished their full age could not be suffered to have livery of their lands without paying excessive fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates.

They did also vex men with information of intrusion, [10] upon scarce colourable titles.

When men were outlawed [11] in personal actions, they would not permit them to purchase their charters of pardon, except they paid great and intolerable sums; standing upon the strict

[1] *Cum vero billæ impetitionis, quæ vim tantum accusationis non decisionis habebant, veræ repertæ fuerint, statim eos custodiæ tradere. Neque tamen causam juridicâ viâ prosequebantur aut eos tempore convenienti ad se defendendum producebant, &c.*

For "is any reasonable time" the Edition of 1622 has "to any reasonable time;" a misprint, I presume. The MS. has "in."

[2] *Quinetiam usu audaciores facti, tandem tam contemptim et incuriosè processerunt ut ne dimidiam illam partem, &c.*

[3] *Colore scilicet commissionis suæ.*

[4] *Viâ quâdam justitiæ summariâ et irregulari, per examinationem solam, absque duodecim virorum judicio, causas terminabant.*

[5] *In his justitiæ latebris.*

[6] *Tenura immediata de coronâ aut personâ regis; non de baroniâ aut prædio superiore aut hujusmodi.* (Ind. Vocab.)

[7] *Falsas inquisitiones.*

[8] *Jus, per quod custodia hæredum minoris ætatis, qui tenent per servitium equitis, pertinet ad dominum.* Id.

[9] *Jus, domino accrescens, ad summam pecuniæ, quamprimum hæredes sint plenæ ætatis.* Id.

[10] *De intrusione in terras regias . . . ex meris calumniis et prætextibus vix probabilibus.*

[11] *Utlegati: Proscripti ex formula legis, vel propter capitalia, vel propter contemptum et contumaciam.* (Ind. Voc.)

point of law, which upon utlawries giveth forfeiture of goods. Nay contrary to all law and colour, they maintained [1] the King ought to have the half of men's lands and rents, during the space of full two years, for a pain in case of utlawry. They would also ruffle with jurors [2] and inforce them to find as they would direct, and (if they did not) convent them, imprison them, and fine them.

These and many other courses [3], fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of preying upon the people; both like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves; insomuch as they grew to great riches and substance. But their principal working [4] was upon penal laws, wherein they spared none great nor small; nor considered whether the law were possible or impossible, in use or obsolete: but raked over all old and new statutes; though many of them were made with intention rather of terror than of rigour [5]; ever having a rabble of promoters, questmongers, and leading jurors [6] at their command; so as they could have any thing found [7], either for fact or valuation.

There remaineth to this day a report, that the King was on a time entertained by the Earl of Oxford (that was his principal servant both for war and peace) nobly and sumptuously, at his castle at Henningham. And at the King's going away, the Earl's servants stood in a seemly manner in their livery coats with cognizances ranged on both sides, and made the King a lane. The King called the Earl to him, and said, My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen which I see on both sides of me are (sure) your menial servants. The Earl smiled and said, It may please your Grace, that were not for mine ease. They are most of them my retainers [8], that are comen to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace. The King started a little, and said, By my faith, (my lord) I thank you for my good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you. And it is part of the

[1] *De proprio addebant.*
[2] *Cum duodecim viris et juratoribus grandioribus minaciter agere.*
[3] *Oppressiones et concussiones.*
[4] *Præcipuum autem eorum flagellum.*
[5] *Quam ut summo jure ageretur.*
[6] *Juratorum pragmaticorum.*
[7] *Veredicto exhiberi et confirmari.*
[8] *Famuli extraordinarii suis viventes impensis.*

report, that the Earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks.[1] And to shew further the King's extreme diligence; I do remember to have seen long since a book of accompt of Empson's, that had the King's hand almost to every leaf by way of signing, and was in some places postilled in the margent with the King's hand likewise, where was this remembrance.[2]

Item, Received, of such a one, five marks, for a pardon to be procured[3]; and if the pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid; except the party be some other ways satisfied.

And over against this memorandum (of the King's own hand[4]),

Otherwise satisfied.

Which I do the rather mention because it shews in the King a nearness,[5] but yet with a kind of justness. So these little sands and grains of gold and silver (as it seemeth) holp not a little to make up the great heap and bank.

But meanwhile to keep the King awake, the Earl of Suffolk, having been too gay at Prince Arthur's marriage[6], and sunk himself deep in debt, had yet once more a mind to be a knight-errant, and to seek adventures in foreign parts; and taking his brother with him fled again into Flanders. That no doubt which gave him confidence, was the great murmur of the people

[1] The King visited Lord Oxford on the 6th of August, 1498 (see Privy Purse expenses of Hen. VII. p. 119.), on which occasion this may have happened. A heavier fine for a similar offence was exacted from Lord Abergavenny some years afterwards. In a memorandum of obligations and sums of money received by Edmund Dudley for fines and duties to be paid to the King, of which a copy is preserved in the Harleian collection (1877, f. 47.), the following item appears as belonging to the 23rd year of the reign:—

"Item: delivered three exemplifications under the seal of the L. of King's Bench of the confession and condemnation of the Lord Burgavenny for such retainers as he was indicted of in Kent; which amounteth unto for his part only after the rate of the months 69,900*l.*"

It appears from the Calendar of Patent Rolls (23 Hen. VII. pt. 2. p. 18.) that George Nevile, Knt., Lord Bergevenny received a pardon of all felonies, offences against the forest laws, &c. on the 18th of February, 1507–8: two months before Henry's death. Fabyan mentions his being committed to the Tower "for a certain displeasure which concerned no treason" in May, 1506.

[2] *Memoriola ista Empsoni.*

[3] *Condonationem A. B. impetrandum.*

[4] *Per manum Regis propriam apposita sunt hæc verba.*

[5] *Magnam parsimoniam.*

[6] This is Polydore's statement, but it is a mistake. The Earl of Suffolk was gone above a month before Katherine arrived. Fabyan and the old Chronicle distinctly state that he departed secretly out of the land in August, 1501; three months before the marriage of Prince Arthur; and the Calendar of Patent Rolls (17 Hen. VII. pt. 2. p. 4.) puts the matter out of doubt; for we there find that on the 8th of October (1501) Sir Robert Lovell was appointed receiver and surveyor of all lands, &c. in Norfolk and Suffolk, late the property of *the rebel Edmund Earl of Suffolk.*

against the King's government. And being a man of a light and rash spirit, he thought every vapour would be a tempest. Neither wanted he some party within the kingdom. For the murmur of people awakes the discontents[1] of nobles, and again that calleth up commonly some head of sedition. The King resorting to his wonted and tried arts, caused Sir Robert Curson, captain of the castle at Hammes, (being at that time beyond sea, and therefore less likely to be wrought upon by the King) to fly from his charge and to feign himself a servant of the Earl's. This knight having insinuated himself into the secrets of the Earl, and finding by him upon whom chiefly he had either hope or hold, advertised the King thereof in great secrecy; but nevertheless maintained his own credit and inward trust with the Earl. Upon whose advertisements, the King attached William Courtney Earl of Devonshire, his brother-in-law[2], married to the Lady Katherine, daughter to King Edward the Fourth; William Delapole, brother to the Earl of Suffolk; Sir James Tirrell and Sir John Windham, and some other meaner persons, and committed them to custody.[3] George Lord Abergavenny and Sir Thomas Green were at the same time apprehended; but as upon less suspicion, so in a freer restraint, and were soon after delivered. The Earl of Devonshire being interessed in the blood of York, (that was rather feared than nocent[4],) yet as one that might be the object of others plots and designs, remained prisoner in the Tower during the King's life. William Delapole was also long restrained, though not so straitly. But for Sir James Tirrell (against whom the blood of the innocent Princes, Edward the Fifth and his brother, did still cry from under the altar), and Sir John Windham, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed[5]; the two knights beheaded. Nevertheless to confirm the credit of Curson (who belike had not yet done all his feats of activity), there was published at Paul's Cross about the time of the said executions[6] the Pope's bull of excommuni-

[1] *Novarum rerum studium.*

[2] *Arctissimâ affinitate cum Rege conjunctus (quippe qui in matrimonium, &c.).* It should have been "his wife's brother-in-law."

[3] About the beginning of March, 1501-2. Old Chron. fo. 201. *b.*

[4] *Qui cum sanguine familiæ Eboracensis tam alto gradu commixtus erat ideoque a rege metuebatur sane, licet omnino insons fuerit.*

[5] On the 6th of May, 1502 (Stowe).

[6] Later. We learn from Fabyan that they were cursed twice; once on the Sunday before St. Simon and Jude, 1502; which was the 23rd of October; and again on the first Sunday in Lent, 1503; which was the 5th of March.

cation and curse against the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curson, and some others by name, and likewise in general against all the abettors of the said Earl: wherein it must be confessed, that heaven was made too much to bow to earth, and religion to policy. But soon after[1], Curson when he saw time returned into England, and withal into wonted favour with the King, but worse fame with the people. Upon whose return the Earl was much dismayed, and seeing himself destitute of hopes (the Lady Margaret also by tract of time and bad success being now become cool in those attempts), after some wandering in France and Germany, and certain little projects (no better than squibs) of an exiled man, being tired out, retired again into the protection of the Archduke Philip in Flanders, who by the death of Isabella was at that time King of Castile, in the right of Joan his wife.

This year, being the nineteenth of his reign[2], the King called his Parliament, wherein a man may easily guess how absolute the King took himself to be with his Parliament[3]; when Dudley, that was so hateful, was made Speaker of the House of Commons. In this Parliament there were not made many[4] statutes memorable touching public government. But those that were had still the stamp of the King's wisdom and policy.

There was a statute made for the disannulling of all patents

[1] Not before March, 1502-3. See last note. It appears from the Calendar of Patent Rolls that he received a pardon on the 5th of May, 1504. That he had been acting all the time in the interest and confidence of Henry, is stated on no better authority, I believe, than Polydore's, and may be fairly doubted.

[2] Not *this* year, if by "this" be meant the year of the execution just mentioned. Sir James Tyrrel was executed on the 6th of May, 1502, A.R. 17. Parliament met on the 25th of January, 1503-4, A.R. 19.

[3] This growing "absoluteness of the King with his Parliament," an absoluteness which his son inherited, sufficiently accounts for the discontinuance of the "Great Councils," formerly resorted to by way of feeler or preparative, when in unsettled times the temper of a Parliament could not so well be foreseen. After the 32nd of Henry VIII., in which year the Register of the Privy Council (discontinued or lost since the 13th of Hen. VI.) was ordered to be regularly kept, there is no record I believe of the holding of any such "Great Council." The strange thing is that they should have dropped, not only out of use, but out of memory: a thing so strange that one would doubt whether they ever were in use, if it were not established by evidence direct and incontrovertible. That a foreigner, and a man of no great sagacity, like Polydore Vergil, should overlook the fact, is nothing remarkable; that other popular historians should follow their leader without inquiry, was natural; that so strong an array of negative evidence should be taken by ordinary inquirers as sufficient proof that no such councils had ever been called, was also natural. But that profound constitutional lawyers like Sir Edward Coke, and profound constitutional antiquarians like Sir Robert Cotton, should have met with nothing in their researches to suggest the fact, is a mystery to me.

[4] So MS. *Paucæ admodum latæ sunt leges*, &c. Ed 1622 has "any."

of lease or grant to such as came not upon lawful summons to serve the King in his wars, against the enemies or rebels, or that should depart without the King's licence; with an exception of certain persons of the long-robe: providing nevertheless that they should have the King's wages from their house[1], till their return home again. There had been the like made before for offices[2], and by this statute it was extended to lands. But a man may easily see by many statutes made in this King's time, that the King thought it safest to assist martial law by law of Parliament.

Another statute was made, prohibiting the bringing in of manufactures of silk wrought by itself or mixt with any other thrid.[3] But it was not of stuffs of whole-piece (for that the realm had of them no manufacture in use at that time), but of knit silk or texture of silk; as ribbands, laces, cauls, points, and girdles, &c. which the people of England could then well skill to make. This law pointed at a true principle; That where foreign materials are but superfluities, foreign manufactures should be prohibited. For that will either banish the superfluity, or gain the manufacture.

There was a law also of resumption of patents of gaols, and the reannexing of them to the sheriffwicks[4]; privileged officers being no less an interruption of justice than privileged places.

There was likewise a law to restrain the by-laws or ordinances of corporations, which many times were against the prerogative of the King, the common law of the realm, and the liberty of the subject: being fraternities in evil.[5] It was therefore provided, that they should not be put in execution, without the allowance of the chancellor, treasurer, and the two chief justices, or three of them; or of the two justices of circuit where the corporation was.

Another law was in effect to bring in the silver of the realm to the mint, in making all clipped minished or impaired coins of

[1] So MS. and Ed. 1622. The translation has *a primo die profectionis suæ.* There seems to be an error in the English; which should apparently be *from the day of leaving their house.* The words of the act (19 H. 7. c. 1.) are "from the time of coming from his house toward the King," &c.

[2] *Quatenus ad concessiones officiorum civilium.*

[3] *Vel simpliciter vel cum mixturâ alterius filii textæ.* See 19 H. 7. c. 21.

[4] 19 H. 7. c. 10.

[5] *i. e.* these corporations being fraternities in evil. *Hujusmodi municipiis et collegiis nil aliud existentibus quam fraternitatibus in malo.* See 19 H. 7. c. 7.

silver not to be current in payments[1]; without giving any remedy of weight[2]; but with an exception only of reasonable wearing; which was as nothing, in respect of the incertainty; and so upon the matter to set the mint on work, and to give way to new coins of silver which should be then minted.[3]

There likewise was a long statute against vagabonds, wherein two things may be noted; the one, the dislike the Parliament had of gaoling of them, as that which was chargeable, pesterous[4], and of no open example. The other, that in the statutes of this King's time (for this of the nineteenth year is not the only statute of that kind) there are ever coupled the punishment of vagabonds, and the forbidding of dice and cards and unlawful games unto servants and mean people, and the putting down and suppressing of alehouses; as strings of one root together, and as if the one were unprofitable without the other.[5]

As for riots and retainers, there passed scarce any Parliament in this time without a law against them: the King ever having an eye to might and multitude.[6]

There was granted also that Parliament a subsidy[7], both from[8] the temporalty and the clergy. And yet nevertheless ere the year expired there went out commissions for a general benevolence[9]; though there were no wars; no fears. The same year the City gave five thousand marks, for confirmation of their

[1] *i.e.* the *object* of the law was to bring silver to the mint; its *enactment* was that clipped coins should not be current. *Hoc revera agebat, ut,* &c. *Ordinabat autem ut,* &c. See 19 H. 7. c. 5.

[2] *Ne grani quidem factâ gratiâ, quam remedium vocant.*

[3] *Adeo ut per consequentiam omnes nummos argenteos in monetariam regis, iterum recudendos, adduci necesse fuerit; unde rex propter novam cusionem fructum perciperet.*

[4] The translation has *Carceres superoneraret.*

[5] *i. e.* as if the punishment of the one were unprofitable without the putting down of the others. The translation has, more correctly, *atque ac si alterum absque cæteris extingui posse vana opinio esset.* The statute in question is 19 H. 7. c. 12.

[6] *Magnatum potentiam et populares cœtus.* See 19 H. 7. c. 13, 14.

[7] The King had at this time a claim by law upon his subjects for "two reasonable aids;" one for the knighting of his son, the other for the marriage of his daughter. The Commons offered him 40,000*l.* in lieu of the said two aids. See Statutes of the Realm, p. 675.

The old Chronicle says that there was granted to the King at this Parliament an aid of 36,000*l.*

Modern historians state, I do not know on what authority, that the King was content with 30,000*l.*

[8] So MSS. Ed. 1622 has "for."

[9] This is stated by Hollinshed; and in the book of the King's payments (Chapter House Records: A. 5. 18.) there are several items dated in the 21st of Henry VII. relating to the "arrears of the Benevolence," which seem to confirm the statement. It appears however from the Calendar of Patent Rolls (21 Hen. VII. pt. 1. p. 51.) that they were the arrears of the former Benevolence, made leviable by Parliament 11 Hen. VII. c. 10. I suspect therefore that this is a mistake.

liberties; a thing fitter for the beginnings of kings' reigns than the latter ends. Neither was it a small matter that the mint gained upon the late statute, by the recoinage of groats and half-groats; now twelve-pences and six-pences. As for Empson and Dudley's mills, they did grind more than ever. So that it was a strange thing to see what golden showers poured down upon the King's treasury at once. The last payments of the marriage-money from Spain. The subsidy. The benevolence. The recoinage. The redemption of the city's liberties. The casualties.[1] And this is the more to be marvelled at, because the King had then no occasions at all of wars or troubles. He had now but one son; and one daughter unbestowed. He was wise. He was of an high mind. He needed not to make riches his glory[2], he did excel in so many things else; save that certainly avarice doth ever find in itself matter of ambition. Belike he thought[3] to leave his son such a kingdom and such a mass of treasure, as he might choose his greatness where he would.

This year was also kept the Serjeants' feast[4], which was the second call in this King's days.

About this time[5] Isabella Queen of Castile deceased; a right noble lady, and an honour to her sex and times; and the corner-stone of the greatness of Spain that hath followed. This accident the King took not for news at large, but thought it had a great relation to his own affairs; especially in two points: the one for example, the other for consequence. First he conceived that the case of Ferdinando of Arragon after the death of Queen Isabella, was his own case after the death of his own Queen; and the case of Joan the heir unto Castile, was the case of his own son Prince Henry. For if both of the Kings had their kingdoms in the right of their wives, they descended to the heirs and did not accrue to the husbands. And although his own case had both steel and parchment more than the other[6]; that is to say, a conquest in the field and an act of

[1] *Casualia undique emergentia.*

[2] Ed. 1622 has a full stop after "glory;" which is clearly wrong. The MS. has only a comma; and the translation has *cum aliis rebus plurimis . . . . eniteret.*

[3] *Forsitan amor filii hanc cogitationem animo suo suggessit, se tam potens regnum,* &c.

[4] On the 13th of November, 1503, according to the old Chronicle, fo. 206.

[5] He should have said in the beginning of the next year, which was the 20th of the King. Queen Isabella died on the 26th of November, 1504. See Prescott's History of Ferdinand and Isabella.

[6] *Ille Ferdinandi.*

Parliament; yet notwithstanding that natural title of descent in blood did (in the imagination even of a wise man) breed a doubt that the other two were not safe nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderful diligent to inquire and observe what became of the King of Arragon in holding and continuing the kingdom of Castile; and whether he did hold it in his own right, or as administrator to his daughter; and whether he were like to hold it in fact, or to be put out by his son-in-law.[1] Secondly, he did revolve in his mind, that the state of Christendom might by this late accident have a turn. For whereas before time himself with the conjunction of Arragon and Castile (which then was one), and the amity of Maximilian and Philip his son the Archduke, was far too strong a party for France; he began to fear that now the French King (who had great interest in the affections of Philip the young King of Castile), and Philip himself now King of Castile (who was in ill terms with his father-in-law about the present government of Castile), and thirdly Maximilian, Philip's father, (who was ever variable, and upon whom the surest aim that could be taken was that he would not be long as he had been last before), would all three being potent Princes, enter into some strait league and confederation amongst themselves, whereby though he should not be endangered, yet he should be left to the poor amity of Arragon; and whereas he had been heretofore a kind of arbiter of Europe, he should now go less, and be over-topped by so great a conjunction. He had also (as it seems) an inclination to marry, and bethought himself of some fit conditions abroad.[2] And amongst others he had heard of the beauty and virtuous behaviour[3] of the young Queen of Naples, the widow of Ferdinando the younger, being then of matronal years of seven and twenty: by whose marriage he thought that the kingdom of Naples, having been a goal[4] for a time between the King of Arragon and the French King, and being but newly settled, might in some part be deposited in his hands, who was so able to keep the stakes. Therefore he sent in ambassage or message

[1] This latter clause "and whether he were like," &c. is omitted in the translation. The previous one is worded rather more accurately thus — *Atque insuper, si forte retinuisset, utrum in jure proprio vel ut administrator bonorum filiæ suæ se illud tenere profiteretur.*

[2] *Et circumspicere quales conditiones matrimoniorum in Europa tunc se ostenderent.*

[3] *Moribus suavissimis.*

[4] This word seems to be used here merely for a subject of contention. The translation has *de quo . . . certatum fuerat.*

three confident persons, Francis Marsin, James Braybrooke, and John Stile, upon two several inquisitions, rather than negotiations[1]: the one touching the person and condition of the young Queen of Naples: the other touching all particulars of estate that concerned the fortunes and intentions of Ferdinando. And because they may observe best who themselves are observed least, he sent them under colourable pretexts; giving them letters of kindness and compliment from Katherine the Princess to her aunt and niece, the old and young Queen of Naples; and delivering to them also a book of new articles of peace; which notwithstanding it had been delivered unto Doctor de Puebla, the lieger ambassador of Spain here in England, to be sent; yet for that the King had been long without hearing from Spain, he thought good those messengers, when they had been with the two Queens, should likewise pass on to the court of Ferdinando, and take a copy of the book with them. The instructions touching the Queen of Naples were so curious and exquisite, being as articles whereby to direct a survey or framing a particular of her person[2], for complexion, favour, feature[3], stature, health, age, customs, behaviour, conditions, and estate; as, if the King had been young, a man would have judged him to be amorous; but being ancient, it ought to be interpreted that sure he was very chaste, for that he meant to find all things in one woman, and so to settle his affections without ranging. But in this match he was soon cooled, when he heard from his ambassadors that this young Queen had had

[1] A copy of the several articles, with the answers, is still extant in the Cotton collection. The part which relates to the Queen of Naples is in Vitel. C. xi. fo. 34. The part which relates to Ferdinand in Vesp. C. vi. fo. 338. The commissioners went first to Valencia where the two Queens were; and then to Segovia where they arrived on the 14th of July, 1505, and had their interview with Ferdinand two or three days after.

An entry in a book of accompts of Henry VII., now in the British Museum (Additional MSS. 21,480), gives the date of their departure, and is worth inserting as a record of the terms upon which such services were paid. Among the payments of the 1st and 2nd of May, in the 20th year of Henry's reign, I find —

"*Item* to James Braybrooke going upon the King's message for four months at 5*s.* the day . . . . . 28*l.*
"*Item* to Fraunces Marsen for his costs at 5*s.* the day in likewise . . 28*l.*
"*Item* for John Style his costs at 4*s.* the day . . . . . 22*l.* 8*s.*

[2] *Cum articulos continerent adeo præcisos ut veluti tabulam aliquam conficerent personæ ejus.*

[3] *Aspectum, lineamenta corporis.* In the original instructions, one of the things which the commissioners are directed "specially to mark and note well" is "the feature of her body;" upon which they report that they can give no answers to that point because the young Queen was so covered with her mantle that they could *only see her visage.*

a goodly jointure in the realm of Naples, well answered during the time of her uncle Frederick, yea and during the time of Lewis the French King, in whose division her revenue fell; but since the time that the kingdom was in Ferdinando's hands, all was assigned to the army and garrisons there; and she received only a pension or exhibition out of his coffers.

The other part of the inquiry had a grave and diligent return; informing the King at full of the present state of King Ferdinando. By this report it appeared to the King that Ferdinando did continue the government of Castile as administrator unto his daughter Joan, by the title of Queen Isabella's will, and partly by the custom of the kingdom (as he pretended); and that all mandates and grants were expedited in the name of Joan his daughter and himself as administrator, without mention of Philip her husband. And that King Ferdinando, howsoever he did dismiss himself of the name of King of Castile, yet meant to hold the kingdom without account and in absolute command.

It appeareth also that he flattered himself with hopes that King Philip would permit unto him the government of Castile during his life; which he had laid his plot to work him unto[1], both by some counsellors of his about him which Ferdinando had at his devotion, and chiefly by promise[2] that in case Philip gave not way unto it he would marry some young lady, whereby to put him by the succession of Arragon and Granada, in case he should have a son; and lastly by representing unto him that the government of the Burgundians, till Philip were by continuance in Spain made as natural of Spain, would not be endured by the Spaniards. But in all those things, though wisely laid down and considered, Ferdinando failed; but that Pluto was better to him than Pallas.

In the same report also the ambassadors, being mean men and therefore the more free, did strike upon a string which was somewhat dangerous; for they declared plainly that the people of Spain both nobles and commons were better affected unto the part of Philip (so he brought his wife with him) than to Ferdinando; and expressed the reason to be, because he had imposed upon them many taxes and tallages; which was the King's own case between him and his son.[3]

[1] *Quod Ferdinandus certe ei persuadere vehementer conatus est.* [2] *Protestatione.*
[3] *Quæ certe, simul representata, ipsissimum casum exprimebant inter regem et filium suum.*

There was also in this report a declaration of an overture of marriage, which Amason the secretary of Ferdinando had made unto the ambassadors in great secret, between Charles Prince of Castile and Mary the King's second daughter; assuring the King that the treaty of marriage then on foot for the said Prince and the daughter of France would break; and that she the said daughter of France should be married to Angolesme, that was the heir apparent of France.

There was a touch also of a speech of marriage between Ferdinando and Madame de Fois, a lady of the blood of France, which afterwards indeed succeeded. But this was reported as learnt in France, and silenced in Spain.[1]

The King by the return of this ambassage, which gave great light unto his affairs, was well instructed and prepared how to carry himself between Ferdinando King of Arragon and Philip his son-in-law King of Castile; resolving with himself to do all that in him lay to keep them at one within themselves; but howsoever that succeeded, by a moderate carriage and bearing the person of a common friend to lose neither of their friendships; but yet to run a course more entire with the King of Arragon, but more laboured and officious with the King of Castile.[2] But he was much taken with the overture of marriage with his daughter Mary; both because it was the greatest marriage of Christendom, and for that it took hold of both allies. But to corroborate his alliance with Philip, the winds gave him an interview. For Philip choosing the winter season the better to surprise the King of Arragon, set forth with a great navy out of Flanders for Spain in the month of January, the one and twentieth year of the King's reign. But himself was surprised with a cruel tempest, that scattered his ships upon the several coasts of England; and the ship wherein the King and Queen were, with two other small barks only, torn and in great peril, to escape the fury of the weather thrust into Weymouth. King Philip himself, having not been used as it seems to sea, all wearied and extreme sick, would needs land to refresh his spirits; though it was against the opinion of his counsel, doubting it might breed delay, his occasions requiring celerity.

The rumour of the arrival of a puissant navy upon the coast

[1] *Tamquam rem quam in Gallia perdidicerant, in Hispania autem silentio cohibitam.* "Silenced" seems to mean merely not talked of.

[2] *Ita tamen ut interiore affectu Ferdinandi rebus faveret, externis vero demonstrationibus et officiis Philippum magis demereretur.*

made the country arm. And Sir Thomas Trenchard, with forces suddenly raised, not knowing what the matter might be, came to Weymouth: where understanding the accident, he did in all humbleness and humanity invite the King and Queen to his house; and forthwith dispatched posts to the court. Soon after came Sir John Caroe [1] likewise with a great troop of men well armed, using the like humbleness and respects towards the King, when he knew the case. King Philip doubting that they, being but subjects, durst not let him pass away again without the King's notice and leave, yielded to their intreaties to stay till they heard from the court. The King, as soon as he heard the news, commanded presently the Earl of Arundel to go to visit the King of Castile, and to let him [2] understand that as he was very sorry for his mishap, so he was glad that he had escaped the danger of the seas, and likewise of the occasion himself had to do him honour; and desiring him to think himself as in his own land; and that the King made all haste possible to come and embrace him. The Earl came to him in great magnificence with a brave troop of three hundred horse; and for more state came by torch-light. After he had done the King's message, King Philip seeing how the world went [3], the sooner to get away, went upon speed to the King at Windsor, and his Queen followed by easy journeys. The two Kings at their meeting used all the caresses and loving demonstrations that were possible. And the King of Castile said pleasantly to the King, that he was now punished for that he would not come within his walled town of Calais, when they met last. But the King answered, that walls and seas were nothing where hearts were open; and that he was here no otherwise but to be served. After a day or two's refreshing, the Kings entered into speech of renewing the treaty; the King saying that though King Philip's person were the same, yet his fortunes and state were raised; in which case a renovation of treaty was used amongst Princes. But while these things were in handling, the King choosing a fit time, and drawing the King of Castile into a room where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, and changing his countenance a little from a countenance of entertainment [4], said to him, Sir, you have been saved upon my coast, I hope you will not suffer me

[1] So spelt both in MS. and Ed. 1622.
[2] So MS. Ed. 1622 has "and let him."
[3] *Regis animum satis perspiciens.*
[4] *Vultuque nonnihil ad serium composito.*

to wreck upon yours. The King of Castile asked him what he meant by that speech? I mean it (saith the King) by that same harebrain wild fellow my subject the Earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your country, and begins to play the fool, when all others are weary of it. The King of Castile answered, I had thought, Sir, your felicity had been above those thoughts. But if it trouble you, I will banish him. The King replied, those hornets were best in their nest, and worst then when they did fly abroad; and that his desire was to have him delivered to him. The King of Castile herewith a little confused, and in a study, said, That can I not do with my honour, and less with yours; for you will be thought to have used me as a prisoner. The King presently said, Then the matter is at an end. For I will take that dishonour upon me, and so your honour is saved. The King of Castile, who had the King in great estimation, and besides remembered where he was, and knew not what use he might have of the King's amity; for that himself was new in his state of Spain, and unsettled both with his father-in-law and with his people; composing his countenance, said, Sir, you give law to me; but so will I to you. You shall have him, but upon your honour you shall not take his life. The King embracing him said, Agreed. Saith the King of Castile, Neither shall it dislike you, if I send to him in such a fashion as he may partly come with his own good will. The King said it was well thought of; and if it pleased him he would join with him in sending to the Earl a message to that purpose. They both sent severally; and mean while they continued feasting and pastimes; the King being on his part willing to have the Earl sure before the King of Castile went; and the King of Castile being as willing to seem to be enforced.[1] The King also with many wise and excellent persuasions did advise the King of Castile to be ruled by the counsel of his father-in-law Ferdinando; a Prince so prudent, so experienced, so fortunate. The King of Castile (who was in no very good terms with his said father-in-law) answered, that if his father-in-law would suffer him to govern his kingdoms, he should govern him.

There were immediately messengers sent from both Kings to recall the Earl of Suffolk; who upon gentle words used to him was soon charmed, and willing enough to return; assured

[1] *In hoc conveniente, ut res manifestius a se extorta putaretur.*

of his life, and hoping of his liberty. He was brought through Flanders to Calais, and thence landed at Dover, and with sufficient guard delivered and received at the Tower of London.[1] Meanwhile King Henry to draw out the time, continued his feastings and entertainments, and after he had[2] received the King of Castile into the fraternity of the Garter, and for a reciprocal had his son the Prince admitted to the order of the Golden Fleece, he accompanied King Philip and his Queen to the City of London; where they were entertained with the greatest magnificence and triumph that could be upon no greater warning. And as soon as the Earl of Suffolk had been conveyed to the Tower (which was the serious part) the jollities had an end, and the Kings took leave. Nevertheless during their being here, they in substance concluded that treaty which the Flemings term *intercursus malus*, and bears date at Windsor: for there be some things in it more to the advantage of the English than of them; especially for that the free fishing of the Dutch upon the coasts and seas of England, granted in the treaty of *undecimo*, was not by this treaty confirmed; all articles that confirm former treaties being precisely and warily limited and confined to matter of commerce only, and not otherwise.

It was observed that the great tempest which drave Philip into England blew down the golden eagle from the spire of Paul's, and in the fall it fell upon a sign of the black eagle which was in Paul's church-yard in the place where the schoolhouse now standeth[3], and battered it and broke it down; which was a strange stooping of a hawk upon a fowl. This the people interpreted to be an ominous prognostic upon the imperial house; which was by interpretation also fulfilled upon Philip the Emperor's son; not only in the present disaster of the tempest, but in that that followed. For Philip arriving into Spain and attaining the possession of the kingdom of Castile without resistance, insomuch as Ferdinando who had spoke so great before was with difficulty admitted to the speech of his son-in-law, sickened soon after, and deceased: yet after such time as there was an observation by the wisest of that court, that if he had lived his father would have gained upon him in that

[1] About the end of March, 1505-6, according to the old Chronicle, fo. 207.
[2] All this from "to draw out" to "after he had," is omitted in the translation.
[3] The words "in the place where," &c. are omitted in the translation.

sort, as he would have governed his counsels and designs, if not his affections. By this all Spain returned into the power of Ferdinando in state as it was before; the rather in regard of the infirmity of Joan his daughter, who loving her husband (by whom she had many children) dearly well, and no less beloved of him (howsoever her father to make Philip ill-beloved of the people of Spain gave out that Philip used her not well), was unable in strength of mind to bear the grief of his decease, and fell distracted of her wits[1]: of which malady her father was thought no ways to endeavour the cure, the better to hold his regal power in Castile. So that as the felicity of Charles the Eighth was said to be a dream, so the adversity of Ferdinando was said likewise to be a dream, it passed over so soon.

About this time the King was desirous to bring into the house of Lancaster celestial honour; and became suitor to Pope Julius to canonise King Henry the Sixth for a saint; the rather in respect of that his famous prediction of the King's own assumption to the crown. Julius referred the matter (as the manner is) to certain cardinals to take the verification of his holy acts and miracles: but it died under the reference. The general opinion was, that Pope Julius was too dear, and that the King would not come to his rates. But it is more probable that that Pope, who was extremely jealous of the dignity of the see of Rome and of the acts thereof, knowing that King Henry Sixth was reputed in the world abroad but for a simple man,

[1] She is said to have exhibited decided symptoms of insanity before. Modern historians, deriving their information from the Spanish writers, represent Philip as having really used her ill. But this does not appear to have been the impression of the Venetian ambassador Vincenzo Quirini; whose "relazione" (written shortly after Philip's death) contains an account of the relation between them, which agrees very well with what Bacon says. After giving a very favourable character of Philip, the ambassador proceeds: — "A questo principe così grande e nobile, e così virtuoso, fu data per moglie una donna gelosa (ancora che assai bella e nobilissima e di tanti regni erede) la quale con la sua gelosia molestava in tal modo il marito, che il povero ed infelice non si poteva in tutti di lei contentare; perchè la non parlava con molte persone, nè accarezzava alcuno; stava sempre ristretta in camera e consumavasi de se stessa per gelosia; amava la solitudine, fuggiva feste, solazzi, e piaceri, e sopra tutto non voleva compagnia di donne, nè fiamminghe, nè spagnuole, nè vecchie, nè giovani, nè di qualunque altro grado. È però donna di buon ingegno, e apprenda comodamente quello che le vien detto, e le poche parole ch' ella risponde le parla con buona maniera e con buona forma, servando quella gravità che a regina si conviene; il che potei comprendere quando per nome della serenità vostra le feci riverenza, ed esposi brevemente quello che in commissione avevo." *Alberi, Ser.* 1. vol. i. p. 5, 6.

If this be true, it is easy to believe both in her affection for Philip during his life and in her distraction at his death; and also that two very different stories might be told with regard to his treatment of her.

was afraid it would but diminish the estimation of that kind of honour, if there were not a distance kept between innocents and saints.

The same year likewise there proceeded a treaty of marriage between the King and the Lady Margaret Duchess Dowager of Savoy, only daughter to Maximilian and sister to the King of Castile; a lady wise and of great good fame. This matter had been in speech between the two Kings at their meeting; but was soon after resumed; and therein was employed for his first piece the King's then chaplain, and after the great prelate, Thomas Wolsey. It was in the end concluded with great and ample conditions for the King, but with promise *de futuro* only. It may be the King was the rather induced unto it, for that he had heard more and more of the marriage to go on between his great friend and ally Ferdinando of Arragon and Madame de Fois; whereby that King began to piece with the French King, from whom he had been always before severed. So fatal a thing it is for the greatest and straitest amities of Kings at one time or other to have a little of the wheel. Nay there is a further tradition (in Spain though not with us) that the King of Arragon (after he knew that the marriage between Charles the young Prince of Castile and Mary the King's second daughter went roundly on, which though it was first moved by the King of Arragon, yet it was afterwards wholly advanced and brought to perfection by Maximilian and the friends on that side) entered into a jealousy that the King did aspire to the government of Castilia[2], as administrator during the minority of his son-in-law; as if there should have been a competition of three for that government; Ferdinando grandfather on the mother's side; Maximilian grandfather on the father's side; and King Henry father-in-law to the young

[1] It seems that Wolsey was employed in the negotiation of this marriage as early as Nov. 1504. See Cott. Galba B. ii. fo. 128. But the date is only in the margin.

That volume consists of original instructions, &c. from Hen. VII. but has been so damaged by fire that one can only make out the general subject. There is not a leaf of which the edges have not been burned away.

The articles are in Vitel. C. xi. fo. 127.

[2] Dr. Lingard (quoting Zurita, vi. 163.) says that after the death of Philip, Maximilian urged Henry to make this claim.

The following entry in the Calendar of Patent Rolls (22 Hen. VII. pt. 3. p. 20.) may be quoted as bearing indirectly upon this point.

"14 June. License (*at the request of Margaret Duchess Dowager of Savoy*, John Sheldon Governor, and merchants adventurers) to the said Governor and merchants to resort to and freely trade in Holland, Zealand, Brabant, and Flanders, *and other countries under the rule of Castile.*"

Prince. Certainly it is not unlike but the King's government (carrying the young Prince with him) would have been perhaps more welcome to the Spaniards than that of the other two. For the nobility of Castilia, that so lately put out the King of Arragon in favour of King Philip, and had discovered themselves so far, could not be but in a secret distrust and distaste of that King. And as for Maximilian, upon twenty respects he could not have been the man. But this purpose of the King's seemeth to me (considering the King's safe courses [1], never found to be enterprising or adventurous,) not greatly probable; except he should have had a desire to breathe warmer, because he had ill lungs.

This marriage with Margaret was protracted from time to time, in respect of the infirmity of the King [2], who now in the two and twentieth of his reign began to be troubled with the gout: but the defluxion taking also into his breast, wasted his lungs, so that thrice in a year in a kind of return, and especially in the spring, he had great fits and labours of the tissick.[3] Nevertheless he continued to intend business with as great diligence as before in his health: yet so, as upon this warning he did likewise now more seriously think of the world to come; and of making himself a saint, as well as King Henry the Sixth, by treasure better employed than to be given to Pope Julius. For this year he gave greater alms than accustomed, and discharged all prisoners about the City that lay for fees, or debts under forty shillings. He did also make haste with religious foundations. And in the year following, which was the three and twentieth, finished that of the Savoy. And hearing also of the bitter cries of his people against the oppressions of Dudley and Empson and their complices, partly by devout persons about him and partly by public sermons (the preachers

[1] *Regis mores reputantibus et consilia tuta et solida.*

[2] Dr. Lingard, who has had recourse to Spanish historians and archives, gives a different explanation of the breaking off of this treaty: viz. that upon the death of Philip (25 Sep. 1506) Henry conceived the idea of marrying his widow Juana Queen of Castile; which he only abandoned on being satisfied that her insanity was permanent and incurable.

It seems however that the marriage with Margaret was still in consideration in September, 1507, and that Maximilian was still in hope of its proceeding, and that Margaret herself had some objections from an apprehension that it would imprison her in England. The difficulty of agreeing upon the conditions in this respect would account sufficiently for its not being concluded. See Corr. de Maximilian I. et de Marguerite d'Autriche, I. p. 11. Margaret assumed the government of the Low Countries in the beginning of 1507.

[3] *i.e.* phthisis.

doing their duty therein), he was touched with great remorse for the same. Nevertheless Empson and Dudley though they could not but hear of these scruples in the King's conscience, yet as if the King's soul and his money were in several offices, that the one was not to intermeddle with the other, went on with as great rage as ever.[1] For the same three and twentieth year was there a sharp prosecution[2] against Sir William Capel (now the second time), and this was for matters of misgovernment[3] in his mayoralty: the great matter being, that in some payments he had taken knowledge of false moneys, and did not his diligence to examine and beat it out who were the offenders. For this and some other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand pounds; and being a man of stomach, and hardened by his former troubles, refused to pay a mite; and belike used some untoward speeches of the proceedings; for which he was sent to the Tower, and there remained till the King's death. Knesworth likewise, that had been lately Mayor of London, and both his Sheriffs, were for abuses in their offices questioned, and imprisoned, and delivered upon one thousand four hundred pounds paid. Hawis, an Alderman of London, was put in trouble, and died with thought and anguish before his business came to an end. Sir Laurence Ailmer, who had likewise been Mayor of London, and his two Sheriffs, were put to the fine of one thousand pounds. And Sir Laurence for refusing to make payment was committed to prison, where he stayed till Empson himself was committed in his place.

It is no marvel (if the faults were so light and the rates so heavy) that the King's treasure of store that he left at his death, most of it in secret places under his own key and keeping at Richmond, amounted (as by tradition it is reported to have done[4]) unto the sum of near eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling; a huge mass of money even for these times.

The last act of state that concluded this King's temporal felicity, was the conclusion of a glorious match between his daughter Mary and Charles Prince of Castile, afterwards the

[1] *Nihilo lentius populum gravabant.* [2] *Crudelissime actum est.*
[3] *Prætextu quod se male gessisset.*
[4] The translation omits this clause, and for 1,800,000*l.* sterling gives *ad summam quinque millionum et dimidiæ aureorum.*
Sir Edward Coke (Institutes, p. 198.) says "fifty and three hundred thousand pounds." Quoting the Close Roll A°. 3 Hen. 8. A mistake perhaps of pounds for nobles; 1,800,000*l.* being equivalent to 5,400,000 six-and-eightpenny pieces.

great Emperor; both being of tender years: which treaty was perfected[1] by Bishop Foxe and other his commissioners at Calais, the year before the King's death. In which alliance it seemeth he himself took so high contentment, as in a letter which he wrote thereupon to the City of London, commanding all possible demonstrations of joy to be made for the same, he expresseth himself as if he thought he had built a wall of brass about his kingdom, when he had for his sons-in-law a King of Scotland and a Prince of Castile and Burgundy. So as now there was nothing to be added to this great King's felicity, being at the top of all worldly bliss, in regard of the high marriages of his children, his great renown throughout Europe, and his scarce credible riches, and the perpetual constancy of his prosperous successes, but an opportune death, to withdraw him from any future blow of fortune: which certainly (in regard of the great hatred of his people[2], and the title of his son, being then come to eighteen years of age, and being a bold Prince and liberal, and that gained upon the people by his very aspect and presence[3]) had not been impossible to have comen upon him.

To crown also the last year of his reign as well as his first, he did an act of piety, rare and worthy to be taken in imitation. For he granted forth a general pardon[4]; as expecting a second coronation in a better kingdom. He did also declare in his will, that his mind was, that restitution should be made of those sums which had been unjustly taken by his officers.

And thus this Salomon of England (for Salomon also was too heavy upon his people in exactions) having lived two and fifty years, and thereof reigned three and twenty years and eight months, being in perfect memory and in a most blessed mind, in a great calm of a consuming sickness, passed to a better world, the two and twentieth of April 1508[5], at his palace of Richmond which himself had built.

This King[6] (to speak of him in terms equal to his deserving)

[1] December 17, 1508.

[2] This hatred had probably increased rapidly during the last year or two. Vincenzo Quirini, writing in 1506, describes Henry as "uomo di anni cinquanta quattro, assai ben disposto della persona, savio, prudente, *non odiato nè extam molto amato dalli suoi popoli.*" *Alberi, Ser.* 1. vol. i. p. 19.

[3] *Oris majestate.* [4] *Qualis in coronatione regum concedi solet.*

[5] This is a mistake; occasioned apparently by a misprint in Speed. Henry completed his 23rd year on the 21st of August, 1508, and died on the 22nd of April, 1509.

[6] In the character of Henry which follows and concludes the work the differences between the Latin translation and the English original are unusually numerous.

was one of the best sort of wonders; a wonder for wise men. He had parts (both in his virtues and his fortune) not so fit for a common-place as for observation. Certainly he was religious, both in his affection and observance. But as he could see clear (for those times) through superstition; so he would be blinded now and then by human policy. He advanced church-men. He was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they wrought him much mischief. He built and endowed many religious foundations, besides his memorable hospital of the Savoy: and yet was he a great alms-giver in secret; which shewed that his works in public were dedicated rather to God's glory than his own. He professed always to love and seek peace; and it was his usual preface in his treaties[1], that when Christ came into the world peace was sung, and when he went out of the world peace was bequeathed. And this virtue could not proceed out of fear or softness, for he was valiant and active; and therefore no doubt it was truly Christian and moral. Yet he knew the way to peace was not to seem to be desirous to avoid wars. Therefore would he make offers and fames of wars, till he had mended the conditions of peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a lover of peace should be so happy in war. For his arms, either in foreign or civil wars, were never infortunate; neither did he know what a disaster meant. The war of his coming in, and the rebellions of the Earl of Lincoln and the Lord Audley, were ended by victory. The wars of France and Scotland by peaces sought at his hands. That of Brittaine by accident of the Duke's death.[2] The insurrection of the Lord Lovell, and that of Perkin at

There is nothing added indeed, nor is the meaning in any place materially modified. But the expression is so frequently varied that it would seem as if Bacon had done this part of the translation himself and with care. I have thought it better therefore to print it entire. It will be found in the appendix, No. III.

[1] This statement is not strictly borne out by those of his treaties which are printed in Rymer. It is true however that most of them contain some preamble about the blessings of peace. The particular expression quoted by Bacon occurs I think in one of the Bulls of dispensation.

[2] The war of Brittany, had Bacon's account of it been accurate, must have been accounted an exception to Henry's usual fortune in war. It might be an accident, but still it was a failure. But if we substitute the true history of it, which I have given in my note p. 101, we may fairly count it among the examples of his habitual success. The army accomplished all it was sent to accomplish; the ultimate frustration of Henry's object was due to an error of policy, not to an accident of war.

I may take this opportunity of correcting the statement in note 3. p. 63. as to the spelling of the name *Brittaine*. It is so spelt in the MS. in that place and one or two others immediately following. But afterwards it is always, or almost always, spelt *Britaine*.

Exeter and in Kent, by flight of the rebels before they came to blows. So that his fortune of arms was still inviolate. The rather sure, for that in the quenching of the commotions of his subjects he ever went in person: sometimes reserving himself to back and second his lieutenants, but ever in action. And yet that was not merely forwardness, but partly distrust of others.

He did much maintain and countenance his laws; which (nevertheless) was no impediment to him to work his will. For it was so handled that neither prerogative nor profit went to diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative, so would he also let down his prerogative to his Parliament. For mint and wars and martial discipline (things of absolute power) he would nevertheless bring to Parliament. Justice was well administered in his time, save where the King was party; save also that the counsel-table intermeddled too much with *meum* and *tuum*. For it was a very court of justice during his time; especially in the beginning. But in that part both of justice and policy which is the durable part, and cut as it were in brass or marble, which is the making of good laws, he did excel. And with his justice he was also a merciful prince: as in whose time there were but three of the nobility that suffered; the Earl of Warwick; the Lord Chamberlain; and the Lord Audley: though the first two were instead of numbers in the dislike and obloquy of the people. But there were never so great rebellions expiated with so little blood drawn by the hand of justice, as the two rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter. As for the severity used upon those which were taken in Kent, it was but upon a scum of people. His pardons went ever both before and after his sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of interchanging of large and inexpected pardons with severe executions: which (his wisdom considered) could not be imputed to any inconstancy or inequality; but either to some reason which we do not now know, or to a principle he had set unto himself, that he would vary, and try both ways in turn. But the less blood he drew the more he took of treasure: and as some construed it, he was the more sparing in the one that he might be the more pressing in the other; for both would have been intolerable. Of nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate treasure; and was a little poor in admiring riches. The people (into whom

there is infused for the preservation of monarchies a natural desire to discharge their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers) did impute this unto Cardinal Morton and Sir Reignold Bray; who as it after appeared (as counsellors of ancient authority with him) did so second his humours, as nevertheless they did temper them. Whereas Empson and Dudley that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him otherwise than by the servile following of his bent, did not give way only (as the first did) but shape him way to those extremities, for which himself was touched with remorse at his death; and which his successor renounced, and sought to purge. This excess of his had at that time many glosses and interpretations. Some thought the continual rebellions wherewith he had been vexed had made him grow to hate his people: Some thought it was done to pull down their stomachs and to keep them low: Some, for that he would leave his son a golden fleece: Some suspected he had some high design upon foreign parts. But those perhaps shall come nearest the truth that fetch not their reasons so far off; but rather impute it to nature, age, peace, and a mind fixed upon no other ambition or pursuit: whereunto I should add, that having every day occasion to take notice of the necessities and shifts for money of other great Princes abroad, it did the better by comparison set off to him the felicity of full coffers. As to his expending of treasure, he never spared charge which his affairs required: and in his buildings was magnificent; but his rewards were very limited. So that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory than upon the deserts of others. He was of an high mind, and loved his own will and his own way; as one that revered himself, and would reign indeed. Had he been a private man he would have been termed proud: but in a wise Prince, it was but keeping of distance; which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full approach either to his power or to his secrets. For he was governed by none. His Queen (notwithstanding she had presented him with divers children; and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it) could do nothing with him. His mother he reverenced much, heard little. For any person agreeable to him for society (such as was Hastings to King Edward the Fourth, or Charles Brandon after to King Henry the Eighth), he had none; except we

should account for such persons Foxe and Bray and Empson, because they were so much with him. But it was but as the instrument is much with the workman. He had nothing in him of vain-glory, but yet kept state and majesty to the height; being sensible that majesty maketh the people bow, but vain-glory boweth to them.

To his confederates abroad he was constant and just; but not open. But rather such was his inquiry and such his closeness, as they stood in the light towards him, and he stood in the dark to them; yet without strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual communication of affairs. As for little envies or emulations upon foreign princes (which are frequent with many Kings), he had never any; but went substantially to his own business. Certain it is, that though his reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad. For foreigners that could not see the passages of affairs, but made their judgments upon the issues of them, noted that he was ever in strife and ever aloft. It grew also from the airs which the princes and states abroad received from their ambassadors and agents here; which were attending the court in great number; whom he did not only content with courtesy, reward, and privateness; but (upon such conferences as passed with them) put them in admiration to find his universal insight into the affairs of the world: which though he did suck chiefly from themselves, yet that which he had gathered from them all seemed admirable to every one. So that they did write ever to their superiors in high terms concerning his wisdom and art of rule. Nay when they were returned, they did commonly maintain intelligence with him; such a dexterity he had to impropriate to himself all foreign instruments.

He was careful and liberal to obtain good intelligence from all parts abroad; wherein he did not only use his interest in the liegers here, and his pensioners which he had both in the court of Rome and other the courts of Christendom, but the industry and vigilancy of his own ambassadors in foreign parts. For which purpose his instructions were ever extreme curious and articulate; and in them more articles touching inquisition than touching negotiation: requiring likewise from his ambassadors an answer, in particular distinct articles, respectively to his questions.

As for his secret spials which he did employ both at home

and abroad, by them to discover what practices and conspiracies were against him; surely his case required it, he had such moles perpetually working and casting to undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended; for if spials be lawful against lawful enemies, much more against conspirators and traitors. But indeed to give them credence by oaths or curses, that cannot be well maintained; for those are too holy vestments for a disguise. Yet surely there was this further good in his employing of these flies and familiars; that as the use of them was cause that many conspiracies were revealed, so the fame and suspicion of them kept (no doubt) many conspiracies from being attempted.

Towards his Queen he was nothing uxorious; nor scarce indulgent; but companiable and respective, and without jealousy. Towards his children he was full of paternal affection, careful of their education, aspiring to their high advancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due honour and respect; but not greatly willing to cast any popular lustre upon them.

To his counsel he did refer much, and sat oft in person; knowing it to be the way to assist his power and inform his judgment: in which respect also he was fairly patient of liberty both of advice and of vote, till himself were declared.

He kept a strait hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people; which made for his absoluteness, but not for his safety. Insomuch as I am persuaded it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign. For that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not cooperate with him, but let every man go his own way. He was not afraid of an able man, as Lewis the Eleventh was. But contrariwise he was served by the ablest men that then were to be found; without which his affairs could not have prospered as they did. For war, Bedford, Oxford, Surrey, Dawbeny, Brooke, Poynings. For other affairs, Morton, Foxe, Bray, the Prior of Lanthony, Warham, Urswick, Hussey, Frowick, and others. Neither did he care how cunning they were that he did employ: for he thought himself to have the master-reach. And as he chose well, so he held them up well. For it is a strange thing, that though he were a dark prince, and infinitely suspicious, and his times full of secret conspiracies and troubles; yet in twenty-four years reign he never put down or discomposed counsellor

or near servant, save only Stanley the Lord Chamberlain. As for the disposition of his subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him; that of the three affections which naturally tie the hearts of the subjects to their sovereign,—love, fear, and reverence,—he had the last in height; the second in good measure; and so little of the first, as he was beholding to the other two.

He was a Prince, sad, serious, and full of thoughts and secret observations; and full of notes and memorials of his own hand, especially touching persons; as whom[1] to employ, whom to reward, whom to inquire of, whom to beware of, what were the dependencies, what were the factions, and the like; keeping (as it were) a journal of his thoughts. There is to this day a merry tale; that his monkey (set on as it was thought by one of his chamber) tore his principal note-book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth: whereat the court which liked not those pensive accounts was almost tickled with sport.

He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions. But as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them and master them; whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others. It is true, his thoughts were so many, as they could not well always stand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did he at some times weigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly that rumour which did him so much mischief (that the Duke of York should be saved and alive) was (at the first) of his own nourishing, because he would have more reason not to reign in the right of his wife. He was affable, and both well and fair spoken; and would use strange sweetness and blandishments of words, where he desired to effect or persuade any thing that he took to heart. He was rather studious than learned; reading most books that were of any worth, in the French tongue. Yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in that Cardinal Hadrian and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin.

For his pleasures, there is no news of them. And yet by his instructions to Marsin and Stile touching the Queen of Naples, it seemeth he could interrogate well touching beauty. He did by pleasures as great Princes do by banquets, come and look a

[1] The rest of the MS. is lost.

little upon them, and turn way. For never Prince was more wholly given to his affairs, nor in them more of himself: insomuch as in triumphs of justs and tourneys and balls and masks (which they then called disguises) he was rather a princely and gentle spectator than seemed much to be delighted.

No doubt, in him as in all men (and most of all in Kings) his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature upon his fortune. He attained to the crown, not only from a private fortune, which might endow him with moderation; but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry. And his times being rather prosperous than calm, had raised his confidence by success, but almost marred his nature by troubles. His wisdom, by often evading from perils, was turned rather into a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers when they pressed him, than into a providence to prevent and remove them afar off. And even in nature, the sight of his mind was like some sights of eyes; rather strong at hand than to carry afar off. For his wit increased upon the occasion; and so much the more if the occasion were sharpened by danger. Again, whether it were the shortness of his foresight, or the strength of his will, or the dazzling of his suspicions, or what it was; certain it is that the perpetual troubles of his fortunes (there being no more matter out of which they grew) could not have been without some great defects and main errors in his nature, customs, and proceedings, which he had enough to do to save and help with a thousand little industries and watches. But those do best appear in the story itself. Yet take him with all his defects, if a man should compare him with the Kings his concurrents in France and Spain, he shall find him more politic than Lewis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain. But if you shall change Lewis the Twelfth for Lewis the Eleventh, who lived a little before, then the consort is more perfect. For that Lewis the Eleventh, Ferdinando, and Henry, may be esteemed for the *tres magi* of kings of those ages. To conclude, if this King did no greater matters, it was long of himself; for what he minded he compassed.

He was a comely personage, a little above just stature, well and straight limbed, but slender. His countenance was reverend, and a little like a churchman: and as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but as

the face of one well disposed. But it was to the disadvantage of the painter, for it was best when he spake.

His worth may bear a tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seem divine. When the Lady Margaret his mother had divers great suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night that one in the likeness of a bishop in pontifical habit did tender her Edmund Earl of Richmond (the King's father) for her husband. Neither had she ever any child but the King, though she had three husbands. One day when King Henry the Sixth (whose innocency gave him holiness) was washing his hands at a great feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said; "This is the lad that shall possess quietly that that we now strive for." But that that was truly divine in him, was that he had the fortune of a true Christian as well as of a great King, in living exercised and dying repentant. So as he had an happy warfare in both conflicts, both of sin and the cross.

He was born at Pembroke Castle, and lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond or any of his palaces.

I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

GREAT COUNCILS.

THERE are three places in this history (see pp. 74. 116. 173.) in which I have ventured an opinion that what is called by our historians a *Parliament* was in reality a *Great Council*. The positive and particular grounds for the conjecture may be best understood in connexion with the narrative, and have therefore been explained in the several places. Certain general objections which may perhaps suggest themselves, will be answered more conveniently here.

It may be objected in the first place that the point being one of considerable constitutional importance, it is not likely that Bacon would have overlooked it. Polydore Vergil indeed, who was a foreigner; Hall, who merely followed Polydore, using no independent judgment of his own; Holinshed who followed Hall; even Stowe and Speed, who though diligent and original explorers were not statesmen and constitutional lawyers;—all these might easily make the mistake and overlook the difficulties which it involves. But *Bacon's* acquiescence in such an error, if error it be, is not so easily accounted for. So familiar as he was with the practical working of government and the practical solution of state-problems; so inquisitive as he was into the particular ways and methods of Henry the Seventh, regarded as a study in the art of government; so learned as he must have grown, by thirty years' service as a law officer of the Crown, and more than thirty as a member of Parliament, in constitutional precedents; so diligent and vigilant as he was in observing what he calls the "real passages" of affairs,—the real means by which ends were brought about;—it must be admitted that he was a man very unlikely to overlook the evidences of such a fact and quite certain not to overlook the importance of it. The adoption therefore by Bacon of Polydore Vergil's story, is a negative argument against my conjecture which it is necessary to remove.

But on referring to the particulars, it will be found that the direct evidence of the fact in each case is drawn almost entirely from sources which were not within Bacon's reach. At the time he wrote, there was no accessible collection of state-documents resembling Rymer's Fœdera, and apparently no accessible record by which it could be ascertained at what precise date the several Parliaments in this reign were called. The Herald's narrative, which supplies the only *positive* evidence we have as to the first of these Great Councils, it is clear that he had not seen. Henry the Seventh's privy-seal, which contains positive evidence as to the last, is a single sheet, which may not have been in Sir Robert Cotton's possession at the time, and if it was may easily have been overlooked; and without it, the notice in the old Chronicle, though distinct and of great weight, would have been hardly sufficient perhaps to establish the fact. Now if we should set aside all the evidence, direct or inferential, which is derived from these sources, there would really be no ground for suspecting the accuracy of Polydore's narrative. Therefore that Bacon did not anticipate the conjecture, is not in fact any presumption against it.

Another objection may be drawn from the silence of contemporary historians as to the fact, and of the constitutional writers of the next century as to the practice. It may be urged, and urged with much appearance of reason, that if the calling of a Great Council, such as I suppose these to have been, was in those days a new or a very unusual thing, it would have made a noise at the time; and then how came Fabyan, or Polydore, or Hall, who were contemporaries, not to have heard of it? And that if on the contrary it was a thing frequent and familiar to people in the days of Henry the Seventh, it must have been familiar to students of the constitution in the days of Elizabeth and James the First; and then how came Sir Edward Coke, in the fourth part of his Institutes, to give an elaborate account of the constitution and functions of the Council, without alluding to a practice of such considerable constitutional importance[1]; or how was it that during the latter half of James the First's reign, when the government was in continual embarrassment from the opposition of the Lower House of Parliament, the experiment of reviving this practice, and calling a "Great Council" for deliberation and advice, was never (as far as I know) proposed for consideration or once mentioned, at least by that name?[2]

[1] In the first part of the Institutes (ii. 10. 164.) Coke mentions the *Magnum Concilium* as meaning sometimes the Upper House of Parliament; and sometimes, when Parliament was not sitting, the "Peers of the realm, Lords of Parliament, who are called (he says) *Magnum Concilium Regis.*" But he says nothing of any peculiar function belonging to it, or of the occasions on which it was called.

[2] The Council before which Robert Earl of Essex was charged, heard, and censured on the 5th of June, 1600; and that before which James's Learned Counsel *recom-*

Fortunately it is not necessary to answer this question; for there is no doubt about the fact. That "Great Councils," precisely such as I suppose these to have been, were frequently summoned during the three reigns of the House of Lancaster, is a fact established by direct evidence altogether conclusive. In the *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, edited by Sir Harris Nicolas in 1834, there is distinct mention made of not less than sixteen "Great Councils" called during the sixty-one years of the Lancastrian dynasty, and there are traces of more. The latest of which there is record there was in 1459; only twenty-six years before the accession of Henry the Seventh. And we are not to conclude, because this is the last recorded, that it was the last which took place: for the records of the proceedings of the Council from the end of Henry the Sixth's to nearly the end of Henry the Eighth's reign are almost all lost; and therefore the negative evidence is of no value. Positive evidence on the other hand is not wanting to show that the practice was in use at least seventeen years after. Twice in the Paston Correspondence we meet with news of the Council then sitting.; which on both occasions the editor supposes (see table of contents) to mean Parliament; though it is certain that no Parliament was sitting at the time. One is stated to have ended on the 3rd of March 1473–4, the last day of Edward the Fourth's 13th year; the other as having begun on the 13th of February, in his 16th year; that is, 1476–7. See Vol. II. pp. 158. 205. This brings us within nine years of Henry the Seventh's accession. So that, even if that were the latest precedent, there would be nothing strange either in the name or the thing.

Of the distinctive character and functions of these Great Councils the clearest and most complete description which I have met with is in Sir Matthew Hale's *Jurisdiction of the House of Lords*, published by Hargrave in 1796[1]; but the fullest and most authentic evidence,

mended that Sir Walter Raleigh should be charged and heard in 1618; were very like Great Councils both in composition and in function; but I do not find any allusion to the precedent in either case.

[1] "This *magnum consilium* was of two kinds; viz. a *magnum consilium* out of Parliament, and a *magnum consilium* in Parliament. The former of these was commonly upon some emergent occasion, that either in respect of the suddenness could not expect the summoning of Parliament, or in respect of its nature needed it not, or was intended but as preparative to it. . . . . But the form of these Great Councils was varied. For sometimes only some few of the prelates and nobility were called to it, and none of the *consilium ordinarium*, as *claus.* 33 *E.* 3. *m. dors.* At other times not only the nobility, prelates, and *consilium ordinarium* were called, but also there went out writs to every sheriff to return one knight for each county, and to divers cities and boroughs to return one citizen or burgess, as was done *claus.* 27. *E.* 3. *m.* 12. *dors.* upon the making of the ordinance of the staple. But this *magnum consilium* had nothing of legislative power nor jurisdiction; and therefore the ordinances of the staple were after enacted by Parliament to supply the defect of a law. I never yet saw any private petition, or footsteps of jurisdiction exercised by such a Grand Council.—These Grand Councils have been rarely summoned of late years; businesses of state being usually despatched by the Privy Council, and if of very great importance in Parliament. The

and that which comes nearest to the times in question, is to be found in the records published by Sir Harris Nicolas.

"They appear to have been summoned (he says) whenever affairs of greater moment occurred than the 'Continual Council' thought proper to determine, *but were not of such a nature or such a degree of importance as to render it advisable to bring them before Parliament.*" The Peers spiritual and temporal were considered as belonging to the Great Council of course; "Lords of the Great Council" appears to have been one of their titles. And it is probable that in ordinary cases it was composed (according to Mr. Hallam's conjecture; "Middle Ages" vol. iii. p. 213.) of these alone, in conjunction with the members of the "Continual" Council. But it is certain that on some special occasions many commoners were joined with them; specially selected from various qualities, professions, and localities, according to the nature of the question in debate. Thus, in the second year of Henry the Fourth, on the 20th of July, 1401, letters were addressed to the "Continual Council," commanding them (*pour certaines chargeantes matires touchantes nous et notre roiaume*) to summon all the Prelates, Earls, and Barons of the realm, *and from four to eight of the most sufficient and discreet Knights of each County*, to attend a Council at Westminster on the Feast of the Assumption next ensuing. And a second letter was addressed to them on the following day commanding that a certain number of *Esquires* should be likewise summoned to attend this Council. The object was to have their advice with regard to the war with France; and it appears from a list annexed that the Council was attended by about 150 Knights and Esquires, besides the Lords spiritual and temporal. (See Proceedings and Ordinances of the P. C. vol. i. p. 155., and Rymer viii. 213.)

Again, a minute of Council dated the 7th of March, 1442–3, (21 Hen. 6.) directs that there be "made letters under privy seal to *all the King's freemen*, and *also* to the King's Great Council, to be with the King in his Great Council at Westminster at the 15th of Pasque, all excusations ceasing, for the good of his realm, lordships, and subjects." (Proceedings and Ordinances, v. p. 237.) The occasion of this was also a French war.

I have selected these two instances as containing the most distinct mention that I can find of the summoning of persons who were not members of the King's Council by rank or office, and of their character and quality. In other cases they are less distinctly mentioned as "*et plusieurs autres*," or "*et aliorum ad illud convocatorum.*" In others, and indeed in the majority, there are no traces

only Grand Council that hath been in my remembrance was that at York, at the coming in of the Scots."—Hale's *Jurisdiction of the House of Lords*, chap. 2. § 3.

of the presence of any persons besides the Lords and the members of the Continual Council. The questions on which they were summoned to advise and deliberate were not always questions of peace and war. Sometimes it was a question of raising money; as in the first year of Henry the Fourth, when in order to avoid the necessity of calling a Parliament and taxing the Commons, it was agreed that the Peers themselves should grant the King an aid, and that letters of Privy Seal should be sent to all the Abbots for the same purpose. (See Vol. I. p. 102.) And again in the third year of Henry the Fifth, when the Lords temporal, who had undertaken in a previous Parliament to do the King service in his wars upon certain terms of payment, consented to allow him a longer day for the payment, considering that the supplies granted by Parliament for the purpose could not be levied soon enough. (II. p. 150.) In the seventh year of Henry the Sixth, a Great Council was summoned to advise upon a proposal that the King should be crowned in France, and also upon the means of supplying a deficiency in the revenue. In his ninth year a Great Council was summoned to advise upon the expediency of calling a Parliament. (IV. p. 67.) In the next year the question of the salary of the Lieutenant of England was referred to a Great Council. (IV. p. 105.) In his twelfth year, a proposal having been made for peace with Scotland by marriage of the King with one of the Scottish King's daughters, and the Continual Council having considered the proposition, but not liking to give advice on a matter of such weight, referred it to the King's uncles; who in their turn "doubting greatly to take upon them sole so great a charge," requested that a "Great Council" might be called to deliberate upon it. (IV. p. 191.) The minutes of the Council which was called in consequence (IV. 210–213.) and which met soon after the siege of Orleans and the beginning of the English reverses in France, make no mention of this subject; but of a dispute between the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, and a question as to the ways and means of raising 40 or 50,000*l.* for carrying on the war, according to a proposition of the Duke of Bedford. In the sixteenth year of Edward the Fourth, Sir John Paston informs his correspondent (vol. ii. p. 205.) that "yesterday began the Great Council; to which all the estates of the land shall come but if it be for great and reasonable excuses. And I suppose the chief cause of this assembly is to commune what is best to do now upon the great change by the death of the Duke of Burgoyne and for the keeping of Calais and the marches, and for the preservation of the amities taken late as well with France as now with the members of Flanders."

It is clear therefore that the reference to a "Great Council" of such questions as formed the subject of deliberation on the three occasions to which my conjecture refers was quite according to

precedent. It would appear moreover from the minutes that the proceedings always began with a speech by the Chancellor, setting forth the questions upon which they were called to deliberate and advise. So that in all but the name and the account of laws passed (which were in fact passed by the Parliament that met just before or just after), Bacon's narrative may be a correct report of the proceeding in each case.

No. II.

Perkyn Werbecks his Proclamation

published in the time of his Rebellion in the beginning of the Reign of H. 7.[1]

RICHARD by the grace of God King of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, Prince of Wales, to all those that these our present letters shall see hear or read, and to every of them, greeting: and whereas we in our tender age escaped by God's might out of the tower of London, and were secretly conveyed over the sea into other divers countries, there remaining certain years as unknown; in the which season it happened one Henry, son to Edmund Tydder, Earl of Richmond created, son to Owen Tydder, of low birth, in the country of Wales, to come from France and entered into this our realm; and by subtle false means to obtain the crown of the same unto us of right appertaining; which Henry is our extreme and mortal enemy as soon as he had knowledge of our being one live, imagined, compassed and wrought all the subtle ways and means he could devise to our final destruction, insomuch as he hath not only falsely surmised us to be a feigned person, giving us nicknames so abusing your minds, but also to defer and put us from our entry into this our realm, hath offered large sums of money to corrupt the princes in every land and country and that we have been retained with and made importune labour to certain of our servants about our person some of them to murder our person, us [*sic*] and other to forsake and leave our righteous quarrel, and to depart from our service, as by Sir Robert Clifford and others was verified and openly proved, and to bring his cursed and malicious intent aforesaid to his purpose he hath subtilly and by crafty means levied outrageous and importable sums of moneys upon

[1] Harl. MSS. 283. fo. 123. b. "The original of this, in an old written hand, is in the hands of Sir Robert Cotton; 18 August, 1616." — *Note in the hand of the transcriber.*

the whole body of our realm, to the great hurt and impoverishing of the same: all which subtle and corrupt labours by him made to our great jeopardy and peril, we have by God's might graciously escaped and overpassed, as well by land as by sea, and be now with the right high and mighty prince our dearest cousin the King of Scots, which without any gift or other thing by him desyred or demanded to the prejudice or hurt of us our crown or realm, hath full lovingly and kindly retained us, by whose aid and supportation we in proper person be now by God's grace entered into this our realm of England, where we shall shew ourselves openly unto you, also confounding our foresaid enemy in all his false sayings and also every man of reason and discretion may well understand that him needed not to have made the foresaid costages and importune labour if we had been such a feigned person as he untruly surmiseth, ascertaining you how the mind and intent of the foresaid noble prince our dearest cousin is, if that he may find or see our subjects and natural liege people according to right and the duty of their allegiance resort lovingly unto us with such power as by their puissance shall move, [*sic*, nowe?] be able of likelyhood to distress and subdue our enemies, he is fully set and determined to return home again quietly with his people into his own land, without doing or suffering to be done any hurt or prejudice unto our realm, or to the inhabitants of the same. Also our great enemy to fortify his false quarrel hath caused divers nobles of this our realm whom he had suspect and stood in dread of, to be cruelly murdered, as our cousin the Lord Fitzwater, Sir William Stanley, Sir Robert Chamberlaine, Sir Symon Mounteford, Sir Robert Radclyfe, William Daubeney, Humphrey Stafford, and many other, besides such as have dearly bought their lives, some of which nobles are now in the sanctuary: also he hath long kept and yet keepeth in prison our right entirely well beloved cousin Edward son and heir to our uncle Duke of Clarence and others, withholding from them their rightful inheritance to the intent they ne should be of might and power to aid and assist us at our need, after the duty of their leigeance. He hath also married by compulsion certain of our sisters and also the sister of our foresaid cousin the Earl of Warwick and divers other ladies of the blood royal unto certain his kinsmen and friends of simple and low degree, and putting apart all well disposed nobles he hath none in favour and trust about his person but Bishop Foxe, Smith, Bray, Lovell, Oliver King, Sir Charles Somerset, David Owen, Rysley, Sir John Trobulvill, Tyler, Robert Lytton, Gylford, Chamley, Emson, James Hobert, John Cutte, Garthe, Hansey, Wyot, and such others caitiffs and villains of simple birth, which by subtle inventions and pilling of the people have been the principal finders, occasioners, and counsellors of the misrule and mischief now reigning in England.

Also we be credibly informed that our said enemy not regarding the wealth and prosperity of this land, but only the safeguard and surety of his person, hath sent into divers places out of our realm the foresaid nobles, and caused to be conveyed from thence to other places the treasure of this our realm, purposing to depart after in proper person with many other estates of the land being now at his rule and disposition, and if he should be so suffered to depart as God defend it should be to the greatest hurt jeopardy and peril of the whole realm that could be thought or imagined. Wherefore we desire and pray you and nevertheless charge you and every of you as ye intend the surety of yourself and the commonweal of our land, your native ground, to put you in your most effectual devoirs with all diligence to the uttermost of your powers, to stop and let his passage out of this our realm, ascertaining you that what person or persons shall fortune to take or distress him shall have for his or their true acquittal in that behalf after their estate and degrees, so as the most low and simplest of degree that shall happen to take or distress him, shall have for his labour one thousand pounds in money, and houses and lands to the yearly value of one hundred marks to him and his heirs for ever. We remembering these premises with the great and execrable offences daily committed and done by our foresaid great enemy and his adherents in breaking the liberty and franchises of our mother holy Church to the high displeasure of Almighty God, besides the manifold treasons, abominable murders, manslaughters, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of the people by dismes tasks tallages benevolences and other unlawful impositions and grievous exactions, with many other heinous offences to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole realm as God defend, shall put ourself effectually in our devoir, not as a step-dame but as the very true mother of the child, languishing or standing in peril to redress and subdue the foresaid mischief and misrule and to punish the occasioners and haunters thereof after their deserts in example of others. We shall also by God's grace and the help and assistance of the great lords of our blood with the counsel of other sad persons of approved policy prudence and experience dreading God and having tender zeal and affection to indifferent ministration of justice and the public weal of the land, peruse and call to remembrance the good laws and customs heretofore made by our noble progenitors kings of England and see them put in due and lawful execution according to the effect and true meaning they were first made or ordained for, so that by virtue thereof as well the disinheriting of rightful heirs as the injuries and wrongs in anywise committed and done unto the subjects of our realm, both spiritual and temporal, shall be duly redressed according to right law and good conscience and we shall see that the commodities of our realm be

employed to the most advantage of the same, the intercourse of merchandises betwixt realm and realm, to be ministered and handled as shall more be to the commonweal and prosperity of our subjects, and all such dismes tasks tallages benevolences unlawful impositions and grievous exactions as be above rehearsed utterly to be foredone and laid apart and never from henceforth to be called upon but in such causes as our noble progenitors kings of England have of old time been accustomed to have the aid succour and help of their subjects and true liegemen.

Also we will that all such persons as have imagined compassed or wrought privily or apertly since the reign of our foresaid enemy or before anything against us except such as since the reign have imagined our death shall have their free pardon for the same of their lives lands and goods, so that they at this time according to right and the duty of their allegiances take our righteous quarrel and part and aid comfort and support us with their bodies and goods.

And over this we let you wot that upon our foresaid great enemy his adherents and part-takers, with all other such as will take their false quarrel and stand in their defence against us with their bodies or goods, we shall come and enter upon them as their heavy lord and take and repute them and every of them as our traitors and rebels and see them punished according, and upon all other our subjects that according to right and the duty of their leigance will aid succour and comfort us with their powers with their [lives] or goods or victual our host for ready money, we shall come and enter upon them lovingly as their natural leige lord and see they have justice to them equally ministered upon their causes: wherefore we will and desire you and every of you that incontinent upon the hearing of this our proclamation ye according to the duty of your allegiances aready yourselves in your best defensible array and give your personal attendance upon us where we shall then fortune to be, and in so doing ye shall find us your right especial and singular good lord and so to see you recompensed and rewarded as by your service shall be unto us deserved.

No. III.

CHARACTER OF HENRY VII.

(From the Latin Translation.)

Rex iste (ut verbis utamur quæ merita ejus exæquent) fuit instar miraculi cujusdam: ejus scilicet generis, quod prudentes attonitos reddit, imperitos leviter percellit. Plurima siquidem habuit et in virtutibus suis et in fortuna, quæ non tam in locos communes cadunt, quam in observationes prudentes et graves. Vir certe fuit pius ac religiosus, et affectu et cultu: sed ut erga superstitionem, pro modo temporum suorum, satis perspicax, ita interdum politicis rationibus et consiliis nonnihil occæcatus. Personarum ecclesiasticarum promotor, erga asylorum privilegia (quæ tanta ei mala pepererant) non durus. Haud pauca religiosorum cœnobia fundavit, dotavit; quibus accedit memorabile illud hospitale *Savoya* dictum. Magnus nihilominus eleemosynarius in secreto; quod luculenter indicat, etiam publica illa opera Dei gloriæ, non suæ, data. Pacem se summopere et amare, et pro viribus procurare, perpetuo præ se tulit. Atque illud in fœderum præfationibus illi frequens fuit; *Pacem, cum Christus in mundum veniret, angelos præcinuisse; cum e mundo excederet, ipsum Dominum legasse.* Neque hoc ei, timori aut animi mollitiei imputari poterat (quippe qui animosus fuerit et bellator), sed virtuti vere Christianæ et morali. Neque tamen illud eum fugit, a via pacis aberrare illum, qui eam nimio plus videatur appetere: itaque famas et rumores et apparatus belli sæpe excitabat, donec pacis conditiones in melius flecteret. Etiam illud notatu non indignum, quod tam sedulus pacis amator in bellis tam felix extiterit. Siquidem arma et expeditiones ejus neque in bellis externis neque in civilibus, unquam ei improspere cesserunt; neque noverat ille quid clades bellica esset. Bellum in adeptione regni, necnon Comitis Lincolniæ et Baronis Audlæi rebelliones, terminavit victoria. Bella Gallica et Scotica pax, sed pax ab hostibus ultro petita. Bellum illud Britanniæ, casus; mors nimirum Britanniæ ducis. Tumultus Baronis Lovelli, item Perkini, tam ad Exoniam quam in Cantio, fuga rebellium, antequam prælium tentarent: adeo ut propria ei fuerit armorum felicitas, atque inviolata. Cujus rei causa haud parva, quatenus ad seditiones intestinas compescendas, proculdubio fuit, quod in iis restinguendis personam suam nunquam subtraxerit. Prima quandoque pugnæ per duces suos transegit, cum ipse ad suppetias ferendas præsto esset: sed aliquam belli

partem semper ipse attigit. Neque tamen hoc ipsum omnino propter alacritatem et fortitudinem, sed partim ob suspiciones, quod aliis parce fideret.

Leges regni in magno honore semper habuit, easque auctoritate sua munire videri voluit. Licet hoc ipsum non minimo quidem ei esset impedimento, ad ea quæ voluit pro arbitrio suo exequenda. Ita enim commode earum habenas tractavit, ut ne quid de proventibus suis, aut etiam prærogativa regia, intercideret. Attamen tali usus est temperamento, ut sicut interdum leges suas ad prærogativæ suæ jura traheret et prope torqueret; ita rursus per vices prærogativam suam ad legum æquabilitatem et moderationem consulto demitteret. Etenim et monetarum regimen, et belli ac pacis tractatus et consilia, et rei militaris administrationem, (quæ omnino absoluti juris sunt) sæpenumero ad Comitiorum Regni deliberationes et vota referebat. Justitia, temporibus suis, recte et æquabiliter administrata fuit; præterquam cum rex in lite pars esset; præterquam etiam, quod consilium privatum regis communibus causis circa meum et tuum se nimis immisceret. Etenim consessus ille mera erat tum curia et tribunal justitiæ, præsertim sub regni sui initiis. Enimvero in illa justitiæ parte quæ fixa est et tanquam in ære incisa (hoc est prudentia legislatoria), prorsus excelluit. Justitiam etiam suam misericordia et clementia temperavit; utpote sub cujus regno tres tantum ex nobilitate pœna capitali affecti sunt: Comes nempe Warwicensis, Aulæ Regiæ Camerarius, et Baro Audleius. Quamvis priores duo instar multorum essent, quatenus ad invidiam et obloquia apud populum. At ne auditu quidem cognitum erat, tantas rebelliones tam parca sanguinis per gladium justitiæ missione expiatas fuisse, quam fuerunt duæ illæ insignes rebelliones, Exoniæ et prope Grenovicum. Severitas autem illa, satis cruenta, qua in primos illos infimæ conditionis homines qui Cantium appulerunt animadversum est, ad fæcem quandam populi tantum pertinebat. Diplomata autem illa generalia, quæ gratiam præteritorum rebellibus faciebant, perpetuo arma sua et præibant et sequebantur. Videre autem erat apud eum miram quandam et inusitatam gratiæ larga manu præbitæ et plane inexpectatæ cum suppliciorum severitate alternationem. Quod quidem, si tanti principis prudentiam cogitemus, minime inconstantiæ aut consiliorum vacillationi imputari poterit; sed aut causæ alicui secretæ, quæ jam nos latet; aut regulæ cuidam, quam sibi præscripserat, ut rigoris et mansuetudinis vias per vices experiretur. Sed quo minus sanguinis, eo plus pecuniæ haurire solebat. Atque ut nonnulli satis malevole interpretabantur, in altero fuit continentior ut in altero premeret magis: utrunque enim intolerabile plane fuisset. Natura proculdubio erat ad accumulandos thesauros pronior, et divitias plus quam pro fastigio suo admirabatur. Populus certe, quibus hoc natura inditum est, ad conservandas monarchias, ut

principes suos excusent, licet sæpenumero minus juste in consiliarios eorum et ministros culpam rejiciant, hoc ipsum Mortono Cardinali et Reginaldo Braio consiliario imputabat: qui tamen viri (ut postea luculenter patebat) utpote qui pro veteri ipsorum apud eum auctoritate et gratia plurimum pollebant, ita ingenio ejus obsecundabant, ut id tamen nonnihil moderarentur: ubi contra qui sequebantur Empsonus et Dudleius, viri nullius apud eum auctoritatis nisi quatenus cupiditatibus illius servilem in modum ministrabant, viam ei non tantum præberent, verum etiam sternerent, ad eas oppressiones et concussiones pro pecuniis undique excutiendis, quarum et ipsum sub finem vitæ suæ pœnituit, quibusque successor ejus renunciavit; quin et easdem diluere et expiare connixus est. Iste autem excessus tunc temporis complures nactus est interpretationes et glossas. Nonnulli in ea opinione erant, perpetuas rebelliones quibus toties vexatus fuit eum ad hoc redegisse, ut odio populum suum haberet. Alii judicium faciebant, hoc eo tendisse, ut ferocitatem populi reprimeret, eumque propter inopiam humiliorem redderet. Alii eum filio suo vellus aureum relinquere cupiisse. Alii denique, eum cogitationes secretas de bello aliquo externo animo agitâsse. Verum illi forsitan ad veritatem propius accedent, qui causas hujus rei minus longe petunt, easque attribuunt naturæ suæ, ætati ingravescenti, paci quæ opes alit, animoque nulla alia ambitione aut opere occupato. Quibus illud addere placet, eum, quod quotidie per occasiones varias inopiæ mala et difficiles pecuniarum conquisitiones in aliis principibus observaret, ex comparatione quadam plenarum arcarum felicitatem melius agnovisse. Quatenus ad modum quem servabat in thesauris impendendis, hoc habuit, ut nunquam sumptui parceret quem negotia sua postulabant: in ædificando magnificus, in remunerando tenacior: ita ut liberalitas sua potius se applicaret ad ea quæ ad statum suum proprium aut memoriam nominis sui pertinerent, quam ad præmia benemeritorum.

Fuit ille alti et excelsi animi; propriæ sententiæ, proprii consilii, amator; utpote qui seipsum revereretur, et ex se revera regnare vellet. Si privatæ conditionis fuisset, superbus proculdubio habitus esset: sed in principe prudente nihil aliud hoc fuit, quam ut intervallum et spatium justum et debitum inter se et subditos suos tueretur; quod cer e erga omnes constanter tenuit; nemini propinquum permittendo aditum, neque ad auctoritatem suam neque ad secreta. A nullo enim ex suis regebatur. Regina, consors ejus, licet eum compluribus pulcherrimis liberis, quinetiam corona ipsa (utcunque illud fateri non sustineret), beâsset, parum apud eum potuit. Matrem magna sane reverentia prosecutus est, sed ad participationem consiliorum suorum raro admovit. Qui vero grati ob conversationem ipsi forent (qualis fuit Hastingus apud regem Edwardum quartum, aut Carolus Brandonus postea apud Henricum octavum) nulli fuerant; nisi forte inter tales numeraremus

Foxum Episcopum, et Brauum, et Empsonum; quod eos tam frequenter secum habuit. Sed non alio modo, quam sicut instrumentum plerunque secum habet artifex. Gloriæ inanis, si in aliquo alio principe, minimum in illo fuit; ita tamen ut de majestate, quam ad summum fastigium usque semper attollebat, nihil remitteret; haud ignarus, majestatis reverentiam populum in obsequio continere, inanem autem gloriam (si quis recte rem æstimet) reges populari auræ prostituere.

Erga fœderatos suos justum se et constantem præbuit, tectum tamen et cautum; sed contra, tam diligenter in eos inquirebat, se interim ita velans et reservans, ut illi aspicerentur, tanquam in lumine positi; ipse, veluti in tenebris collocatus, lateret: absque specie tamen hominis se occultantis, sed potius libere et familiariter communicantis negotia sua, atque de illorum rebus vicissim percontantis. Quantum autem ad pusillas illas invidias et æmulationes (quæ inter principes, haud parvo rerum suarum detrimento, intercedere solent), nihil tale in eo cernere erat; sed suas res sedulo et solide agebat. Atque certissimum est, existimationem ejus domi magnam, in externis partibus adhuc majorem et illustriorem fuisse. Exteri enim, qui negotiorum ejus ductus et vias particulares cernere non poterant, sed summas tantum et exitus eorum intuebantur, eum perpetuo conflictari et perpetuo superiorem esse animadvertebant. Partim etiam in causa erant literæ et relationes legatorum exterorum, qui in comitatu aulæ suæ magno numero erant. Quibus non tantum comitate, muneribus, et colloquiis familiaribus satisfaciebat, verum in colloquiis illis suis haud parva admiratione illos perstrinxit, cum viderent universalem ejus rerum Europæarum notitiam. Quam licet ex ipsis legatis eorumque informationibus maxima ex parte hauserat, nihilominus quod ab universis collegerat admirationi erat singulis. Ita ut magna semper conscriberent ad superiores suos de prudentia ejus et artibus imperandi. Imo post reditum eorum in patrias suas, per literas de rebus omnimodis scitu dignis eum frequenter certiorem faciebant. Tantæ fuit dexteritatis in conciliandis sibi principum externorum ministris.

Omnibus profecto modis sollicitus erat de procuranda sibi et obtinenda rerum ubique occurrentium notitia. Quam ut assequeretur, non tantum exterorum ministrorum qui apud se residebant industria usus est, atque pensionariorum suorum quos tam in curia Romana quam alibi in aulis principum fovebat; verum etiam sui ipsius legatorum qui apud exteros perfungebantur. Quem in finem, mandata ejus usque ad curiositatem diligentissima erant, et per articulos ordine digestos; inter quos plures erant plerunque quæ ad inquisitionem quam quæ ad negotiationem pertinerent: exigendo responsa particularia et articulata, ad quæstiones suas respectiva.

Quantum vero ad emissarios suos, quos tam domi quam foras ad

explorandas machinationes et conjurationes contra se initas subornabat; sane hoc, quo loco res suæ erant, apprime necessarium fuit. Tot in eum veluti talpæ subterraneæ perpetuo operam dabant, quo statum ejus labefactarent et subfoderent. Neque hoc illicitum habendum est. Etenim si in bello exploratores probantur adversus hostes legitimos, multo magis adversus conjuratos et proditores. Verum ut fides hujusmodi exploratoribus concilietur per juramenta, et per execrationes, atque anathemata contra illos tanquam hostes fulminata, defensionem justam non capit. Sacra enim ista vestimenta larvis non conveniunt. Veruntamen habebat illud in se boni industria ista emissarios adhibendi, ut quemadmodum opera eorum multæ conjurationes detectæ, ita etiam fama eorum et diffidentia inde nata plurimæ ne tentarentur proculdubio cohibitæ fuerint.

Maritus erat minime uxorius, ne indulgens quidem; sed comis, et consortio blandus, et sine zelotypia. Erga liberos suos itidem paterno plenus affectu, magnam suscipiens curam de iis optime educandis; ad hoc etiam animi quadam altitudine aspirans, ut conditiones eis dignas et sublimes procuraret; honores quoque, quales amplitudinem eorum condecerent, ab omnibus deferri curavit; sed non admodum cupidus ut in oculis populi sui extollerentur.

Ad Sanctius Consilium suum plurima negotia referebat, ubi frequenter et ipse præsidebat; satis gnarus hoc pacto se via recta et solida insistere tam ad auctoritatem suam roborandam quam ad judicium suum informandum. Ad quem etiam finem, patiens fuit libertatis eorum, tam in suadendo quam in suffragia ferendo, donec animi sui sensum, quem ad finem deliberationum reservare solebat, declarâsset. Nobilitati suæ aliquantum gravis fuit, et ad negotia sua potius ecclesiasticos et jurisconsultos evehebat; qui magis ad obsequium parati, et apud populum minus gratiosi erant; quod quidem ut imperiose regnaret profuit, ut tuto non item. Adeo ut mihi persuasissimum sit, hunc ejus morem fuisse causam non exiguam crebrarum perturbationum quæ sub regimine suo contigerunt; propterea quod proceres regni, licet fidi et obedientes, non tamen alacriter cum eo cooperabantur; sed vota ejus magis eventui permittebant quam ad effectum urgebant. Nunquam sibi metuit a servis et ministris elatioribus ingeniis et virtutibus præditis; id quod in moribus erat Ludovico undecimo Galliæ regi: sed e contra ad sua negotia admovit viros qui suis temporibus maxime eminebant; quod ni fecisset, fieri non potuit ut res suæ tam prospere cedere potuissent. Hi erant, nimirum in rebus bellicis, Dux Bedfordiæ, Comites Oxoniæ, et Surriæ; Barones Daubeney, et Brookus; et Poyningus, eques auratus. In rebus autem civilibus, Mortonus, Foxus, Braius, Prior de Lanthony, Warhamus, Urswicus, Frowicus, et alii. Neque ei curæ erat, quam vafri et callidi essent quibus negotia committebat. Putabat enim sui ipsius artes eorum artibus

posse prædominari. Sicut autem in ministris deligendis summo judicio agebat; ita et in iis quos delegerat protegendis haud minore utebatur constantia. Mirabile enim quiddam est, quod licet princeps esset occulti et reconditi sensus, et majorem in modum suspicax, tempora quoque sua turbulenta et conjurationem plena, spatio tamen viginti quatuor annorum quibus regnavit nunquam consiliarium aliquem suum aut interiorem ministrum dejecit aut discomposuit, excepto solo Stanleio, Aulæ suæ Camerario. Quatenus vero ad subditorum suorum erga eum affectus, ita res erat; ut ex tribus illis affectibus qui corda subditorum erga principes suos devinciunt, amore scilicet, metu, et reverentia; ultimo horum eximie gauderet, secundo mediocriter, tertio autem tam parce, ut reliquis duobus securitatem suam deberet.

Princeps erat subtristis, serius, et cogitabundus; quique secretas in animo suo observationes et curas foveret; cui etiam commentarioli et memoriæ manu propria scriptæ præsto semper erant, præcipue circa personas: quos nimirum ex subditis suis ad munia destinaret; quibus præmiorum debitor esset; de quibus inquirendum; a quibus cavendum; qui itidem essent inter se maxime aut factione aut meritis colligati, et veluti in partes descendissent; et similia; veluti diaria quædam cogitationum suarum componens et servans. Traditur etiam hodie narratio quædam faceta, cercopithecum suum (ab aliquo ex suis cubiculariis, ut creditum est, impulsum) die quodam præcipuum ex diariis suis, tunc forte incuriose positum, in frusta innumera discerpsisse. Ad quod aulici, quibus anxia illa diligentia minime complacebat, risu prope disrumpebantur.

Quamvis autem esset apprehensionum et suspicionum plenus, attamen sicut facile eas admittebat, ita rursus dimittebat, easque judicio suo subjiciebat. Unde potius sibi ipsi molestæ, quam in alios periculosæ, existebant. Fatendum est tamen, cogitationes suas tam fuisse numerosas et complicatas ut simul stare sæpius non possent, sed quod in aliquibus prodesset ad alia obesset; neque fieri potuit ut adeo ultra mortale prudens esset aut felix, ut rerum pondera justa perpetuo exciperet. Certe rumor ille qui tot et tantas ei turbas concitavit, nempe quod dux Eboraci dimissus et adhuc superstes fuit, sub principiis vires et fidem ab ipso nactus est; quia scilicet hoc credi volebat, ut mollius ei imputaretur, quod in jure proprio et non in uxoris jure regnaret.

Affabilis fuit, et blanda quadam eloquentia pollens, magnaque prorsus uti consueverat verborum dulcedine et illecebris, cum aliquid suadere aut perficere vellet quod enixe cupiebat. Studiosus magis erat, quam eruditus; libros plerunque qui Gallica lingua conscripti erant legens. Licet Latinæ linguæ rudis non esset; quod ex eo patet, quod Hadrianus Cardinalis, et alii, quibus lingua Gallica satis familiaris erat, nihilominus Latine ad eum semper scriberent.

Quatenus ad delicias et voluptates hujus regis, muta prorsus est

earum memoria. Nihilominus apparet ex mandatis illis quæ Marsino et Stilo circa reginam Neapolitanam dedit, eum de forma et pulchritudine ejusque partibus perite admodum interrogare potuisse. Cum voluptatibus sic agere solebat, ut reges magni cum mensis bellariorum; paulisper eas inspicientes, et statim terga vertentes. Neque enim unquam regnavit princeps qui magis negotiis suis deditus esset; totus in illis, et totus ex sese. Ita ut in hastiludiis et turneamentis et aliis pugnarum simulacris, nec-non saltationibus personatis et hujusmodi celebritatibus, potius cum dignitate quadam et comitate spectator esse videretur, quam iis magnopere capi aut delectari.

In eo proculdubio, ut in cæteris mortalibus universis (ac præcipue in regibus), fortuna influxum quendam habebat in mores, et mores vicissim in fortunam. Ad culmen regnum ascendit, non tantum a fortuna privata, quæ moderatione eum imbuere posset, verumetiam a fortuna exulis, quæ stimulos ei industriæ et sagacitatis addiderat. Tempora autem regiminis sui, cum essent potius prospera quam tranquilla, confidentiam ex successibus addiderant; naturam interim suam assiduis vexationibus fere perverterant. Prudentia autem ejus, per frequentes e periculis emersiones (quæ subitis eum remediis fidere docuerant), versa est potius in dexteritatem quandam seipsum e malis quando ingruerent extricandi, quam in providentiam illa ex longinquo arcendi et summovendi; sed et indole propria oculi mentis ejus non absimiles erant oculis quorundam corporalibus, qui ad objecta prope sita validi sunt, ad remotiora infirmi. Prudentia enim ejus occasione ipsa subito suscitabatur: atque eo magis, si occasioni accesserit periculum. Atque hæc fortuna in naturam suam potuit. Nec deerant rursus quæ natura sua fortunæ suæ imposuit. Nam sive hoc tribuendum sit providentiæ ejus defectui; aut in rebus quas decreverat pertinaciæ; aut suspicionibus, quæ aciem mentis ejus perstringebant; vel quicquid aliud in causa fuit; certum est, fortunæ suæ perturbationes continuas (præsertim nulla violenta occasione subnixas) exoriri non potuisse absque magnis aliquibus in natura sua impedimentis, et erroribus in constitutione animi sui radicali; quæ necesse habuit salvare et emendare per mille pusillas industrias et artes. Verum illa omnia apertius se produnt in historia ipsa. Veruntamen, intueamur licet eum cum defectibus suis omnibus, si quis eum cum regibus in Gallia et Hispania, contemporaneis suis, conferat; reperiet eum Ludovico duodecimo Galliarum regi, prudentia civili, et Ferdinando Hispaniarum, fide et candore, anteponi debere. At si Ludovicum duodecimum demas, et Ludovicum undecimum, qui paulo ante regnavit, substituas; magis convenient exempla, fierentque verius parallela. Illi enim tres, Ludovicus, Henricus, et Ferdinandus, pro Tribus Magis censeri possunt inter illius ætatis

principes. Ut verbo concludamus, si rex iste res majores non gessit, in causa ipse fuit sibi; quicquid enim suscepit, perfecit.

Corpore erat Henricus decoro, statura justa paulo procerior, erectus, et membrorum compage bona, sed gracilis. Vultus erat talis quæ reverentiam incuteret, et aspectum viri ecclesiastici aliquantum referret. Et sicut minime erat obscurus aut superciliosus, ita neque blandus aut conciliator: sed tanquam facies hominis animo compositi et quieti: sed non commoda pictori; gratiosior scilicet facta cum loqueretur.

Hujus regis dignitas præcellens pati possit, ut memorentur narrationes quæpiam quæ ei divinum aliquid imponant. Cum matris ejus Margaretæ, fœminæ raris virtutibus ornatæ, nuptias multi proci ambirent; visa est videre in somniis virum quendam episcopo similem, habitu pontificali, tradere ei in manum Edmundum Comitem Richmondiæ, Henrici patrem, pro marito. Neque illa liberos unquam alios concepit, præter regem, licet tribus maritis nupta. Quodam etiam die festo, cum Henricus sextus (cui innocentia sanctitatem astruebat) a prandio lavaret, oculosque in Henricum, tunc adolescentulum, conjiceret, dixit: *Adolescens iste coronam, pro qua nos confligimus, pacifice tandem possidebit.* Sed quod vere in eo divinum censeri possit, hoc fuit; quod non minus fortunam boni Christiani quam magni regis sortitus sit; vita exercitata, morte pœnitenti. Ita ut non magis in mundanis quam spiritualibus victor triumphaverit; et militia ei in conflictibus tam peccati quam crucis prospere cesserit.

Natus est apud castrum Pembrochiæ, sepultus apud Westmonasterium, in monumento inter opera Europæ pulcherrimo et elegantissimo, sive capellam spectes sive sepulchrum. Adeo ut magnificentius jam in sepulchri sui monumento habitet mortuus, quam vivus aut Richmondiæ aut in alio quopiam palatio suo habitaverat. Optaverim ut idem ei contigisset in hoc famæ suæ monumento.

THE

BEGINNING OF THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN

OF

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

PREFACE.

THE history of Henry the Eighth was undertaken by desire of Prince Charles, to whom the history of Henry the Seventh was dedicated. The undertaking did not suit very well with Bacon's plans at that time; for it must have been a long business, owing to the quantity of original letters and other documents that had been preserved and must have been consulted, and he was now anxious to make the most of his time in pushing on his philosophical inquiries. He seems to have entered upon it without appetite and proceeded somewhat reluctantly. He had some difficulty also in obtaining free use of the requisite materials. Answering a letter from Tobie Matthew (then with the Prince and Buckingham in Spain) dated 26th of June, 1623, he writes, "Since you say the Prince hath not forgotten his commandment touching my history of Henry the Eighth, I may not forget my duty. But I find Sir Robert Cotton, who poured forth what he had in my former work, somewhat dainty of his materials in this." And in sending the Prince a copy of the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, then newly published (22nd of October, 1623), he says, "For Henry the Eighth, to deal truly with your Highness, I did so despair of my health this summer, as I was glad to choose some such work as I might compass within days: so far was I from entering into any work of length." How far he proceeded in gathering materials, or at what time this opening paragraph was written, we are not informed. But we know from Dr. Rawley that this was all he ever did of it.

It was published by Dr. Rawley in 1629, in a small volume entitled "Certain Miscellany works of the Right Hon. Francis Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban." But I have preferred to take the text from a manuscript copy in the British Museum (additional MSS. 5503, f. 120 b.): which I suspect to be a more original authority.

THE

HISTORY OF THE REIGN

OF

KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

AFTER the decease of that wise and fortunate King, King Henry the Seventh, who died in the height of his prosperity, there followed (as useth to do when the sun setteth so exceeding clear) one of the fairest mornings of a kingdom that hath been known in this land or anywhere else. A young King about eighteen years of age, for stature, strength, making, and beauty, one of the goodliest persons of his time. And although he were given to pleasure, yet he was likewise desirous of glory; so that there was a passage open in his mind by glory for virtue. Neither was he unadorned with learning, though therein he came short of his brother Arthur. He had never any the least pique, difference, or jealousy, with the King his father, which might give any occasion of altering court or counsel upon the change; but all things passed in a still. He was the first heir of the White and of the Red Rose; so that there was no discontented party now left in the kingdom, but all men's hearts turned towards him; and not only their hearts, but their eyes also; for he was the only son of the kingdom. He had no brother; which though it be a comfort[1] for Kings to have, yet it draweth the subjects' eyes a little aside. And yet being a married man in those young years, it promised hope of speedy issue to succeed in the Crown. Neither was there any Queen Mother, who might share any way in the government or clash with the counsellors for authority, while the King intended his

1 comfortable thing. R.

pleasure. No such thing as any great or[1] mighty subject who might eclipse[2] or overshade the imperial power. And for the people and state in general, they were in such lowness of obedience, as subjects were like to yield who had lived almost four and twenty years under so politic a King as his father; being also one who came partly in by the sword, and had so high a courage in all points of regality, and was ever victorious in rebellions and seditions of the people. The Crown extremely rich and full of treasure; and the kingdom like to be so in short time. For there was no war, no dearth, no stop of trade or commerce; it was only the Crown which sucked[3] too hard; but[4] now being full, and upon the head of a young King, it was like to draw the less.[5] Lastly, he was inheritor of his father's reputation, which was great throughout the world. He had strait alliance with the two neighbour states, an ancient enemy in former times, and an ancient friend, Scotland and Burgundy. He had peace and amity with France, under the assurance not only of treaty and league, but of necessity and inability in the French to do him hurt, in respect the French King's designs were wholly bent upon Italy. So that it may be truly said, there had been scarcely seen or known in many ages such a rare concurrence of signs and promises of a happy and flourishing reign to ensue, as were now met in this young King, called after his father's name, Henry the Eighth.

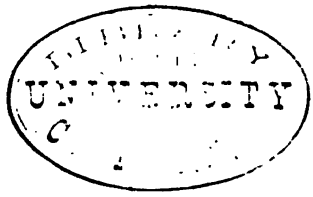
[1] and. R. [2] any way eclipse. R. [3] had sucked. R.
[4] and. R. [5] was like to draw less. R.

THE

BEGINNING

OF THE

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.



PREFACE.

"THE Beginning of the History of Great Britain" was first published in Rawley's Resuscitatio (1657). At what period it was composed we have no certain means of knowing. But there is a letter in the same volume described as a letter "to the King upon sending him a beginning of the history of his Majesty's times;" and we may presume that this was the paper which accompanied it. The letter is not dated. It is placed however in all the collections among those which belong to the early part of James's reign; and from a passage in another letter to the King, also undated but certainly written while Bacon was solicitor-general and apparently about the beginning of 1610, I should conjecture that it was composed a little before that time. His object in the last-mentioned letter was to obtain from the King a promise of the attorney's place, whenever it should be vacant; for "perceiving how at this time preferments of law flew about his ears, to some above him and to some below him[1]," he had begun to think that, unless he had some better assurance of advancement in his present course, it would be better for him to give it over, "and to make proof (he proceeds) to do you some honour by my pen, either *by writing some faithful narrative of your happy though not untraduced times*, or by recompiling your laws, which I perceive your Majesty laboureth with and hath in your head[2], than to spend my wits and time in this laborious place," and so on.

[1] Alluding perhaps to the preferment of "one Bromley, an obscure lawyer," to a Barony of the Exchequer; of Sir Edward Philips to the Mastership of the Rolls, and of Sir Julius Cæsar to the reversion of that office: which was the news of January, 1609-10. See Chamberlain to Carleton; Court and Times of James I., vol. i. p. 103-4.

[2] Alluding perhaps to the King's Speech in the Banqueting Hall, 21 March, 1609-10. State Paper Office, vol. liii. (domestic) no. 31. See also Winwood's Memorials, iii. p. 136

The letter which accompanied the history runs thus:

"Hearing that your Majesty is at leisure to peruse story[1], a desire took me to make an experiment what I could do in your Majesty's times; which being but a leaf or two, I pray your pardon if I send it for your recreation; considering that love must creep where it cannot go. But to this I add these petitions. First, that if your Majesty do dislike anything, you would conceive I can amend it upon your least beck. Next, that if I have not spoken of your Majesty encomiastically, your Majesty would be pleased only to ascribe it to the law of an history, which doth not clutter together praises upon the first mention of a name, but rather disperseth and weaveth them through the whole narrative. And as for the proper place of commemoration, which is in the period of life, I pray God I may never live to write it. Thirdly, that the reason why I presumed to think of the oblation was because, whatsoever my disability be, yet I shall have that advantage which almost no writer of history hath had, in that I shall write of times not only since I could remember, but since I could observe. And lastly, that it is only for your Majesty's reading."

I am the more inclined to assign the composition of this little historical piece to the latter end of 1609 or the beginning of 1610, because I find no allusion to it either before or after as one of Bacon's projected works. And I suppose that he abandoned the design altogether, either because the King did not encourage him to proceed, or because, after the Earl of Salisbury's death which happened early in 1612, he had no prospect of leisure; being fully engaged in the business of the day, and all the time he had to spare being devoted to his philosophy.

Mr. Craik (*Bacon and his writings;* vol. i. p. 213.) says it was probably written in 1624. But if so Dr. Rawley would surely have mentioned it in his list of the works written by Bacon during the last five years of his life.

As an account of the temper of men's minds at James's entrance, it is complete; and in my judgment one of the best things in its kind that Bacon ever wrote.

[1] Alluding probably to Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, which the King was reading and criticising in the MS. about the beginning of 1610, and of which he sent a considerable portion to the French historian De Thou towards the close of that year. Compare Bacon's letter to Sir R. Cotton, 7 April, 1610, with Chamberlain's to Carleton, 29 Jan. 1610-11.

THE

BEGINNING

OF THE

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

By the decease of Elizabeth, Queen of England, the issues of King Henry the Eighth failed; being spent in one generation and three successions. For that King, though he were one of the goodliest persons of his time, yet he left only by his six wives three children; who reigning successively and dying childless, made place to the line of Margaret, his eldest sister, married to James the Fourth King of Scotland. There succeeded therefore to the kingdom of England James the Sixth, then King of Scotland, descended of the same Margaret both by father and mother; so that by a rare event in the pedigrees of Kings, it seemed as if the Divine Providence, to extinguish and take away all note of a stranger, had doubled upon his person, within the circle of one age, the royal blood of England by both parents. This succession drew towards it the eyes of all men; being one of the most memorable accidents that had happened a long time in the Christian world. For the kingdom of France having been reunited in the age before in all the provinces thereof formerly dismembered; and the kingdom of Spain being of more fresh memory united and made entire by the annexing of Portugal in the person of Philip the Second; there remained but this third and last union, for the counterpoising of the power of these three great monarchies, and the disposing of the affairs of Europe thereby to a more assured and universal peace and concord. And this event did hold men's observations

and discourses the more, because the Island of Great Britain, divided from the rest of the world, was never before united in itself under one King; notwithstanding the people be of one language, and not separate by mountains or great waters; and notwithstanding also that the uniting of them has been in former times industriously attempted both by war and treaty. Therefore it seemed a manifest work of Providence and case of reservation for these times; insomuch as the vulgar conceived that there was now an end given and a consummation to superstitious prophecies (the belief of fools, but the talk sometimes of wise men), and to an ancient tacit expectation which had by tradition been infused and inveterated into men's minds. But as the best divinations and predictions are the politic and probable foresight and conjectures of wise men, so in this matter the providence of King Henry the Seventh was in all men's mouths, who, being one of the deepest and most prudent princes of the world, upon the deliberation concerning the marriage of his eldest daughter into Scotland, had by some speech uttered by him showed himself sensible and almost prescient of this event.

Neither did there want a concurrence of divers rare external circumstances (besides the virtues and condition of the person) which gave great reputation to this succession. A king, in the strength of his years, supported with great alliances abroad, established with royal issue at home, at peace with all the world, practised in the regiment of such a kingdom as mought rather enable a king by variety of accidents than corrupt him with affluence or vain glory; and one that besides his universal capacity and judgment, was notably exercised and practised in matters of religion and the church; which in these times by the confused use of both swords are become so intermixed with considerations of estate, as most of the counsels of sovereign princes or republics depend upon them. But nothing did more fill foreign nations with admiration and expectation of his succession, than the wonderful and (by them) unexpected consent of all estates and subjects of England for the receiving of the King without the least scruple, pause, or question. For it had been generally dispersed by the fugitives beyond the seas (who partly to apply themselves to the ambition of foreigners, and partly to give estimation and value to their own employments, used to represent the state of England in a false light), that after Queen Elizabeth's decease there must follow in England

nothing but confusions, interreigns, and perturbations of estate; likely far to exceed the ancient calamities of the civil wars between the houses of Lancaster and York, by how much more the dissensions were like to be more mortal and bloody when foreign competition should be added to domestical, and divisions for religion to matter of title to the crown. And in special, Parsons the Jesuit, under a disguised name, had not long before published an express treatise, wherein whether his malice made him believe his own fancies, or whether he thought it the fittest way to move sedition, like evil spirits which seem to foretel the tempest they mean to move, he laboured to display and give colour to all the vain pretences and dreams of succession which he could imagine; and thereby had possessed many abroad, that knew not the affairs here, with those his vanities. Neither wanted there here within this realm divers persons both wise and well affected, who though they doubted not of the undoubted right, yet setting before themselves the waves of peoples' hearts (guided no less by sudden temporary winds than by the natural course and motion of the waters), were not without fear what mought be the event. For Queen Elizabeth, being a Prince of extreme caution, and yet one that loved admiration above safety, and knowing the declaration of a successor mought in point of safety be disputable, but in point of admiration and respect assuredly to her disadvantage, had from the beginning set it down for a maxim of estate to impose a silence touching succession. Neither was it only reserved as a secret of estate, but restrained by severe laws, that no man should presume to give opinion or maintain argument touching the same; so though the evidence of right drew all the subjects of the land to think one thing, yet the fear of danger of law made no man privy to other's thought. And therefore it rejoiced all men to see so fair a morning of a kingdom, and to be thoroughly secured of former apprehensions; as a man that awaketh out of a fearful dream. But so it was, that not only the consent but the applause and joy was infinite and not be expressed throughout the realm of England upon this succession; whereof the consent (no doubt) may be truly ascribed to the clearness of the right; but the general joy, alacrity, and gratulation were the effects of differing causes. For Queen Elizabeth, though she had the use of many both virtues and

demonstrations that mought draw and knit unto her the heart of her people, yet nevertheless carrying a hand restrained in gift and strained in points of prerogative, could not answer the votes either of servants or subjects to a full contentment; especially in her latter days, when the continuance of her reign (which extended to five and forty years) mought discover in people their natural desire and inclination towards change; so that a new court and a new reign were not to many unwelcome. Many were glad, and especially those of settled estate and fortunes, that the fears and incertainties were overblown and that the dye was cast: others that had made their way with the King or offered their service in the time of the former Queen, thought now the time was come for which they had prepared: and generally all such as had any dependance upon the late Earl of Essex (who had mingled the secrecy of his own ends with the popular pretence of advancing the King's title) made account their cause was amended. Again such as mought misdoubt they had given the King any occasion of distaste, did continue[1] by their forwardness and confidence to shew it was but their fastness to the former government, and that those affections ended with the time. The Papists nourished their hopes by collating the case of the Papists in England and under Queen Elizabeth and the case of the Papists in Scotland under the King; interpreting that the condition of them in Scotland was the less grievous, and divining of the King's government here accordingly; besides the comfort they ministered themselves from the memory of the Queen his mother. The ministers, and those which stood for the Presbytery, thought their cause had more sympathy with the discipline of Scotland than the hierarchy of England, and so took themselves to be a degree nearer their desires. Thus had every condition of persons some contemplation of benefit which they promised themselves; overreaching perhaps, according to the nature of hope, but yet not without some probable ground of conjecture. At which time also there came forth in print the King's book, entitled *Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον*, containing matter of instruction to the Prince his son touching the office of a king; which book falling into every man's hand filled the whole realm as with a

[1] So in the original. Bacon probably wrote "contend."

good perfume or incense before the King's coming in. For being excellently written, and having nothing of affectation, it did not only satisfy better than particular reports touching the King's disposition; but far exceeded any formal or curious edict or declaration which could have been devised of that nature, wherewith Princes at the beginning of their reigns do use to grace themselves, or at least express themselves gracious, in the eyes of their people. And this was, for the general, the state and constitution of men's minds upon this change. The actions themselves passed in this manner, etc.

[The rest is wanting.]

IN

FELICEM MEMORIAM

ELIZABETHÆ.

PREFACE.

THE earliest notice of the following piece which I have met with is in a letter from Mr. John Chamberlain to Mr. Dudley Carleton, dated December 16, 1608. "I come even now," he says, "from reading a short discourse of Queen Elizabeth's life, written in Latin by Sir Francis Bacon. If you have not seen nor heard of it, it is worth your enquiry; and yet methinks he doth *languescere* towards the end, and falls from his first pitch: neither dare I warrant that his Latin will abide test or touch."[1]

About the same time, or not long after, Bacon himself sent a copy of it to Sir George Carew, then ambassador in France, with a letter which, though undated, enables us to fix the composition of it with tolerable certainty in the summer of 1608. "This last summer vacation (he says), by occasion of a factious book that endeavoured to verify *Misera Fœmina* (the addition of the Pope's Bull) upon Queen Elizabeth, I did write a few lines in her memorial; which I thought you would be well pleased to read, both for the argument and because you were wont to bear affection to my pen. *Verum ut aliud ex alio*, if it came handsomely to pass, I would be glad the President De Thou (who hath written a history, as you know, of that fame and diligence) saw it; chiefly because I know not whether it may not serve him for some use in his story; wherein I would be glad he did right to the truth and to the memory of that Lady, as I perceive by that he hath already written he is well inclined to do."

In answering a letter from Tobie Matthew dated February 10 [1608-9], Bacon sent him also a copy of this tract; with the following remarks. "I send you also a memorial of Queen

[1] Court and Times of James I., i. 83.

Elizabeth, to requite your eulogy of the late Duke of Florence's felicity. Of this when you were here I shewed you some model; at what time methought you were more willing to hear Julius Cæsar[1] than Queen Elizabeth commended. But this which I send is more full, and hath more of the narrative: and further hath one part that I think will not be disagreeable either to you or to that place; being the true tract of her proceedings towards the Catholics, which are infinitely mistaken. And though I do not imagine they will pass allowance there, yet they will gain upon excuse." Tobie Matthew, who had joined the Catholic Church not long before, could not quite allow this part himself, and appears to have taken exceptions to it in his reply. Upon which Bacon writes again, apparently in the summer of 1609, "For that of Queen Elizabeth, your judgment of the temper and truth of that part which concerns some of her foreign proceedings, concurs fully with the judgment of others to whom I have communicated part of it; and as things go, I suppose they are likely to be more and more justified and allowed. And whereas you say, for some other part, that it moves and opens a fair occasion and broad way into some field of contradiction, on the other side it is written to me from the lieger at Paris [Sir G. Carew] and some others also, that it carries a manifest impression of truth with it, and that it even convinces as it grows. These are their very words; which I write not for mine own glory, but to show what variety of opinion rises from the dispositions of several readers. And I must confess my desire to be, that my writings should not court the present time or some few places, in such sort as might make them either less general to persons or less permanent in future ages." Upon this Matthew seems to have written a rejoinder on the 4th of August, to which Bacon merely replies, "As for the memorial of the late deceased Queen, I will not question whether you be to pass for a disinteressed man or no; I freely confess myself am not, and so I leave it."

"This work," says Dr. Rawley writing in 1657, "his Lordship so much affected that he had ordained by his last will and testament to have had it published many years since; but that

[1] Alluding possibly to the *Imago Civilis Julii Cæsaris*; the piece which stands next but one in this volume, and of which we know nothing but that Dr. Rawley found it among Bacon's papers, and printed it along with the *Opuscula Philosophica* in 1658.

singular person entrusted therewith soon after deceased, and therefore it must expect a time to come forth amongst his Lordship's other Latin works:"[1] — alluding to the volume of *Opuscula philosophica* which was published in the next year, and in which it first appeared.

The will of which Dr. Rawley speaks, and of which Tenison has given an extract in the *Baconiana*, was probably a draft only, not a copy; for in Bacon's last will there is no mention of this piece. And as in that draft it is distinguished from his other papers by the expression of a particular wish that it should be published, it is not improbable that he had proceeded to take special measures to secure that object, by putting it into the hands of that "singular person" to whom Dr. Rawley alludes. This would account for the omission of the clause relating to it in his last will of all, and also for the separation of the manuscript from his other papers, and afterwards (upon the death of the person entrusted with it) for its being locked up or mislaid. Considering moreover that it related to state affairs with which Bacon's official position had made him acquainted, he may have thought that it ought not to be published without the sanction of a Privy Councillor,—for we know that he had this scruple with regard to the publication of his own letters[2]; — and among all the Privy Councillors then living the man whom he would most naturally select for such a trust was his old and much revered friend Bishop Andrews, who survived him only by a few months. This is only a guess; but if true, it explains why Bacon did not propose to include this piece among his *Opera Moralia et Civilia* (though that indeed might be sufficiently accounted for by the probability that it would have caused the volume to be prohibited in Italy), and how the publication of it came to be so long delayed.

But however this may be, the fact with which we are principally concerned is the value which Bacon himself set upon it: and of this the draft of the will affords conclusive evidence. The work is important, because it relates to a series of proceedings which Bacon had watched almost from the beginning with anxious interest and from a position very favourable for ob-

[1] Epistle to the Reade. The Resuscitatio.

[2] "Also whereas I have made up two register-books, the one of my orations or speeches, the other of my epistles or letters, whereof there may be use, and yet because they touch upon business of state they are not fit to be put into the hands but of some counsellor, I do devise and bequeathe them," &c. — *Last Will.*

servation; and because it was written at a time when he could have had no other motive in writing it than a wish to bear witness to what he believed to be the truth. For though I do not myself believe that which has been commonly asserted, upon the evidence, I think, chiefly of strangers or slanderers,— that the depreciation of Elizabeth was popular at court,— there was certainly nothing to be gained by flattering her. And if Bacon was not a disinterested witness, as he confesses he was not, it was only because the impression which her character and conduct had made upon him was so favourable that he had grown partial; and this very partiality must be accepted as a historical fact,— not the least significant among the many testimonies which history bears in her favour.

It cannot have been for its literary merit that Bacon especially valued this writing; for the style is more than usually hasty and careless, and there is some truth in Mr. Chamberlain's criticism that it falls off a little towards the end; a defect which a very little trouble would have removed.

The passage in which he alludes to the death of Anne Boleyn is interesting; and the more so because his argument did not oblige him to make any allusion to it, and he appears to me to have gone purposely out of his way to bring it in. Had his argument required him to show that the felicity of Elizabeth began with her parents, the case would have been desperate. Her mother having been put to death by her father upon a charge of incest and adultery, there must have been either the most awful guilt in one of them or the most awful calamity to both. And therefore when I find Bacon, in an argument designed to prove the constant felicity of Elizabeth's fortune, deliberately and unnecessarily introducing such a topic,— I say unnecessarily, because it is brought in only with reference to the question as to the "dignity of her birth," that is whether she was really a king's daughter, — I conclude that he was only making an occasion to place on record Anne's last message (which he afterwards inserted in his collection of Apophthegms) and his own opinion of her innocence.

What weight is due to that opinion, one cannot well say without knowing how much he knew of the circumstances. There was naturally a strong inclination on the part of the Protestants in Elizabeth's time to believe Anne Boleyn innocent. This inclination would naturally be exasperated into

passion by the slanders and invectives of the Catholics. In the evidence produced at the trial there was no accessible record, and the position of Elizabeth herself between her father's memory and her mother's forbade the question to be openly or freely discussed. It is probable therefore that his impression was formed upon rumours and charitable surmises of no very authentic or trustworthy character; and that of the nature of the direct evidence he did not know more than we do now. Not so however with regard to the weight of the verdict. Of the value to be attached to the judgment of the Peers in a trial for treason and to an attainder by Parliament, Bacon must have been a much better judge than any one can be now, standing as he did so much nearer the time, and so well versed as he was in the details of similar proceedings half a century later. We cannot suppose him to have been ignorant of the composition of the tribunal which found Anne Boleyn guilty, and yet it is clear that he did not on that account find it impossible to believe her innocent. Most true it is no doubt, as Mr. Froude has well pointed out, that the assumption of Anne Boleyn's innocence involves an assumption that not Henry only, but also Peers and Parliament, were deeply guilty. But it is a grave fact that Bacon, writing within little more than seventy years of the time, and being himself a middle aged man with much experience of courts and Parliaments, did not regard it as an assumption which must be dismissed as incredible.

In so far as the balance of probabilities depends upon our estimate of Henry's personal character, his judgment is of less importance. Of that (although he may no doubt in his boyhood have heard something from his father, who had had opportunities of personal observation) he probably took his impression from the popular historians, who had little to guide them beyond the naked outline of Henry's public proceedings, and were not in a position to see below the surface. When the particular difficulties with which he had to deal were forgotten and the rapid succession of violent changes had altered the relative position of all parties and the complexion of all interests, the chronicle of his reign exhibited a series of violent proceedings,—leagues of amity and marriage alliances with neighbour kings followed by quarrels and wars, divorces of wives followed suddenly by fresh marriages, great ministers suddenly disgraced and executed, penalties of heresy enforced now against

Catholics now against Protestants,— of which the popular interpretation was simple and obvious. To a superficial observer they could but appear as the actions of a man violent in love and anger, and imperious in will; and such no doubt was the general impression of Henry's character in the beginning of the seventeenth century. *Odious* to his contemporaries he certainly was not; nor was his memory odious in the eyes of the two next generations: our modern notion of him being, I think, of much later date, when his actions were seen refracted through an atmosphere of opinion entirely changed. But though of the Protestant historians who wrote before the Commonwealth those who censure his actions most freely speak with affection as well as respect of the man, I suppose none of them would have disputed Bacon's assertion that he was a man by nature extremely prone both to love and jealousy, and that his attachment to Jane Seymour preceded his anger against Anne Boleyn. Taking the simple sequence of events, this is the natural explanation of them. It is quite possible however that it is not the true one. In these times, when the proceedings of the government are called in question, the first thing is to ask for the "papers" relating to them: till these are produced it is felt that the case cannot be judged. Now the papers relating to the transactions of Henry the Eighth were not produced till long after the popular judgment had been formed; the most important part of them only within the last few years; and it seems that they suggest a new reading of his character in many points; showing among other things that the imputation of a "natura ad *amores* propensissima" must be given up. This is not the place for a discussion of the question, but it is proper that Bacon's opinion, which would otherwise be of great value in such a matter, should be taken with this caution. There can be no doubt that Mr. Froude's plea for a reconsideration of the judgment is reasonable, and that he has asked some questions which it is at least very difficult to answer.

For the text of this piece I have used two authorities, each of which may be considered as original and independent. One is Dr. Rawley's edition, printed along with the *Opuscula Philosophica* in 1658, with the title *Opus illustre in felicem memoriam Elizabethæ, Angliæ Reginæ, auctore nobilissimo heroe Francisco Bacono, Barone de Verulamio, Vicecomite Sancti Albani: mul-*

tis retro annis prælo designatum, sed non antehac in lucem editum; the other is a manuscript copy in the British Museum (Harl. 6797. fo. 79.), written in the hand of one of Bacon's own people, though it bears no traces of revision by Bacon himself. It cannot, I think, have been the same which Rawley used; and as he gives no particulars about the one which he did use, we are left to decide for ourselves which is the best, from internal evidence.[1] My own impression is that Rawley's manuscript must have been the less perfect, and that some of the differences which appear in his printed copy are corrections or conjectural emendations of his own. Where the two copies differ therefore and the true reading seems doubtful, I have generally preferred that of the manuscript; but in all cases, whichever I have received into the text, I have given the other in the notes; and therefore every reader can choose for himself.

As the principal pieces which belong to this division of Bacon's works are English, the Latin pieces being few and comparatively short and not connected with one another, I have thought it better to print the translation of each immediately after the original, instead of collecting them into a body at the end; and as this is the first for the translation of which I am myself solely responsible, I shall add here a few words to explain the principle upon which I have attempted to do them.

My object in all my attempts at translation being, not to help a Latin reader to construe the original, but to put English readers in possession of the sense of it, my plan has been first to take as clear an impression as I could of the meaning and effect of the Latin, and then to reproduce that meaning in the best and clearest and most readable English that I could command: not tying myself to the particular form which the Latin sentence assumes, even where it could be preserved without awkwardness or obscurity,—nor even preferring it,—but always adopting that form in which I could best express the thing; keeping myself as faithful as possible to the effect of the original,—not the literal and logical meaning only, but the effect upon the imagination and the feelings,—and leaving

[1] The following sentence contains all that he says about it. "His monumentum illud Regium, cui titulus *In felicem memoriam Elizabetha Angliæ Reginæ*, inter opera civilia primum adjunxi, ante annos complures ab ipso honoratissimo auctore (si Deus annuisset) typis designatum: Cæterum quamvis obdormisse diu non tamen penitus expirasse jam compertum est."

myself as free as possible with regard to the mode of bringing it out. How far I have succeeded it is for others to say; but my endeavour has been to produce a translation from the perusal of which the reader shall rise with the same feelings with which he would have risen from the perusal of the original had the language of it been familiar to him.

I am of course aware that there are not only many people who would prefer for their own purposes a different kind of translation, but also some real objections to this kind which upon the whole nevertheless I prefer myself. Whether I have judged rightly, is a question which can only be determined by the effect upon readers generally. If my translations give a livelier and juster impression of the original, it will be found that most people like them better.

IN

FELICEM MEMORIAM ELIZABETHÆ

ANGLIÆ REGINÆ.[1]

ELIZABETHA et natura et fortuna mirabilis inter fœminas, memorabilis inter principes fuit. Neque hæc res indicium monachi alicujus, aut hujusmodi censoris umbratilis desiderat. Nam isti homines, stylo acres, judicio impares, et partis suæ memores, rerum minus fideles testes sunt. Ad principes viros pertinet hæc cognitio, atque ad eos qui imperiorum gubernacula tractarunt, et rerum civilium ardua et arcana norunt. Rarum in omni memoria est[2] muliebre imperium; rarior in eo felicitas; rarissima cum felicitate diuturnitas. Illa vero quadragesimum quartum regni sui annum complevit; neque tamen felicitati suæ superstes fuit. De hac felicitate pauca dicere institui; neque in laudes excurrere. Nam laudem[3] homines tribuunt, felicitatem Deus.

Primum in parte felicitatis pono, quod ad imperatorium fastigium a privata fortuna evecta est.[4] Siquidem hoc in moribus et opinionibus hominum penitus insedit, ut quæ præter spem et expectationem eveniunt majori felicitati deputentur; sed non hoc est quod volo. Illud intueor; principes qui in domo regnatrice et ad spem successionis non dubiam nutriti sunt, ab educationis indulgentia et licentia depravatos, plerumque et minus capaces et minus moderatos evadere. Itaque optimos et excellentissimos reges reperias, quos utraque fortuna erudiit. Talis apud nos fuit Henricus septimus, et apud Gallos

[1] Harl. MSS. 6797. fo. 79.
[2] *est memoria.* R.
[3] *laudem enim.* R.
[4] *sit.* R.

Ludovicus duodecimus, qui recenti memoria et eodem fere tempore non tantum a privata, sed etiam ab adversa et exercita fortuna, regnum accepere; atque ille prudentia, hic justitia floruere. Similis fuit et hujusce principis ratio; cujus initia et spes variavit fortuna, ut in principatu ad extremum erga illam constans et æquabilis esset. Nam Elizabetha natalibus suis successioni destinata, dein[1] exhæredata, tum posthabita fuit. Eadem regno fratris fortuna magis propitia et serena, regno sororis magis turbida et ancipiti usa est. Neque tamen ex vinculis subito in regnum assumpta est, ut ab infortunio exacerbata intumesceret; sed libertati restituta, et expectatione aucta, tum demum regnum sine tumultu aut competitore placide et felicissime obtinuit. Atque hæc ideo adducimus, ut appareat Divinam Providentiam, optimam principem meditatam, per istiusmodi disciplinæ gradus eam præparasse et extulisse. Neque sane natalium dignitati calamitas matris obesse debet; cum præsertim satis constet Henricum octavum prius amori novo quam iræ adversus Annam indulsisse; ejusque regis natura et ad amores et ad suspiciones propensissima, et in iisdem usque ad sanguinem præceps, posteritatis notam non effugiat. Adde, quod criminatione, vel personæ ipsius ad quem referebatur nomine, minus probabili et tenuissimis conjecturis innixa, circumventa erat; quod et fama etiam tum occulto ut solet murmure excepit, et Anna ipsa celso animo et memorabili voce sub tempus mortis suæ detestata[2] est. Nacta enim nuntium ut existimabat et fidum et benevolum, eadem hora qua ad mortem se parabat hujusmodi mandata ad regem perferenda dedit: Regem in ipsa novis honoribus cumulanda institutum suum optime servare et perpetuo tueri; cum illam primum, generosa stirpe ortam sed nobilitatis titulis non insignitam, dignitate marchionissæ ornasset, deinde in reginam et consortem suam[3] accepisset; et postremo, quia non restabat terreni honoris gradus altior, innocentem ad coronam martyrii evehere voluisset. Atqui nuntius ille ad regem alio amore flagrantem hoc perferre non ausus est; sed fama veritatis vindex ad posteros pertulit.

Atque non exigua[4] pars felicitatis Elizabethæ, etiam mensura ac veluti curriculum ipsum regni[5] sui nobis visum est: non tantum quia diuturnum, sed quia spatium illud ætatis suæ

[1] *deinde.* R. [2] *protestata.* R. [3] *in regni et thori consortium.* R.
[4] *non exigua sane.* R. [5] *regiminis.* R.

occupavit, quod rerum moderamini et habenis regni flectendis et moliendis aptissimum esset. Annos enim viginti quinque (qua ætate curatura finitur) nata cum regnare inciperet, ad septuagesimum ætatis annum imperium produxit. Itaque nec pupillæ detrimenta et aliena arbitria, nec rursus exactæ et ægræ senectutis incommoda experta est. Senectus autem, etiam privatis, miseriarum satis; sed regibus, præter communia ætatis mala, adhuc status sui declinationes et inglorios exitus afferre solet. Nemo enim fere in regno ad multam et invalidam senectutem pertingit, quin aliquam imperii et existimationis diminutionem[1] patiatur. Cujus rei exemplum maxime eminet in Philippo secundo rege Hispaniarum, principe potentissimo et imperandi peritissimo; qui extremis suis temporibus et fessa ætate hoc quod diximus penitus sensit, ideoque prudentissimo consilio se rerum conditioni submisit; territoriis in Galli's acquisitis se ipse mulctavit, pacem ibidem firmavit, alibi tentavit, ut res compositas atque integra omnia posteris relinqueret. Contra, Elizabethæ fortuna tam constans et valida fuit, ut nec ulla rerum declinatio vergentem certe, sed tamen adhuc vigentem. ætatem sequeretur: atque insuper, in signum felicitatis suæ certissimum, non prius diem obiret[2] quam de defectione in Hibernia prospero prælii eventu decretum esset; ne gloria ejus aliqua ex parte deformata et imperfecta videretur.

Etiam[3] illud cogitandum censeo, in quali populo imperium tenuerit. Si enim in Palmyrenis, aut Asia imbelli et molli, regnum sortita esset, minus mirandum fuisset; cum effœminato populo fœmina princeps competeret: verum in Anglia, natione ferocissima et bellicosissima, omnia ex nutu fœminæ moveri et cohiberi potuisse, summam merito admirationem habet.

Neque hæc inclinatio populi sui, belli cupida et pacem ægre tolerans, obfuit, quo minus perpetuis suis temporibus pacem coleret et teneret. Atque hanc ejus voluntatem cum successu conjunctam inter maximas ejus laudes pono. Hoc enim ætati suæ felix, hoc sexui decorum, hoc conscientiæ salutare fuit. Tentata paulisper, circa decimum regni sui annum, in partibus borealibus rerum commotio, sed statim sopita et extincta est. Reliqui anni interna pace, eaque secura atque alta, floruere.

Pacem autem florentissimam judico duabus de causis, quæ ad meritum pacis nihil faciunt, ad gloriam maxime: una, quod

[1] *detrimentum.* MS. [2] *obierit.* R. [3] *Et etiam.* R.

vicinorum calamitatibus, veluti flammis lucentibus, magis fiebat conspicua et illustrata; altera, quod commodis pacis armorum honor non defuit; cum celebritatem nominis Anglici in armis et re militari per multa decora non solum retineret, sed etiam augeret. Nam et auxilia in Belgium, Galliam, et Scotiam præbita[1], et navales expeditiones susceptæ in Indias, atque ex illis nonnullæ per universi globi terrarum ambitum factæ, et classes in Lusitaniam et ad oras Hispaniæ infestandas missæ[2], et rebelles in Hibernia sæpius concisi et domiti, nihil aut de virtute bellica gentis nostræ remitti, aut de ejusdem fama et honore deperire, sinebant.

Aderat etiam gloriæ meritum, quod et regibus vicinis tempestivis ab ipsa[3] auxiliis regnum conservatum est[4]; et populis supplicibus (pessimo principum consilio) ministrorum suorum crudelitati et plebis furori et omni lanienæ et vastitati relictis et fere devotis, levamentum malorum datum est; per quod res eorum adhuc stetere.

Nec minus consiliis quam auxiliis benefica et salutaris hæc[5] princeps fuit: ut quæ regem Hispaniarum toties de lenienda in subditos suos in Belgio ira, et illis suo imperio sub tolerabili aliqua conditione restituendis, interpellavit: et reges Galliæ perpetuis et repetitis monitis de edictis suis pacem spondentibus observandis maxima fide solicitavit. Neque[6] negaverim consilio ejus successum defuisse. Neque enim prius illud sivit fatum Europæ commune; ne forte ambitio Hispaniæ, veluti carceribus liberata, in majus[7] regnorum et rerumpublicarum orbis Christiani detrimentum (ut tunc res erant) se effunderet. Hoc etiam posterius non sivit sanguis tot innocentium cum uxoribus et liberis ad focos et cubilia sua per infimam plebis fæcem, ut belluas quasdam publica auctoritate et animatas et armatas et missas, effusus; qui ut regnum tam nefario scelere obligatum mutuis cædibus et contrucidationibus expiaretur, in ultionem poscebat. Illa tamen utcunque officium fœderatæ et prudentis et benevolæ præstitit.

Alia etiam subest causa, cur pacem ab Elizabetha cultam et conservatam admiremur: ea nimirum, quod non a temporum inclinatione sed ab ejus prudentia et rebus bene ordinatis pax ista profecta est.[8] Nam cum et interna factione ob causam

[1] *missa.* R.
[2] *submissæ.* R.
[3] *ab ipsa* om. MS.
[4] *sit.* R.
[5] *hæc* om. R.
[6] *Non.* R.
[7] *majus* om. R.
[8] *sit.* R.

religionis laboraret, et hujus regni robur et præsidium universæ Europæ instar propugnaculi esset adversus regis Hispaniæ illis temporibus formidabilem et exundantem ambitionem et potentiam, belli materia non defuit, verum ipsa et copiis et consiliis superfuit. Id[1] eventus docuit maxime memorabilis inter res gestas nostri seculi universas, si felicitatem spectes. Nam cum classis Hispana[2], tanto rerum tumore et totius Europæ terrore et expectatione, et tanta victoriæ fiducia, freta nostra secaret[3], nec naviculam aliquam in mari excepit[4], nec villulam aliquam incendio vastavit, nec littus omnino attigit: sed prælio fusa, misera fuga et crebris naufragiis dissipata est; atque pax Anglico solo et finibus immota et inconcussa mansit.

Nec minus felix in conjuratorum insidiis devitandis quam in copiis hostilibus devincendis et propulsandis fuit. Non paucæ enim contra vitam ejus conspirationes factæ, felicissime et patefactæ et disturbatæ sunt. Neque ex eo vita ejus magis trepida aut anxia; non stipatorum numerus auctus, non tempus intra palatium actum, et rarus in publicum processus; sed secura et fidens, et potius liberationis a periculo quam periculi ipsius memor, nihil de consuetudine sua pristina vivendi mutavit.

Etiam illud notatu dignum videtur, qualia tempora fuerint in quibus floruit. Sunt enim quædam secula tam barbara et rerum nescia, ut homines, tanquam animalium greges, imperio coërcere nil magnum fuerit. Hæc autem princeps in tempora eruditissima et excultissima incidit; in quibus eminere et excellere, non absque maximis ingenii dotibus et singulari virtutis temperamento datur.[5]

Etiam imperia fœminarum nuptiis fere obscurantur, laudesque et acta in maritos transeunt: illis autem quæ innuptæ degunt, propria et integra gloria manet. In illam vero hoc magis cadit, quod nullis imperii adminiculis, nisi quæ ipsa sibi comparaverat, fulciebatur. Non frater uterinus aderat, non patruus, non alius quispiam e[6] familia et stirpe regia, qui particeps ei[7] curarum et dominationis subsidium esset. Sed et eos quos ipsa ad honores evexerat ita et cohibuit et commiscuit, ut singulis maximam[8] complacendi solicitudinem injiceret, atque ipsa semper sui juris esset.

[1] *Istud.* R.
[2] *Hispanica.* R.
[3] *sulcaret.* R.
[4] *accepit.* R.
[5] *dabatur.* R.
[6] *e* om. R.
[7] *ei* om. MS.
[8] *maximè.* MS.

Orba sane fuit, nec stirpem ex se reliquit; quod etiam felicissimis contigit, Alexandro Magno, Julio Cæsari, Trajano, aliis; et semper varie jactatum, et in contrarias partes trahi et disputari solet; cum alii hoc in diminutionem felicitatis accipiant, ne forte homines supra mortalem conditionem bearentur, si et in individuo et in speciei propagatione felices essent; alii autem in cumulum felicitatis rem vertant, quod ea demum felicitas completa videatur, in quam fortunæ nil amplius liceat; quod, si posteri sint, fieri non potest.

Aderant ei et externa; statura procera, corpus decoræ compagis [1], summa dignitas oris cum suavitate, valetudo maxime prospera. Superest et illud, quod ad extremum valens et vigens, nec fortunæ commutationes nec senectutis mala experta, eam quam tantopere sibi votis precari solebat Augustus Cæsar *euthanasian* facili et leni obitu sortita sit: quod etiam de Antonino Pio imperatore optimo celebratur, cujus mors somni alicujus suavis et placidi imaginem habebat. Similiter et in Elizabethæ morbo nil miserabile [2], nil omninosum, nil ab humana natura alienum erat. Non desiderio vitæ, non morbi impatientia, non doloris cruciatibus torquebatur: nullum aderat symptoma dirum aut fœdum; sed omnia ejus generis erant, ut naturæ fragilitatem potius quam corruptionem aut dedecus ostenderent. Paucos enim ante obitum dies, ex corporis nimia siccitate, et curis quæ regni culmen sequuntur attenuati, nec unquam mero aut uberiore diæta irrigati [3], nervorum rigore perculsa, vocem tamen (quod fieri non solet in ejusmodi morbo) et mentem et motum, licet tardiorem et hebetiorem, retinuit. Atque is personæ suæ [4] status paucis diebus tantum duravit; ut non tanquam actus vitæ novissimus, sed tamquam primus gradus ad mortem fuerit. Nam imminutis facultatibus in vita diu manere miserum [5]; sed a sensu paulatim sopito ad mortem properare, placida et clemens vitæ clausula est.

Addo et illud in felicitatis ejus cumulum insignem: quod non tantum nomine proprio, sed et ministrorum [6] virtute, felicissima fuit. Tales enim viros nacta est, quales fortasse hæc insula antehac [7] non peperit. Deus autem, regibus favens, etiam spiritus ministrorum excitat et ornat.

[1] *corporis decora compages.* R.
[2] *atrox.* R.
[3] *attenuata . . . irrigata.* R. which perhaps is the true reading.
[4] *ejus.* R.
[5] *miserum habetur.* R.
[6] *ministrorum status.* R.
[7] *ante eum diem.* R.

Restant felicitates posthumæ duæ, iis quæ vivam comitabantur fere celsiores et augustiores; una successoris, altera memoriæ. Nam successorem sortita est eum, qui licet et mascula virtute et prole et nova imperii accessione fastigium ejus excedat et obumbret, tamen et nomini et honoribus ejus faveat, et actis ejus quandam perpetuitatem donet: cum nec ex personarum delectu nec ex institutorum ordine quicquam magnopere mutaverit: adeo ut raro filius parenti tanto silentio atque tam exigua mutatione et perturbatione successerit. Memoria autem ejus ita et in ore hominum et in animis viget, ut, per mortem extincta invidia atque accensa[1] fama, felicitas memoriæ cum felicitate vitæ quodammodo certet. Nam si qua ex studio partium et dissensione religionis vagatur fama factiosa (quæ tamen ipsa jam timida videtur, et consensu victa), ea et sincera non est, et perennis esse non potest. Atque ob eam causam præcipue hæc[2] de felicitate ejus et divini favoris notis collegi; ut malevolus aliquis tantis Dei benedictionibus suas maledictiones inserere vereatur.

Si quis autem ad hæc, ut ille ad Cæsarem, "Quæ miremur habemus: sed et quæ[3] laudemus expectamus;" sane existimo veram admirationem quendam laudis excessum esse. Neque ea quam descripsimus felicitas ulli evenire potest, nisi qui et a divina charitate[4] eximie sustineatur atque foveatur, ac etiam moribus et virtute hanc fortunam sibi aliqua ex parte finxerit. Sed tamen visum est pauca admodum quæ ad mores pertinent subjungere,[5] in iis solummodo quæ iniquorum sermonibus maxime aditum et fomitem præbere videntur.

Fuit Elizabetha in religione pia et moderata, et constans ac novitatis inimica. Atque pietatis indicia, licet in factis et rebus quas gessit maxime elucescant, tamen et in vitæ ratione et consuetudine familiari non leviter[6] adumbrata sunt. Liturgiis et divinis officiis, aut sacello solenniore aut interiore, raro abfuit. In Scripturis et patrum scriptis (præcipue beati Augustini) legendis, multum versata est. Preces quasdam ipsa[7] ex occasione et re nata composuit. In Dei mentionem vel communi sermone incidens, fere semper et[8] Creatoris nomen addidit, et oculos et vultum ad humilitatem et reverentiam quandam composuit; quod et ipse sæpe notavi. Quod autem quidam

[1] *incensa.* R.
[2] *hæc qualia sunt.*
[3] *sed quæ.* R.
[4] *gratia.* R.
[5] *adjungere.* R.
[6] *non leviter* om. R.
[7] *ipsa* om. MS.
[8] *et* om. R.

vulgaverunt, eam minime mortalitatis memorem fuisse, adeo ut nec de senectute nec de morte mentionem æquo animo ferret, id falsissimum fuit; cum ipsa sæpissime, multis ante mortem annis, magna comitate se vetulam diceret; et de inscriptione sepulchri, quid sibi maxime placeret, sermones haberet; cum diceret sibi gloriam et splendidos titulos minime cordi esse; sed lineam memoriæ unam aut alteram, quæ nomen ejus tantum, et virginitatem, et tempus regni, et religionis instaurationem, et pacis conservationem, brevi verborum compendio significaret. Verum est, cum ætate florenti et liberis procreandis habili de successore declarando interpellaretur, respondisse, Se linteum sepulchrale sibi vivæ ante oculos obtendi nullo modo passuram. Attamen non multis ante mortem annis, cum cogitabunda esset, ac, ut verisimile est, de mortalitate sua meditaretur, et [1] quidam ex intimis sermonem intulisset, quod munera et loca multa et magna in republica nimium diu vacarent, commotior et assurgens, Se certo scire suum locum ne tantillum temporis vacaturum dixit.

Quod ad moderationem in religione attinet, hærere videbimur, propter legum in subditos religionis pontificiæ latarum severitatem. Sed ea proferemus quæ nobis et certo nota et diligenter notata sunt.

Certissimum est, hunc fuisse istius principis animi sensum, ut vim conscientiis adhibere nollet; sed rursus statum regni sui prætextu conscientiæ et religionis in discrimen venire non permitteret. Ex hoc fonte, primum duarum religionum libertatem et tolerationem auctoritate publica, in populo animoso et feroce, et ab animorum contentione ad manus et arma facile veniente [2], certissimam perniciem judicavit. Etiam in novitate regni, cum omnia suspecta essent, ex præsulibus ecclesiæ quosdam magis turbidi et factiosi ingenii, auctoritate legis accedente, sub custodia libera habuit. Reliquis utriusque ordinis, non acri aliqua inquisitione molesta, sed benigna conniventia præsidio fuit. Hic primus rerum status: neque de hac clementia, licet excommunicatione Pii quinti provocata, quæ et indignationem addere et occasionem præbere novi instituti potuit, quidquam fere mutavit, sed natura sua uti perseveravit. Nam prudentissima fœmina et magnanima, hujusmodi terrorum sonitu nil admodum commota est; secura de populi sui fide et

[1] *ut.* R. [2] *veniente admittere.* R.

amore, et de factionis pontificiæ intra regnum ad nocendum virium tenuitate, non accedente hoste externo. At sub vicesimum tertium regni sui annum, rerum commutatio facta est. Atque hæc temporis distinctio non commode ficta, sed in publicis actis expressa ac veluti in ære incisa est.

Neque enim ante annum eum gravior aliqua pœna per leges prius sancitas subditis suis[1] pontificiæ religionis incubuit. Verum sub hoc tempus, ambitiosum et vastum Hispaniæ consilium de hoc regno subjugando paulatim detegi cœpit. Hujus pars magna fuit, ut omnibus modis intra regni viscera factio a statu aliena et rerum novarum cupida excitaretur, quæ hosti invadenti adhæreret. Ea ex dissensione religionis sperabatur. Itaque huic rei[2] omni opera incumbendum statuebant, et pullulantibus tunc seminariis, sacerdotes in regnum immissi qui studium religionis Romanæ excitarent et spargerent, vim excommunicationis Romanæ in fide solvenda[3] docerent et[4] inculcarent, et animos hominum novarum rerum expectatione erigerent et præpararent. Circa idem tempus, et Hibernia apertis armis tentabatur; et nomen et regimen Elizabethæ variis et sceleratis libellis proscindebatur: denique insolitus erat rerum tumor, prænuntius majoris motus. Neque sane dixerim singulos sacerdotes in participationem consilii assumptos aut quid ageretur conscios, sed tantummodo prava alienæ malitiæ instrumenta fuisse. Sed tamen hoc verum est et multis confessionibus testatum, omnes fere sacerdotes, qui ab eo quem diximus anno usque ad tricesimum Elizabethæ annum (quo consilium Hispaniæ et pontificium per memorabilem illum et classis et terrestrium copiarum apparatum executioni mandatum erat) in hoc regnum missi[5] erant, habuisse in mandatis inter functionis officia hoc insuper, ut Non posse hæc diutius stare; novam rerum faciem et conversionem non ita multo post conspicuam fore; curæ esse et pontifici et principibus catholicis rem Anglicam, modo ipsi sibi non desint; insinuarent. Etiam ex sacerdotibus nonnulli rebus et machinationibus quæ ad status labefactationem et subversionem pertinebant manifeste se immiscuerant; et, quod maxime movit, consilii hujus et negotii ratio per literas ex multis partibus interceptas[6] patefacta est; in quibus scriptum erat, Vigilantiam reginæ et concilii sui circa

[1] *suis* om. R. [2] *rei* om. R. [3] *fide subditorum solvenda.* R.
[4] *et* om. MS. [5] *immissi.* R.
[6] *per lit. ex m. p. interceptas consilii h. et neg. rat.* R.

catholicos elusam iri. Illam enim ad hoc tantum intentam esse[1], ne quod caput in persona alicujus nobilis aut viri primarii catholicorum factioni se attolleret. At consilium jam tale adhiberi, ut per homines privatos atque ex inferiore nota, neque eos inter se conspirantes et conscios, per secreta confessionum omnia disponerentur et præpararentur. Atque hæ tum artes adhibebantur, hujusmodi hominibus (quod etiam nuper in casu non dissimili videre licuit) usitatæ et familiares. Hac tanta periculorum tempestate, lex quædam necessitatis imposita est Elizabethæ, ut eam partem subditorum quæ a se alienata et per hujusmodi venena facta erat quasi insanabilis, atque interim ob vitam privatam a publicis muneribus et expensis immunem ditesceret, gravioribus legum vinculis constringeret. Atque ingravescente malo, cum origo ejus sacerdotibus seminariorum deputaretur, qui in exteris partibus nutriti, et exterorum principum, hujus regni ex professo hostium, opibus et eleemosynis sustentati essent, et in locis versati ubi ne nomen quidem ipsum Elizabethæ, nisi ut hæreticæ, excommunicatæ, diris[2] devotæ, audiebatur; quique (etsi non ipsi criminibus majestatis imbuti) at eorum qui hujusmodi sceleribus operam dedissent intimi cognoscerentur[3]; quique suis artibus et venenis ipsam catholicorum massam, antea magis dulcem et innoxiam, depravassent, et novo veluti fermento et perniciosa malignitate infecissent; non aliud inventum est remedium, quam ut hujusmodi homines ab omni in hoc regnum aditu sub pœna capitis prohiberentur: quod tandem vicesimo septimo regni sui anno factum est. Neque ita multo post eventus ipse, cum tanta tempestas hoc regnum adorta esset et totis viribus incubuisset, horum hominum invidiam et odium auxit[4]; ac si omnem charitatem patriæ exuissent quam servituti externæ tradere in votis habuissent.[5] Ac postea sane, licet motus[6] ab Hispania qui hujus severitatis stimulus erat consedisset aut remitteretur; tamen cum et memoria præteriti temporis in animis et sensibus hominum alte infixa maneret, et leges semel factas aut abrogare

[1] *esse*, om. R. [2] *et diris*. R. [3] *agnoscerentur*. R.

[4] *quidquam lenibat sed potius auxit*. R. I have preferred the reading of the MS. because the sentence as given by Rawley is certainly wrong, a negative being wanted. It seems probable however that the error arose from some interlinear correction, either imperfectly made or carelessly read. Perhaps the words *ita multo post* were intended to be struck out, or introduced with *non* after *cum*; with either of which alterations the sentence as given by Rawley reads to me more naturally than that in the MS.

[5] This clause (*quam . . . habuissent*) is omitted by Rawley.

[6] *metus*. R. Which is perhaps right.

inconstans aut negligere dissolutum videretur, ipsa rerum vis Elizabetham traxit, ut ad priorem rerum statum qui ante vicesimum tertium regni sui annum erat revertere sibi integrum non esset. Huc accessit quorundam in fisci commodis augendis industria, et ministrorum justitiæ qui non aliam patriæ salutem quam quæ legibus continetur introspicere aut intueri consueverunt, solicitudo; quæ omnia[1] executionem legum urgebant.[2] Ipsa tamen, in naturæ suæ specimen manifestum, ita legum mucronem contudit, ut pauci pro numero sacerdotes capitali supplicio plecterentur. Neque hæc defensionis loco dicta sunt, qua res ista non eget[3]: cum et salus regni in hoc verteretur, et universæ istius severitatis ratio et modus longe infra sanguinaria et inter Christianos vix nominanda, atque ex iis nonnulla[4] potius ab arrogantia atque malitia quam a necessitate profecta, pontificiorum exempla steterit. Sed ejus quod asseruimus memores, Elizabetham[5] in causa religionis moderatam fuisse, et variationem quæ fuit, non in natura sua sed in temporibus existitisse, demonstrasse nos existimamus.

De constantia autem Elizabethæ in religione ac ejus cultu, maximum argumentum est, quod religionem pontificiam, regno sororis auctoritate publica et multa cura impense stabilitam[6], et altas jam radices agentem, atque omnium qui in magistratibus et cum potestate erant consensu et studio firmatam; tamen quandoquidem nec verbo Dei, nec primitivæ puritati, nec conscientiæ suæ consentanea esset, maximo animo et paucissimis adjumentis convulsit et abrogavit. Neque id præceps aut acri impetu; sed prudenter et tempestive.[7] Idque tum ex multis aliis[8] rebus, tum ex responso quodam[9] suo per occasionem facto conjicere licet. Nam primis regni diebus, cum in omen et gratulationem novi principatus vincti (ut moris est) solverentur, accessit ad eam, ad sacellum tum pergentem, aulicus quidam, qui ex natura et consuetudine jocandi quandam[10] licentiam sibi assumpserat. Isque, sive ex motu proprio sive a quodam[11] prudentiore immissus, libellum supplicem ei porrexit, et[12] magna frequentia clara voce addidit, Restare adhuc quatuor aut quinque vinctos, idque immerito; illis se libertatem ut reliquis petere. Eos esse quatuor Evangelistas, atque etiam apostolum

[1] *quidem.* R.
[2] *poscebant et urgebant.* R.
[3] *qua res ista non egent.* R.
[4] *eaque potius.* R.
[5] *eam.* R.
[6] *et stabilitam.* R.
[7] *tempestive fecit.* R.
[8] *aliis multis.* R.
[9] *quopiam.* MS.
[10] *licentiam quandam.* R.
[11] *quopiam.* MS.
[12] *in magna.* R.

Paulum, qui diu ignota lingua tanquam carcere conclusi, inter populum conversari non possent. Cui illa prudentissime, Sciscitandum adhuc melius ab ipsis esse, utrum liberari vellent.[1] Atque ita improvisæ quæstioni suspenso responso occurrit, veluti omnia integra sibi servans. Neque tamen timide et per vices hæc instillavit; sed ordine gravi et maturo, habito inter partes colloquio, et peractis regni comitiis, tum demum (idque intra orbem unius anni vertentis) ita omnia quæ ad ecclesiam pertinebant ordinavit et stabilivit, ut ne punctum quidem[2] ab illis ad extremum vitæ diem recedi pateretur. Quin et singulis fere regni comitiis, ne quid in ecclesiæ disciplina aut ritibus innovaretur publice monuit. Atque de religione hactenus.

Quod si quis ex tristibus[3] leviora illa exaggeret, quod coli, ambiri, quin et amoris nomine se celebrari, extolli[4], sinebat,[5] volebat, eaque ultra sortem ætatis continuabat: hæc tamen, si mollius accipias, admiratione et ipsa carere non possunt; cum talia sint fere, qualia in fabulosis narrationibus inveniantur, de regina quadam in insulis beatis ejusque aula atque institutis, quæ amorum admirationem[6] recipiat, lasciviam prohibeat: sin severius, habent et illa admirationem, eamque vel maximam, quod hujusmodi deliciæ non multum famæ, nil prorsus majestati ejus officerent; nec imperium relaxarent, nec impedimento notabili rebus et negotiis gerendis essent. Hujusmodi enim res se cum publica fortuna commiscere haud raro solent. Verum, ut sermones nostros claudamus: fuit certe ista princeps bona et morata, etiam talis videri voluit: vitia oderat, et se bonis artibus clarescere cupiebat. Sane ad mentionem morum illius[7], in mentem mihi venit quod dicam. Cum scribi ad legatum suum jussisset de quibusdam mandatis ad Reginam Matrem Valesiorum separatim perferendis; atque qui ab epistolis erat clausulam quandam inseruisset, ut legatus diceret, tanquam ad favorem aucupandum[8], Esse nimirum ipsas duas fœminas principes, a quibus, in usu rerum et imperandi virtute et artibus, non minora quam a summis viris expectarentur; comparationem non tulit, sed deleri jussit; Seque artes longe dissimiles et instituta diversa ad imperandum afferre dixit. Nec a potestate aut longo imperio depravata erat; quin et iis laudibus maxime delectabatur, si quis hujusmodi sermones insti-

[1] *vellent, necne.* R. [2] *quidem* om. MS. [3] *tristioribus.* R.
[4] *et extolli.* R. [5] *atque volebat.* R.
[6] *amoris administrationem.* R. [7] *suorum.* R. [8] *occupandum.* MS.

tuisset, ut eam[1] etiamsi in privata et mediocri fortuna ævum traduxisset, tamen non absque aliqua excellentiæ nota apud homines victuram fuisse, apte insinuaret.[2] Adeo nihil a fortuna sua ad virtutis laudem mutuare aut transferre volebat. Verum si in ejus laudes, sive morales sive politicas, ingrederer, aut in communes quasdam virtutum notas et commemorationes incidendum est, quod tam rara principe minus dignum; aut si propriam ipsis lucem et gratiam conciliare velim, in vitæ ejus historiam prolabendum, quod et majus otium et venam uberiorem desiderat. Ego enim hæc paucis, ut potui. Sed revera dicendum est; non alium verum hujus fœminæ laudatorem inveniri posse, quam tempus: quod cum tam diu jam volvitur, nihil simile, in hoc sexu, quoad rerum civilium administrationem peperit.

[1] The first clause of this sentence is omitted by Rawley, and the rest stands thus— *Delectabatur etiam haud parum si quis forte hujusmodi sermonem intulisset, Eam .... fuisse.*

[2] The two last words are omitted by Rawley.

ON THE

FORTUNATE MEMORY OF ELIZABETH QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

ELIZABETH both in her nature and her fortune was a wonderful person among women, a memorable person among princes. But it is not to monks or closet penmen that we are to look for guidance in such a case; for men of that order, being keen in style, poor in judgment, and partial in feeling, are no faithful witnesses as to the real passages of business. It is for ministers and great officers to judge of these things, and those who have handled the helm of government, and been acquainted with the difficulties and mysteries of state business.

The government of a woman has been a rare thing at all times; felicity in such government a rarer thing still; felicity and long continuance together the rarest thing of all. Yet this Queen reigned forty-four years complete, and did not outlive her felicity. Of this felicity I propose to say something; without wandering into praises; for praise is the tribute of men, felicity the gift of God.

First, then, I set it down as part of her felicity that she was raised to sovereignty from a private fortune; not so much because of that feeling so deeply seated in man's nature, whereby benefits which come unexpected and unhoped for are always counted the greater blessings; but because Princes who are brought up in the reigning house with assured expectation of succeeding to the throne, are commonly spoiled by the indulgence and licence of their education, and so turn out both less capable and less temperate. And therefore you will find that the best kings are they who have been trained in both

schools of fortune; such as Henry the Seventh with us, and Lewis the Twelfth in France; both of whom, of late years and almost at the same time, came to their kingdoms not only from a private but from an adverse and troubled fortune; and both were eminently prosperous; the one excelling in wisdom, the other in justice. Much like was the case of this Queen, whose early times and opening prospects fortune checquered with uncertainty, that afterwards when she was settled in the throne it might prove to the last constant and equable. For Elizabeth at her birth was destined to the succession, then disinherited, afterwards superseded. Her fortune in her brother's reign was more propitious and serene, in her sister's more troubled and doubtful. And yet she did not pass suddenly from the prison to the throne, with a mind embittered and swelling with the sense of misfortune, but was first restored to liberty and comforted with expectation; and so came to her kingdom at last quietly and prosperously, without tumult or competitor. All which I mention to show how Divine Providence, meaning to produce an excellent Queen, passed her by way of preparation through these several stages of discipline. Nor ought the calamity of her mother to be admitted as an objection to the dignity of her birth: the rather because it is clear that Henry the Eighth had fallen in love with another woman before he fell in anger with Anne, and because he has not escaped the censure of posterity as a man by nature extremely prone both to loves and suspicions, and violent in both even to the shedding of blood. And besides, the criminal charge in which she was involved was in itself, if we consider only the person to whom it related, improbable, and rested upon the slenderest conjectures; as was secretly whispered (as the manner is in such cases) even then, and Anne herself just before her death with a high spirit and in memorable words made protestation. For having procured a messenger whose fidelity and good will she thought she could trust, she sent the King, in the very hour when she was preparing for the scaffold, a message to this effect: "That he kept constant to his course of heaping honours upon her; from a gentlewoman without title he had made her marchioness; he had then raised her to be the partner of his throne and bed; and now at last, because there remained no higher step of earthly honour, he had vouchsafed to crown her innocence with martyrdom." Which words the messenger

durst not indeed carry to the King, who was then in the heat of a new love; but fame, the vindicator of truth, transmitted them to posterity.

I account also as no small part of Elizabeth's felicity the period and compass of her administration; not only for its length, but as falling within that portion of her life which was fittest for the control of affairs and the handling of the reins of government. She was twenty-five years old (the age at which guardianship ceases) when she began to reign, and she continued reigning till her seventieth year; so that she never experienced either the disadvantages and subjection to other men's wills incident to a ward, nor the inconveniences of a lingering and impotent old age. Now old age brings with it even to private persons miseries enough; but to kings, besides those evils which are common to all, it brings also decline of greatness and inglorious exits from the stage. For there is hardly any sovereign who reigns till he becomes old and feeble, but suffers some diminution of power and reputation: of which we have a very eminent example in Philip the Second, King of Spain, a most powerful prince and perfect in the art of government; who in his last times when worn out with age became deeply sensible of this which I say, and therefore wisely submitted to the condition of things; voluntarily sacrificed the territories he had won in France, established peace there, attempted the like in other places, that he might leave a settled estate and all things clear and entire to his successor. Elizabeth's fortune on the contrary was so constant and flourishing, that not only did her declining, but though declining still fresh and vigorous years, bring with them no decline at all in the state of her affairs; but it was granted to her for an assured token of her felicity not to die before the fate of the revolt in Ireland had been decided by a victory; lest her glory might seem to be in any part sullied and incomplete.

Nor must it be forgotten withal among what kind of people she reigned; for had she been called to rule over Palmyrenes or in an unwarlike and effeminate country like Asia, the wonder would have been less; a womanish people might well enough be governed by a woman; but that in England, a nation particularly fierce and warlike, all things could be swayed and controlled at the beck of a woman, is a matter for the highest admiration.

Observe too that this same humour of her people, ever eager for war and impatient of peace, did not prevent her from cultivating and maintaining peace during the whole time of her reign. And this her desire of peace, together with the success of it, I count among her greatest praises; as a thing happy for her times, becoming to her sex, and salutary for her conscience. Some little disturbance there was in the northern counties about the tenth year of her reign, but it was immediately quieted and extinguished. The rest of her years flourished in internal peace, secure and profound.

And this peace I regard as more especially flourishing from two circumstances that attended it, and which though they have nothing to do with the merit of peace, add much to the glory of it. The one, that the calamities of her neighbours were as fires to make it more conspicuous and illustrious; the other that the benefits of peace were not unaccompanied with honour of war,—the reputation of England for arms and military prowess being by many noble deeds, not only maintained by her, but increased. For the aids sent to the Low Countries, to France, and to Scotland; the naval expeditions to both the Indies, some of which sailed all round the globe; the fleets despatched to Portugal and to harass the coasts of Spain; the many defeats and overthrows of the rebels in Ireland;—all these had the effect of keeping both the warlike virtues of our nation in full vigour and its fame and honour in full lustre.

Which glory had likewise this merit attached,—that while neighbour kings on the one side owed the preservation of their kingdoms to her timely succours; suppliant peoples on the other, given up by ill-advised princes to the cruelty of their ministers, to the fury of the populace, and to every kind of spoliation and devastation, received relief in their misery; by means of which they stand to this day.

Nor were her counsels less beneficent and salutary than her succours; witness her remonstrances so frequently addressed to the King of Spain that he would moderate his anger against his subjects in the Low Countries, and admit them to return to their allegiance under conditions not intolerable; and her continual warnings and earnest solicitations addressed to the kings of France that they would observe their edicts of pacification. That her counsel was in both cases unsuccessful, I do not deny. The common fate of Europe did not suffer it to succeed in the

first; for so the ambition of Spain, being released as it were from prison, would have been free to spend itself (as things then were) upon the ruin of the kingdoms and commonwealths of Christendom. The blood of so many innocent persons, slaughtered with their wives and children at their hearths and in their beds by the vilest rabble, like so many brute beasts animated, armed, and set on by public authority, forbade it in the other; that innocent blood demanding in just revenge that the kingdom which had been guilty of so atrocious a crime should expiate it by mutual slaughters and massacres. But however that might be, she was not the less true to her own part, in performing the office of an ally both wise and benevolent.

Upon another account also this peace so cultivated and maintained by Elizabeth is matter of admiration; namely, that it proceeded not from any inclination of the times to peace, but from her own prudence and good management. For in a kingdom labouring with intestine faction on account of religion, and standing as a shield and stronghold of defence against the then formidable and overbearing ambition of Spain, matter for war was nowise wanting; it was she who by her forces and her counsels combined kept it under; as was proved by an event the most memorable in respect of felicity of all the actions of our time. For when that Spanish fleet, got up with such travail and ferment, waited upon with the terror and expectation of all Europe, inspired with such confidence of victory, came ploughing into our channels, it never took so much as a cock-boat at sea, never fired so much as a cottage on the land, never even touched the shore; but was first beaten in a battle and then dispersed and wasted in a miserable flight with many shipwrecks; while on the ground and territories of England peace remained undisturbed and unshaken.

Nor was she less fortunate in escaping the treacherous attempts of conspirators than in defeating and repelling the forces of the enemy. For not a few conspiracies aimed at her life were in the happiest manner both detected and defeated; and yet was not her life made thereby more alarmed or anxious; there was no increase in the number of her guards; no keeping within her palace and seldom going abroad; but still secure and confident, and thinking more of the escape than of the

danger, she held her wonted course, and made no change in her way of life.

Worthy of remark too is the nature of the times in which she flourished. For there are some times so barbarous and ignorant that it is as easy a matter to govern men as to drive a flock of sheep. But the lot of this Queen fell upon times highly instructed and cultivated, in which it is not possible to be eminent and excellent without the greatest gifts of mind and a singular composition of virtue.

Again, the reigns of women are commonly obscured by marriage; their praises and actions passing to the credit of their husbands; whereas those that continue unmarried have their glory entire and proper to themselves. In her case this was more especially so; inasmuch as she had no helps to lean upon in her government, except such as she had herself provided; no own brother, no uncle, no kinsman of the royal family, to share her cares and support her authority. And even those whom she herself raised to honour she so kept in hand and mingled one with another, that while she infused into each the greatest solicitude to please her she was herself ever her own mistress.

Childless she was indeed, and left no issue of her own; a thing which has happened also to the most fortunate persons, as Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Trajan, and others; and which has always been a moot-point and argued on both sides; some taking it for a diminution of felicity, for that to be happy both in the individual self and in the propagation of the kind would be a blessing above the condition of humanity; others regarding it as the crown and consummation of felicity, because that happiness only can be accounted perfect over which fortune has no further power; which cannot be where there is posterity.

Nor were outward conditions wanting: a tall stature, a graceful shape, a countenance in the highest degree majestic and yet sweet, a most happy and healthy constitution; to which this also must be added, that retaining her health and vigour to the end, and having experienced neither the vicissitudes of fortune nor the ills of old age, she obtained at last by an easy and gentle death that *euthanasia* which Augustus Cæsar was wont so earnestly to pray for; and which is noted in the case of that excellent Emperor Antoninus Pius, whose death wore the

appearance of a sweet and placid sleep. So likewise in the last illness of Elizabeth there was nothing miserable, nothing terrible, nothing revolting to human nature. She was not tormented either with desire of life, or impatience of sickness, or pangs of pain: none of the symptoms were frightful or loathsome; but all of that kind which showed rather the frailty than the corruption and dishonour of nature. For a few days before her death, by reason of the exceeding dryness of her body, wasted as it was with the cares of government and never refreshed with wine or a more generous diet, she was struck with paralysis; and yet she retained her powers of speech (a thing not usual in that disease) and of mind and of motion; only somewhat slower and duller. And this state of her body lasted only a few days, as if it were less like the last act of life than the first step to death. For to continue long alive with the faculties impaired is a miserable thing; but to have the sense a little laid asleep and so pass quickly to death, is a placid and merciful period and close of life.

To crown all, as she was most fortunate in all that belonged to herself, so was she in the virtue of her ministers. For she had such men about her as perhaps till that day this island did not produce. But God when he favours kings raises also and accomplishes the spirits of their servants.

Her death was followed by two posthumous felicities, more lofty and august perhaps than those which attended her in life; her successor, and her memory. For successor she has got one who, though in respect of masculine virtue and of issue and of fresh accession of empire he overtop and overshadow her, nevertheless both shows a tender respect for her name and honour, and bestows upon her acts a kind of perpetuity; having made no change of any consequence either in choice of persons or order of proceedings; insomuch that seldom has a son succeeded to a father with such silence and so little change and perturbation. And as for her memory, it is so strong and fresh both in the mouths and minds of men that, now death has extinguished envy and lighted up fame, the felicity of her memory contends in a manner with the felicity of her life. For if any factious rumour (bred of party feeling and religious dissension) still wanders abroad (and yet even this seems now timid and weak and overborne by general consent), sincere it is not, enduring it cannot be. And on this account chiefly it

is that I have put together these observations, such as they are, concerning her felicity and the marks she enjoyed of the divine favour, that malevolent men may fear to curse what God has so highly blessed.

And if any man shall say in answer, as was said to Cæsar, "Here is much indeed to admire and wonder at, but what is there to praise?" surely I account true wonder and admiration as a kind of excess of praise. Nor can so happy a fortune as I have described fall to the lot of any, but such as besides being singularly sustained and nourished by the divine favour, are also in some measure by their own virtue the makers of such fortune for themselves. And yet I think good to add some few remarks upon her moral character; confining myself however to those points which seem most to give opening and supply fuel to the speeches of traducers.

In religion Elizabeth was pious and moderate, and constant, and adverse to innovation. Of her piety, though the proofs appear most clearly in her actions, yet no slight traces were to be found likewise in her ordinary way of life and conversation. Prayers and divine service, either in her chapel or closet, she seldom failed to attend. Of the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, especially those of St. Augustine, she was a great reader. Some prayers upon particular occasions she herself composed. If she chanced even in common talk to speak of God, she almost always both gave him the title of her Maker, and composed her eyes and countenance to an expression of humility and reverence; a thing which I have myself often observed. And as for that which some have given out, that she could not endure the thought of mortality and was impatient of all allusion either to old age or death, that is utterly untrue. For very often, many years before her death, she would pleasantly call herself an old woman, and would talk of the kind of epitaph she would like to have upon her tomb; saying that she had no fancy for glory or splendid titles, but would rather have a line or two of memorial, recording in few words only her name, her virginity, the time of her reign, the reformation of religion, and the preservation of peace. It is true that in the flower of her years, while she was yet able to bear children, being questioned about declaring a successor, she replied that she would not have her winding sheet spread before her eyes while she was alive; and yet not many years before

her death, being in a thoughtful mood, meditating probably upon her mortality, and being interrupted by one of her familiars with a complaint that many great offices in the commonwealth were too long vacant, she rose up and said in some displeasure, it was clear that *her* office would not be vacant for an instant.

With regard to her moderation in religion there may seem to be a difficulty, on account of the severity of the laws made against popish subjects. But on this point I have some things to advance which I myself carefully observed and know to be true.

Her intention undoubtedly was, on the one hand not to force consciences, but on the other not to let the state, under pretence of conscience and religion, be brought in danger. Upon this ground she concluded at the first that, in a people courageous and warlike and prompt to pass from strife of minds to strife of hands, the free allowance and toleration by public authority of two religions would be certain destruction. Some of the more turbulent and factious bishops also she did, in the newness of her reign when all things were subject to suspicion, — but not without legal warrant — restrain and keep in free custody. The rest, both clergy and laity, far from troubling them with any severe inquisition, she sheltered by a gracious connivency. This was the condition of affairs at first. Nor even when provoked by the excommunication pronounced against her by Pius Quintus (an act sufficient not only to have roused indignation but to have furnished ground and matter for a new course of proceeding), did she depart almost at all from this clemency, but persevered in the course which was agreeable to her own nature. For being both wise and of a high spirit, she was little moved with the sound of such terrors; knowing she could depend upon the loyalty and love of her own people, and upon the small power the popish party within the realm had to do harm, as long as they were not seconded by a foreign enemy. About the twenty-third year of her reign however, the case was changed. And this distinction of time is not artificially devised to make things fit, but expressed and engraved in public acts.

For up to that year there was no penalty of a grievous kind imposed by previous laws upon popish subjects. But just then the ambitious and vast design of Spain for the

subjugation of the kingdom came gradually to light. Of this a principal part was the raising up within the bowels of the realm of a disaffected and revolutionary party which should join with the invading enemy; and the hope of effecting this lay in our religious dissensions. To this object therefore they addressed themselves with all their might; and, the seminaries beginning then to blossom, priests were sent over into England for the purpose of kindling and spreading a zeal for the Romish religion, of teaching and inculcating the power of Romish excommunication to release subjects from their obedience, and of exciting and preparing men's minds with expectation of a change. About the same time an attempt was made upon Ireland with open arms, the name and government of Elizabeth was assailed with a variety of wicked libels, and there was a strange ferment and swelling in the world, forerunner of some greater disturbance. And though I do not say that all the priests were acquainted with the design, or knew what was doing; for they may have been only the tools of other men's malice; yet it is true, and proved by the confessions of many witnesses, that from the year I have mentioned to the thirtieth of Elizabeth (when the design of Spain and the Pope was put in execution by that memorable armada of land and sea forces) almost all the priests who were sent over to this country were charged among the other offices belonging to their function, to insinuate that matters could not long stay as they were, that a new aspect and turn of things would be seen shortly, and that the state of England was cared for both by the Pope and the Catholic princes, if the English would but be true to themselves. Besides which, some of the priests had plainly engaged themselves in practices tending directly to the shaking and subversion of the state; and above all, letters were intercepted from various quarters by which the plan upon which they were to proceed was discovered; in which letters it was written, that the vigilance of the Queen and her council in the matter of the Catholics would be eluded; for that she was only intent upon preventing the Catholic party from getting a head in the person of any nobleman or great personage, whereas the plan now was to dispose and prepare everything by the agency of private persons and men of small mark; and that too without their having any communication or acquaintance one with another; but all to be done under the seal of confession. Such were the

arts then resorted to—arts with which these men (as we have seen lately in a case not much unlike) are practised and familiar. This so great tempest of dangers made it a kind of necessity for Elizabeth to put some severer constraint upon that party of her subjects which was estranged from her and by these means poisoned beyond recovery, and was at the same time growing rich by reason of their immunity from public offices and burdens. And as the mischief increased, the origin of it being traced to the seminary priests, who were bred in foreign parts, and supported by the purses and charities of foreign princes, professed enemies of this kingdom, and whose time had been passed in places where the very name of Elizabeth was never heard except as that of a heretic excommunicated and accursed, and who (if not themselves stained with treason) were the acknowledged intimates of those that were directly engaged in such crimes, and had by their own arts and poisons depraved and soured with a new leaven of malignity the whole lump of Catholics, which had before been more sweet and harmless; there was no remedy for it but that men of this class should be prohibited upon pain of death from coming into the kingdom at all; which at last, in the twenty-seventh year of her reign, was done. Nor did the event itself which followed not long after, when so great a tempest assailed and fell with all its fury upon the kingdom, tend in any degree to mitigate the envy and hatred of these men; but rather increased it, as if they had utterly cast off all feeling for their country, which they were ready to betray to a foreign servitude. And though it is true that the fear of danger from Spain, which was the spur that goaded her to this severity, did afterwards subside or abate; yet because the memory of the time past remained deeply printed in men's minds and feelings, and the laws once made could not be abrogated without the appearance of inconstancy, or neglected without the appearance of weakness and disorder, the very force of circumstances made it impossible for Elizabeth to return to the former state of things as it was before the twenty-seventh year of her reign. To which must be added the industry of some of her officers to improve the exchequer, and the solicitude of her ministers of justice who saw no hope of salvation for the country but in the laws; all which demanded and pressed the execution of them. And yet what her own natural disposition was appears plainly in this, that she so

blunted the law's edge that but a small proportion of the priests were capitally punished. All which I say not by way of apology; for these proceedings need no apology; since the safety of the kingdom turned upon them, and all this severity both in the manner and the measure of it came far short of the bloody examples set by the priesthood,—examples scarcely to be named among Christians, and proceeding moreover some of them rather out of arrogance and malice than out of necessity. But I conceive that I have made good my assertion, and shown that in the cause of religion she was indeed moderate, and that what variation there was was not in her nature but in the times.

Of her constancy in religion and worship the best proof is her dealing with Popery: which though in her sister's reign it had been established by public authority and fostered with great care and labour, and had taken deep root in the land, and was strengthened by the consent and zeal of all who were in authority and power; yet because it was not agreeable either to the word of God or to primitive purity or to her own conscience, she at once with the greatest courage and the fewest helps proceeded to uproot and abolish. And yet she did it not precipitately or upon eager impulse, but prudently and all in due season; as may be gathered from many circumstances, and among the rest from a reply made by her on the following occasion. Not many days after she came to the throne, when prisoners were released (as the custom is to inaugurate and welcome a new reign by the release of prisoners), a certain courtier, who from nature and habit had taken to himself the license of a jester, came to her as she went to chapel, and either of his own motion or set on by wiser men, presented her a petition; adding with a loud voice before all the company, that there were yet four or five prisoners more who deserved liberty, for whom he besought that they might be released likewise; namely, the four Evangelists and the Apostle Paul; who had been long shut up in an unknown tongue, as it were in prison, so that they could not converse with the people. To whom she answered very wisely, that it were good first to inquire further of themselves, whether they would be released or no: thus meeting a sudden question with a doubtful answer, as meaning to keep all clear and whole for her own decision. And yet she did not introduce these changes timidly neither, nor by starts; but proceeding in due order, gravely and

maturely, after conference had been first had between the parties, and a Parliament held, she then at last, and yet all within a single year, so ordered and established everything relating to the Church, that to the last day of her life she never allowed a single point to be departed from. Nay at almost every meeting of Parliament she gave a public warning against innovation in the discipline and rites of the Church. And so much for the point of religion.

As for those lighter points of character,— as that she allowed herself to be wooed and courted, and even to have love made to her; and liked it; and continued it beyond the natural age for such vanities;— if any of the sadder sort of persons be disposed to make a great matter of this, it may be observed that there is something to admire in these very things, which ever way you take them. For if viewed indulgently, they are much like the accounts we find in romances, of the Queen in the blessed islands, and her court and institutions, who allows of amorous admiration but prohibits desire.[1] But if you take them seriously, they challenge admiration of another kind and of a very high order; for certain it is that these dalliances detracted but little from her fame and nothing at all from her majesty, and neither weakened her power nor sensibly hindered her business:—whereas such things are not unfrequently allowed to interfere with the public fortune. But to conclude, she was no doubt a good and moral Queen; and such too she wished to appear. Vices she hated, and it was by honest arts that she desired to shine. And speaking of her morality, I remember a circumstance in point. Having ordered a letter to be written to her ambassador concerning a message which was to be given separately to the Queen Mother of the Valois, and finding that her secretary had inserted a clause directing the ambassador to say to the Queen Mother by way of compliment, that they were two Queens from whom though women no less was expected in administration of affairs and in the virtue and arts of government than from the greatest men,— she would not endure the comparison, but ordered it to be struck out; saying that the arts and principles which she employed in governing were of a far other sort than those of the Queen Mother. Nor was she spoiled by power and long reigning: but the praises which

[1] I have not been able to learn what romance Bacon alludes to here.

pleased her most were when one so managed the conversation as aptly to insinuate that even if she had passed her life in a private and mean fortune she could not have lived without some note of excellency among men; so little was she disposed to borrow anything of her fortune to the credit of her virtue. But if I should enter into her praises, whether moral or political, I should either fall into certain common-place observations and commemorations of virtues, which would be unworthy of so rare a princess; or in order to give them a lustre and beauty peculiar and appropriate, I should have to run into the history of her life,— a task requiring both more leisure and a richer vein. Thus much I have said in few words, according to my ability. But the truth is that the only true commender of this lady is time, which, so long a course as it has run, has produced nothing in this sex like her, for the administration of civil affairs.

IN

HENRICUM PRINCIPEM WALLIÆ

ELOGIUM FRANCISCI BACONI.

PREFACE.

THIS notice of the character of Prince Henry was first printed by Birch in his edition of Bacon's works, 1763, from a manuscript in the Harleian Collection (1893, fo. 75.); the only copy I have met with. It is written in a hand of the time; I think in that of one of Bacon's own people. At any rate there can be no doubt as to the authorship: it bears all the marks of Bacon's style; of which it is one of the best specimens. Birch conjectured that it was intended to be sent to De Thou for use in his history, as the memorial of Elizabeth had been. This is very probable. But I am not aware that anything is known about it, beyond what it carries on its face. Neither does it seem to require any explanation or illustration; unless it be worth while to say that the rumour mentioned in the last sentence — the rumour that Prince Henry died by poison — was revived during the trial of the murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury, and obtained for a while an importance which it did not deserve, from some dark words prematurely dropped by Sir Edward Coke. It seems that Franklin, the apothecary who was concerned in in the poisoning of Overbury, finding himself condemned to death, began to talk of certain dreadful disclosures which he could make if he liked; how more were to be poisoned than were yet known; how the Earl and Countess of Somerset had the most aspiring minds that ever were heard of; how the Earl never loved the Prince nor the Lady Elizabeth; how strange it was that the King kept an outlandish physician about his person and the person of the Prince deceased; "thereon" he said "lieth a long tale;" how he knew things he was ashamed to speak of; and lastly (to come to the point) how "he could make one discovery that should deserve his life:" with other things of the same kind — devices of a condemned man to put

off the day of his hanging. On the strength of these hints, and (strange to say) before he had made further inquiry, Coke gave out a mysterious intimation in open court of iniquities not yet brought to light, "which he knew of;" and even added a direct allusion to the death of the Prince, as a mystery concerning which "he knew somewhat." Hearing such things from the oracle on the Bench, the people naturally looked for the revelation of some new horror; and when nothing came, they as naturally supposed that it had been for some mysterious reason hushed up, and so betook themselves to strange conjectures, which begot a brood of strange rumours. But I believe the whole truth is that when Franklin's disclosures came to be investigated, it was found (as might have been expected) that there was nothing in them. Several examinations may be seen in the State Paper Office, taken down in Coke's own hand, evidently suggested by the information of Franklin, and aiming to elicit evidence in corroboration of it; but they come to nothing whatever, beyond a few vague rumours and old wives' stories. These papers sufficiently explain the only thing connected with Prince Henry's death which ever required explanation,—namely what it was that Coke "knew" about it. What he *said* was quite enough to account for all the rest.

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IN

HENRICUM PRINCIPEM WALLIÆ

ELOGIUM FRANCISCI BACONI.[1]

HENRICUS primogenitus regis magnæ Britanniæ, princeps Walliæ, antea spe beatus, nunc memoria felix, diem suum obiit 6.° Nov. anno 1612. Is magno totius regni luctu et desiderio extinctus est, utpote adolescens, qui animos hominum nec offendisset nec satiasset. Excitaverat autem propter bonam indolem multiplices apud plurimos omnium ordinum spes, nec ob brevitatem vitæ frustraverat. Illud inprimis accessit, quod in causa religionis firmus vulgo habebatur; prudentioribus quoque hoc animo penitus insederat, adversus insidias conjurationum (cui malo ætas nostra vix remedium repperit) patri eum instar præsidii et scuti fuisse; adeo ut et religionis et regis apud populum amor in eum redundaret, et in æstimationem jacturæ merito annumeraretur.

Erat corpore validus et erectus, staturâ mediocri, decorâ membrorum compage, incessu regio, facie oblongâ et in maciem inclinante, habitu plenior, vultu composito, oculorum motu magis sedato quam forti. Inerant quoque et in fronte severitatis signa, et in ore nonnihil fastus. Sed tamen si quis ultra exteriora illa penetraverat, et eum obsequio debito et sermone tempestivo deliniverat, utebatur eo benigno et facili, ut alius longe videretur colloquio quam aspectu; talisque prorsus erat qui famam sui facile excitaret moribus dissimilem. Laudis et gloriæ fuit proculdubio appetens, et ad omnem speciem boni et auram decoris commovebatur; quod adolescenti pro virtutibus est. Nam et arma ei in honore erant ac viri militares; quin et

[1] Harl. MSS. 1893, fo. 75.

ipse quiddam bellicum spirabat; et magnificentiæ operum (licet pecuniæ alioquin satis parcus) deditus erat; amator insuper antiquitatis et artium; literis quoque plus honoris attribuit quam temporis. In moribus ejus nihil laudandum magis fuit, quam quod in omni genere officiorum probe institutus videbatur et congruus. Filius regi patri mire obsequens, etiam reginam multo cultu demerebat, erga fratrem indulgens; sororem vero unice amabat, quam etiam ore (quantum potuit virilis forma ad eximiam virginalem pulchritudinem collata) referebat. Etiam magistri et educatores pueritiæ ejus (quod raro fieri solet) magna in gratia apud eum manserant; sermone[1] vero obsequii idem exactor et memor; denique in quotidiano vitæ genere, et assignatione horarum ad singula vitæ munia, magis quam pro ætate constans atque ordinatus. Affectus ei inerant non nimium vehementes, et potius æquales quam magni. Etenim de rebus amatoriis mirum in illa ætate silentium, ut prorsus lubricum illud adolescentiæ suæ tempus in tanta fortuna et valetudine satis prospera absque aliquâ insigni notâ amorum transigeret. Nemo reperiebatur in aulâ ejus apud eum præpotens, aut in animo ejus validus; quin et studia ipsa quibus capiebatur maxime, potius tempora patiebantur quam excessus, et magis repetita erant per vices, quam quod extaret aliquod unum quod reliqua superaret et compesceret; sive ea moderatio fuit, sive in natura non admodum præcoci, sed lente[2] maturesente, non cernebantur adhuc quæ prævalitura erant. Ingenio certe pollebat, eratque et curiosus satis et capax; sed sermone tardior et tanquam impeditus; et tamen si quis diligenter observaverat ea quæ ab eo proferebantur, sive quæstionis vim obtinebant sive sententiæ, ad rem omnino erant, et captum non vulgarem arguebant; ut in illa loquendi tarditate et raritate, judicium ejus magis suspensum videretur et anxium, quam infirmum aut hebes. Interim audiendi miris modis patiens, etiam in negotiis quæ in longitudinem porrigebantur, idque cum attentione et sine tædio; ut raro animo peregrinaretur, aut fessa mente aliud ageret, sed ad ea quæ dicebantur aut agebantur animum adverteret atque applicaret; quod magnam ei (si vita suppetiisset) prudentiam spondebat. Certe in illius principis natura plurima erant obscura, neque judicio cujuspiam patefacienda, sed tempore, quod ei præreptum est; attamen

[1] *sermonem* in MS. [2] *lentè* in MS.

quæ apparebant optima erant, quod famæ satis est. Mortuus est ætatis anno decimo nono, ex febre contumaci, quæ ubique a magnis et (insulanis) fere insolitis siccitatibus ac fervoribus orta, per æstatem populariter grassabatur, sed raro funere; dein sub autumnum erat facta lethalior. Addidit fama, atrocior (ut ille ait) erga dominantium exitus, suspicionem veneni. Sed cum nulla ejus rei extarent indicia, præsertim in ventriculo, quod præcipue a veneno pati solet, is sermo cito evanuit.

MEMORIAL

OF

HENRY PRINCE OF WALES.

HENRY, eldest son of the King of Great Britain, late of blessed hope, now of happy memory, died on the 6th of November, 1612. He died to the great grief and regret of the whole kingdom, as being a youth who had neither offended men's minds nor satiated them. The goodness of his disposition had awakened manifold hopes among numbers of all ranks, nor had he lived long enough to disappoint them. Moreover, as among the people generally he had the reputation of being firm in the cause of religion; so the wiser sort were deeply impressed with the feeling that he had been to his father as a guard and shield against the machinations of conspirators, — a mischief for which our age has hardly found a remedy; so that the love of the people both for religion and for the King overflowed upon him, and was rightly taken into account in estimating his loss.

In body he was strong and erect, of middle height, his limbs gracefully put together, his gait kinglike, his face long and somewhat lean, his habit rather full, his countenance composed, and the motion of his eyes rather sedate than powerful. His forehead bore marks of severity, his mouth had a touch of pride. And yet when one penetrated beyond those outworks, and soothed him with due attention and seasonable discourse, one found him gentle and easy to deal with; so that he seemed quite another man in conversation than his aspect promised; and altogether he was one who might easily get himself a reputation at variance with his manners. Of praise and glory he was doubtless covetous; and was stirred with every show of good

and every breath of honour: which in a young man goes for virtues. For both arms and military men were in honour with him; nor was he himself without something of a warlike spirit; he was given also to magnificence of works, though otherwise frugal enough of money; he was fond of antiquity and arts: and a favourer of learning, though rather in the honour he paid it than the time he spent upon it. In his morals there was nothing more to be praised than that in every kind of duty he seemed to be well trained and comformable. He was a wonderfully obedient son to the King his father, very attentive also to the Queen, kind to his brother; but his sister he especially loved; whom also he resembled in countenance, as far as a man's face can be compared with that of a very beautiful girl. The masters and tutors of his youth also (which rarely happens) continued in great favour with him. In discourse, as he exacted respect from others, so he observed it himself. And finally in his daily way of life, and the assignation of several hours for its several duties, he was constant and regular above the habit of his years. His passions were not over vehement, and rather equable than great. For of love matters there was wonderfully little talk, considering his age: insomuch that he passed that extremely slippery time of his early manhood, in so great a fortune and in very good health, without being particularly noted for any affairs of that kind. There was no one in his court that had great power with him, or that possessed a strong hold on his mind. The very pursuits in which he took most delight had rather their times than their excesses; and were repeated each in its turn, rather than some one allowed to take the lead and overrule the rest; whether that were moderation and self-restraint, or that in a nature not very precocious, but ripening slowly, it did not yet appear which would ultimately prevail. In understanding he was certainly strong, and did not want either curiosity or capacity. But in speech he was somewhat slow, and as it were embarrassed; and yet if you observed diligently the things he said, whether in asking questions or expressing opinions, they were ever to the point, and argued no ordinary capacity; so that his slow and seldom speaking seemed to come rather from suspense and solicitude than weakness or dulness of judgment. In the meantime he was a wonderfully patient listener, even in affairs which grew to length, and that attentively, and without growing weary; so

that he seldom let his thoughts wander or his mind lose its power of attention, but kept it still fixed and applied to that which was saying or doing: a habit which promised great wisdom in him if he had lived. Many points there were indeed in this prince's nature which were obscure, and could not be discovered by any man's judgment, but only by time, which was not allowed him. Those however which appeared were excellent; which is enough for fame. He died in the nineteenth year of his age of a malignant fever, which—springing from the great heats and droughts, greater than islanders are accustomed to,—was very general among the people during the summer, though few died of it; but became towards autumn more fatal. Rumour, ever more malignant (as Tacitus says) upon the deaths of princes, suggested poison. But as no symptoms of such a thing appeared, especially in the stomach which is commonly most affected by poison, that report soon died away.

IMAGINES CIVILES

JULII CÆSARIS ET AUGUSTI CÆSARIS.

PREFACE.

Of the two following pieces all I know is that Dr. Rawley says he found them among Bacon's papers, and understanding that they were praised by men of great reputation (a laudatissimis viris collaudatas) printed them together with the last among the *Opuscula Posthuma* in 1658, and inserted English translations of them in the second edition of the Resuscitatio in 1661.

The character of Julius Cæsar is apparently finished. With that of Augustus Bacon does not seem to have proceeded beyond the opening paragraph; though Dr. Rawley has printed it as if it were complete; nor has any one, so far as I know, observed that it is only a fragment. In other respects they tell their own story, and do not appear to require any further explanation.

IMAGO CIVILIS JULII CÆSARIS.

JULIUS CÆSAR a principio fortuna exercita usus est, quod ei in bonum vertit; hoc enim illi fastum detraxit, nervos intendit. Animus ei inerat studio et affectu turbidus, judicio et intellectu admodum serenus: hocque indicat facilis illa sui explicatio, tum in rebus gerendis, tum in sermone. Nemo enim aut celerius decernebat aut magis perspicue loquebatur: nil impeditum, nil involutum quis notaret. Voluntate autem et appetitu is erat, qui nunquam partis acquiescebat, sed ad ulteriora semper tendebat: ita tamen ut non immaturo fastidio, sed legitimis spatiis, transitus actionum gubernaret: semper enim perfectissimas clausulas actionibus imponebat. Itaque ille, qui post tot victorias et tantam partam securitatem, reliquias belli civilis in Hispania non contempsit, sed præsens subegit, post extremum illud demum bellum civile confectum et omnia undique pacata, expeditionem in Parthos continuo moliebatur. Erat proculdubio summa animi magnitudine, sed ea, quæ magis amplitudinem propriam quam merita in commune spiraret. Prorsus enim omnia ad se referebat, atque ipse sibi erat fidissimum omnium actionum suarum centrum: quod maximam ei et perpetuam fere felicitatem peperit. Non enim patria, non religio, non officia, non necessitudines, non amicitiæ, destinata ejus remorabantur, vel in ordinem redigebant. Nec magnopere versus in æternitatem erat; ut qui nec statum rerum stabiliret, nec quicquam egregium, vel mole vel instituto, fundaret vel conderet; sed veluti ad se cuncta retulit. Sic etiam ad sua tempora cogitationum fines recepit. Nominis tantum celebritate frui voluit, quod etiam sua id nonnihil interesse putaret. Ac in propriis certe votis, magis potentiæ quam dignitati studebat; dignitatem enim et famam non propter se, sed ut instrumenta potentiæ, colebat. Itaque veluti naturali impetu, non morata aliqua disciplina ductus, rerum

potiri volebat; iisque magis uti quam dignus videri: quod ei apud populum, cui nulla inerat dignitas, gratiosum erat; apud nobiles et proceres, qui et suam dignitatem retinere volebant, id obtinuit nomen, ut cupidus et audax videretur. Neque multum sane a vero aberrarunt, cum natura audacissimus esset, nec verecundiam unquam, nisi ex composito, indueret. Atque nihilo secius ita ista efficta erat audacia, ut eum nec temeritatis argueret, nec fastidio homines enecaret, nec naturam ejus suspectam faceret; sed ex morum simplicitate quadam et fiducia, ac nobilitate generis, ortum habuisse putaretur. Atque in cæteris quoque rebus omnibus id obtinuit, ut minime callidus aut veterator haberetur, sed apertus et verax. Cumque summus simulationis et dissimulationis artifex esset, totusque ex artibus compositus, ut nihil naturæ suæ reliquumesset, nisi quod ars probavisset; tamen nil artificii, nil affectationis appareret, sed natura et ingenio suo frui, eaque sequi existimaretur. Neque tamen minoribus et vilioribus artificiis et cautelis omnino obnoxius erat, quibus homines rerum imperiti et qui non propriis viribus sed alienis facultatibus subnixi, ad auctoritatem suam tuendam uti necesse habent; utpote qui omnium actionum humanarum peritissimus esset, atque cuncta paulo majora ipse per se, non per alios, transigeret. Invidiam autem extinguere optime norat; idque vel dignitatis jactura consequi, non alienum a rationibus suis duxit; veramque potentiam amplexus, omnem illam inanem speciem et tumidum apparatum potentiæ æquo animo per totum fere vitæ cursum declinavit et transmisit: donec tandem, sive satiatus potentia sive adulationibus corruptus, etiam insignia potentiæ, nomen regium et diadema, concupivit; quod in pernicem ejus vertit. Regnare autem jam usque a juventute meditatus est; idque ei exemplum Syllæ, affinitas Marii, æmulatio Pompeii, corruptelæ et perturbatio temporum, facile suggerebant. Viam autem sibi ad regnum miro ordine sternebat: primum per potentiam popularem et seditiosam, deinde per potentiam militarem et imperatoriam. Nam initio sibi erant frangendæ senatus opes et auctoritas, qua salva nemini ad immodica et extraordinaria imperia aditus erat. Tum demum evertenda erat Crassi et Pompeii potentia, quod nisi armis fieri non poterat. Itaque (ut faber fortunæ suæ peritissimus) primam structuram per largitiones, per judiciorum corruptelas, per renovationem memoriæ C. Marii et partium ejus (cum plerique senatorum

et nobilium e Syllana factione essent), per leges agrarias, per seditiosos tribunos quos immittebat, per Catilinæ et conjuratorum insanias quibus occulto favebat, per exilium Ciceronis, in cujus causa senatus auctoritas vertebatur, ac complures hujusmodi artes, attollebat et evehebat: sed maxime omnium per Crassi et Pompeii et inter se et secum conjunctionem absolvebat. Qua parte absoluta, ad alteram continuo partem accingebatur, factus Proconsul Galliarum in quinquennium, rursusque in alterum quinquennium, atque armis, legionibus, et bellicosa et opulenta provincia potens, et Italiæ imminens. Neque enim eum latebat, postquam se armis et militari potentia firmasset, nec Crassum nec Pompeium sibi parem futurum; cum alter divitiis, alter famæ et nomini confideret; alter ætate, alter auctoritate senesceret; neuter veris et vigentibus præsidiis niteretur. Quæ omnia ei ex voto cessere; præsertim cum ipse singulos senatores et magistratus, et denique omnes qui aliquid poterant, ita privatis beneficiis devinctos et obstrictos haberet, ut securus esset de aliqua conspiratione vel consensu adversus suos conatus ineundis, antequam aperte rempublicam invaderet. Quod cum et semper destinasset, et aliquando tandem faceret, tamen personam suam non deponebat; sed ita se gerebat, ut æquitate postulatorum, et simulatione pacis, et successibus suis moderandis, invidiam in adversas partes torqueret; seque incolumitatis suæ gratia ad bellum necessarium coactum præ se ferret. Cujus simulationis vanitas manifesto deprehensa est, postquam confectis bellis civilibus regiam potestatem adeptus, omnibusque æmulis qui aliquam ei solicitudinem injicere possent e medio sublatis, tamen de reddenda republica ne semel quidem cogitavit, neque hoc saltem fingere aut prætexere dignaretur. Quod liquido declarat, cupiditatem et propositum regni adipiscendi ei et semper fuisse, et ad extremum patuisse. Neque enim occasionem aliquam arripuit, sed ipse occasiones excitavit et efformavit. In bellicis autem rebus maxime ejus virtus enituit, quæ tantum valuit, ut exercitum non tantum duceret, sed et effingeret. Neque enim major ei scientia affuit in rebus gerendis, quam in animis tractandis: neque id vulgari aliqua disciplina, quæ obsequium assuefaceret ad mandata, aut pudorem incuteret, aut severitatem usurparet; sed quæ miris modis ardorem et alacritatem adderet, et victoriam fere præriperet; quæque militem erga ipsum plus conciliaret quam liberæ reipublicæ conducebat. Cum autem

in omni genere belli versatus esset, cumque artes civiles cum bellicis conjungeret, nil tam improvisum ei accidebat, ad quod remedium paratum non haberet; et nil tam adversum, ex quo non utilitatem aliquam derivaret. Personæ autem suæ debitas partes attribuit; ut qui sedens in prætorio in magnis prœliis omnia per nuntios administraret. Ex quo duplicem fructum capiebat; ut et in discrimen rarius se committeret, atque ut cum res inclinare cœpissent, prœlium per ipsius præsentiam, veluti nova auxilia, instauraretur. In omni autem apparatu et conatu bellico, non tantum ad exempla res gerebat, sed nova et accomodata summa ratione comminiscebatur. Amicitias satis constanter et singulari cum beneficentia et indulgentia coluit. Amicorum tamen hujusmodi delectum fecit, ut facile appareret, eum id quærere, ut instrumenti, non impedimenti, loco amicitia eorum esset. Cum autem et natura et instituto ferretur ad hoc, ut non eminens inter magnos, sed imperans inter obsequentes esset, amicos sibi adjunxit humiles sed industrios, quibus ipse omnia esset. Hinc illud, "Ita vivente Cæsare moriar;" et cætera id genus. Nobilium autem et æqualium suorum amicitias ex usu suo asciscebat: ex intimis autem neminem fere admittebat, nisi qui ex se omnia speraret. Quin et literis et doctrina mediocriter excultus fuit, sed ea quæ ad civilem usum aliquid conferret. Nam et in historia versatus erat, et verborum pondera et acumina mire callebat; et cum multa felicitati suæ tribueret, peritus astrorum videri voluit. Eloquentia autem ei nativa et pura erat. In voluptates propensus ac effusus erat, quod ei apud initia sua loco simulationis erat; nemo enim periculum ab hujusmodi ingenio metuebat. Voluptates autem suas ita moderabatur, ut nihil utilitati aut negotiorum summæ officerent, et animo potius vigorem quam languorem tribuerent. In mensa sobrius, circa libidines incuriosus, in ludis lætus et magnificus. Talis cum esset, id ad extremum ei exitio fuit, quod ad principia sua incremento fuerat; id est, studium popularitatis. Nil enim tam populare est quam ignoscere inimicis: qua sive virtute sive arte ille periit.

IMAGO CIVILIS AUGUSTI CÆSARIS.

Augusto Cæsari, si cui mortalium, magnitudo animi inerat inturbida, serena, et ordinata: idque indicant res illæ omnium maximæ, quas ab ineunte adolescentia gessit. Nam qui ingenio commotiores sunt, ii fere adolescentias per varios errores transigunt, ac sub mediam ætatem demum se ostendunt: quibus autem natura est composita et placida, ii prima etiam ætate florere possunt. Atque cum animi dotes, sicut et bona corporis, sanitate quadam, pulchritudine, et viribus contineantur et absolvantur, fuit certe avunculo Julio viribus animi impar, pulchritudine et sanitate superior. Ille enim inquietus et incompositus (ut sunt fere ii qui comitiali morbo tentantur) se ad fines suos nihilominus summa ratione expediebat; sed ipsos fines minime ordinaverat, sed impetu infinito, et ultra mortale appetens, ferebatur ad ulteriora. Hic autem sobrius, et mortalitatis memor, etiam fines suos ordine admirabili descriptos et libratos habuisse visus est. Primum enim, rerum potiri volebat; deinde id assequi, ut dignus eo fastigio existimaretur; dein etiam, frui summa fortuna humanum esse ducebat; ad extremum, addere se rebus, et imaginem et virtutem sui principatus seculis post se futuris imprimere et inferre meditabatur. Itaque prima ætate Potentiæ, media Dignitati, vergente Voluptatibus, senectute Memoriæ et Posteritati serviebat.

CHARACTER OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

JULIUS CÆSAR had from the beginning a fortune full of exercise: which turned to his advantage: for it took away his pride and braced his sinews. A mind he had, in desires and affections turbulent, but in judgment and intellect very serene; as appears by the ease with which he delivered himself both in action and speech. For no man decided quicker, or spoke clearer: there was nothing embarrassed, nothing involved about him. But in will and appetite he was one who never rested in what he had got, but ever pressed forward to things beyond. And yet he was not hurried from one action to another by a humour of weariness, but made the transitions at the just periods: for he always brought his actions to the most perfect closes. And therefore he that after winning so many victories and making himself so secure did not despise the relics of civil war in Spain, but went in person to put an end to them; as soon as ever that last civil war was concluded and peace established everywhere, immediately set about an expedition against the Parthians. Greatness of mind he undoubtedly had in a very high degree; yet such as aspired more after personal aggrandisement than merit towards the public. For he referred everything to himself, and was himself the true and perfect centre of all his own actions: which was the cause of his singular and almost perpetual felicity. For he allowed neither country, nor religion, nor services, nor kindred, nor friendships, to be any hindrance or bridle to his purposes. Neither was he much bent upon perpetuity; as one who neither established the state of affairs, nor founded or erected anything remarkable either in the way of building or institution; but as it were referred all things to himself. So also he confined his thoughts within the circle of

his own times. Only his name he wished to make famous; because he thought he had himself some interest in that. And assuredly in his private wishes he cared more for power than reputation. For he sought reputation and fame not for themselves, but as instruments of power. By natural impulse therefore, not by any moral guiding, he aspired to the supreme authority; and aspired rather to possess it than to be thought worthy of it: a thing which gave him favour with the people, who had no dignity of their own; but with the nobles and great persons, who wished also to preserve their own dignity, procured him the reputation of covetousness and boldness. Wherein assuredly they were not far from the truth: for he was by nature extremely bold, and never showed any bashfulness except when he assumed it on purpose. And yet for all that, this boldness was so fashioned as neither to impeach him of rashness, nor to make him intolerable, nor to bring his nature into suspicion: but was thought to proceed from a simplicity of manners, and confidence, and the nobility of his birth. And the same held good in all things else, that he was taken to be by no means cunning or wily, but frank and veracious. And though he was in fact a consummate master of simulation and dissimulation, and made up entirely of arts, insomuch that nothing was left to his nature except what art had approved, nevertheless there appeared in him nothing of artifice, nothing of dissimulation; and it was thought that his nature and disposition had full play and that he did but follow the bent of them. Yet for the smaller and meaner artifices and precautions, to which men unskilled in affairs and depending not on their own strength but on help from without, are driven for the support of their authority, he was not at all beholden to these; as being a man exceedingly expert in all human actions, and who managed all business of any consequence for himself, not by others. How to extinguish envy he knew excellently well; and thought it an object worth purchasing even by the sacrifice of dignity; and being in quest of real power, he was content during the whole course of his life to decline and put by all the empty show and pomp and circumstance of it: until at last, whether satiated with power or corrupted by flattery, he aspired likewise to the external emblems thereof, the name of king and the crown; which turned to his destruction. The sovereignty was the mark he aimed at even from his youth; the example of

Sylla, the relationship of Marius, the emulation of Pompey, the corruptions and perturbation of the times, readily suggesting it to him. But he made himself a way to the sovereignty in a strange order; first by means of a power popular and seditious, afterwards by a power military and imperatorial. For at first he had to break the force and authority of the senate; during the maintenance of which no man could find a passage to immoderate and extraordinary commands. And after that, he had to overthrow the power of Crassus and Pompey, which could not be done except by arms. And therefore (as a most skilful carpenter of his own fortune) he raised the first structure by means of largesses, corruption of the courts of justice, revival of the memory of Caius Marius and his party (most of the senators and nobles being of the Syllan faction), agrarian laws, putting in of seditious tribunes, secret favouring of the madnesses of Catiline and his conspirators, banishment of Cicero, upon whose cause the authority of the senate turned, and a number of the like arts; but most of all by the conjunction of Crassus and Pompey first with one another and then with himself, which completed it. Which part of his design being accomplished, he immediately addressed himself to the other; obtaining the proconsulship of Gaul for five years, and then again for another five years; and so making himself powerful in arms, legions, and a warlike and opulent province, in a position to threaten Italy. For he saw well that as soon as he had strengthened himself with arms and military power, neither Crassus nor Pompey would be a match for him; seeing that the one trusted to his wealth and the other to his fame and reputation; the one waxed old in years, the other in authority; neither had sound and vigorous safeguards to rest upon. All which things fell out to him according to his desire: the rather because he had the several senators and magistrates, and indeed all persons who had any power, so obliged and bound to himself by private benefits, that there was no danger of any combination being formed to oppose his designs, before he should openly invade the commonwealth. Which though he had always intended to do, and at last did, yet he did not put off his mask; but so carried himself that, what with the reasonableness of his demands, what with the pretence of a desire of peace, what with the moderate use of his successes, he turned the envy on the other party, and made it seem that he was driven for his own

safety into a necessary war. The hollowness of which pretence was clearly proved, when the civil wars being ended, and he being in possession of the sovereign power, and all the rivals that could cause him any anxiety being removed out of the way, yet he never once thought of restoring the commonwealth, no, nor cared to make so much as a pretence of doing it. Which plainly shows that the desire and purpose of obtaining the sovereignty had always been in him, and at last came out. For he did not merely seize an occasion that offered itself; himself made and shaped the occasions. It was in the business of war that his ability was most conspicuous; and so great it was, that he could not only lead an army but make one. For he was not more skilful in conducting actions than in the management of men's minds: and that not by any ordinary kind of discipline, that inured them to obey commands, or awakened a sense of shame, or enforced by severity; but one that inspired a wonderful ardour and alacrity, and won the battle almost before it began: and endeared him to the soldiery more than was good for a free commonwealth. Versed as he was moreover in every kind of war, and uniting civil arts with military, no accident took him so unexpectedly but he had a remedy prepared for it; nothing fell out so cross, but he drew some advantage from it. For his own person he had a due respect: as one that would sit in his tent during great battles, and manage everything by messages. From which he derived a double advantage; first that he went seldomer into danger, and secondly that if ever the fortune of the day were going against him, his own presence was as good as a fresh reinforcement to restore the battle. And in his warlike arrangements and enterprises he did not conduct things merely according to precedent, but would invent with consummate judgment new devices framed to the occasion. In his friendships he was constant enough, and singularly kind and indulgent. And yet he made choice of such friends that it was easy to see that he meant their friendship to be an instrument and not an impediment. And since his aim both by nature and principle was not to be eminent among great men, but to command among followers, he chose for his friends men that were of mean condition, but industrious and active, to whom he might be all in all. Hence the saying "Let me die, so Cæsar live," and the like. With nobles and equals he made friend-

ships according to his occasions; but he admitted no man to intimacy except such whose hopes rested entirely in himself. In letters and learning he was moderately well accomplished, but it was that kind of learning which was of use in the business of life. For he was well versed in history, and had wonderful knowledge of the weight and point of words; and because he attributed much to his felicity, he affected to be learned in the stars. Eloquence he had also, natural and pure. To pleasures he was naturally inclined, and indulged freely in them; which in his early times served the purpose of simulation; for no one feared any danger from such a disposition. But he so governed his pleasures, that they were no hindrance to his interest and main business, and his mind was rather invigorated than made languid by them. At the table he was sober, in his lusts not particular, in public entertainments gay and magnificent. Such being the man, the same thing was his destruction at last which in the beginning was his advancement, I mean the desire of popularity. For there is nothing so popular as the forgiveness of enemies: and this it was which, whether it were virtue or art, cost him his life.

CHARACTER OF AUGUSTUS CÆSAR.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR was endued, if ever man was, with a greatness of mind, calm, serene, and well-ordered: witness the exceeding great actions which he conducted in his early youth. For men of impetuous and unsettled dispositions commonly pass their youth in various errors; and it is not till middle age that they show what they are. But those whose nature is composed and placid may flourish even in their first years. And whereas the gifts of the mind, like those of the body, are contained and completed in three things,—health, beauty, and strength,—he was certainly in strength of mind inferior to his uncle Julius, but in beauty and health of mind superior. For Julius being of a restless and unsettled disposition, though for the compassing of his ends he made his arrangements with consummate judgment, yet had not his ends themselves arranged in any good order; but was carried on and on with an impulse that knew no bounds, aiming at things beyond the reach of mortality. Whereas Augustus, as a man sober and mindful of his mortal condition, seems to have had his ends likewise laid out from the first in admirable order and truly weighed. For first he made it his aim to be at the head of affairs: then to become the position and be esteemed worthy of it; next he considered it fit for him, as a man, to enjoy that height of fortune: and lastly, he thought to apply himself to some real work, and so transmit to the next ages the impression of the image and the effects of the virtue of his government. In the first period of his life therefore he made Power his object; in the middle period, Dignity; in his declining years, Pleasures: and in his old age, Memory and Posterity.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

INSERTED BY BACON IN A MANUSCRIPT COPY OF CAMDEN'S ANNALS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

(Cott. Faust. F. viii. ix.)

PREFACE.

THE three first books of Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, extending from the beginning of her reign to the end of the year 1589, were published by order of James I. in 1615. The rest he completed soon after, and lodged a copy of it in the hands of his friend Petrus Puteanus;—to be preserved, but not published till after his death. He died in November 1623; and the fourth book (printed, if I understand the story right, from Puteanus's copy) appeared in 1627. It appears however that a better copy was in existence; that after the three first books were published, and the fourth copied, Camden had revised and corrected the whole; that a fair copy of the three first (described as "the first part of Mr. Camden's Elizabetha enlarged for the next impression") passed through the representatives of Sir Robert Cotton into the hands of Dr. Thomas Smith; and a corrected copy of the fourth, through what channel we are not informed, into the hands of Dr. Rawlinson [1]; and that both of these were ultimately entrusted to Thomas Hearne, and used in his edition of the entire work, published in 1717.

In Hearne's edition the differences between Dr. Rawlinson's MS. and the printed copies are pointed out in foot-notes, but no further particulars are given. A considerable number however of the additions and more material alterations are found in the blank pages of a copy of the fourth book of Camden's

[1] Both these copies are in the Bodleian Library. The first (Smith MS. No. 2.) is a printed copy of the original folio, with the alterations and additions inserted in Camden's own hand. The second (8vo. Rawlinson, 707.) has the following note on the blank leaf at the beginning:—"This book belongs to my honoured and learned friend Thos. Rawlinson, Esq. Tho. Hearne, Aug. 25th, 1716." It is a copy of the Elsevir edition, Lugd. Batav. MDCXXXIX, containing many alterations and additions inserted between the lines or leaves, in manuscript. They are very clearly written in a small, firm, regular hand; whose, I could not learn.

Annales, which is now in the Cottonian Library (Faustina F. viii. ix.); and are in the hand-writing of Francis Bacon. I suppose that Camden had lent the MS. to Bacon to read and criticise; that Bacon had returned it with these passages suggested for insertion; and that they had been inserted accordingly, either by Camden himself or by some one to whom the MS. was entrusted, in the copy which came into possession of Dr. Rawlinson.[1] At any rate the manner in which they are entered in the Cottonian MS. sufficiently proves that they are of Bacon's own composition, and therefore have a right to a place in this collection. And though many of them have but little independent value, I have thought it better to include them all; the rather because the insertion of two or three immaterial words is enough to show that Bacon had read the passage, and his inserting no more may be taken as a kind of evidence that he had no material correction to suggest. A note on the cover in Camden's hand states that he began to read the MS. over again on the 18th of May, 1620: but at what time Bacon read it I know no means of ascertaining.

[1] Any one who had access to the Cotton MS. might have made the alterations in his own copy.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

IN

CAMDEN'S ANNALES.

I.

In the opening of the fourth book of his *Annales* (Hearne's edition, p. 593.) Camden describes an attempt made by some of the Scotch nobles, at the instigation of Spain, to seize the person of the King, under pretence of delivering him from the custody of Chancellor Maitland and the English faction. He tells us that the King received intelligence one day when he was hunting, that Bothwell was at hand on one side with troops of borderers, and Huntley approaching on the other with a strong army from the North: upon which, *nil perterrefactus, sed animo et consilio plane regio,* (no way dismayed, but with spirit and judgment truly king-like,) he proclaimed them traitors, mustered his faithful subjects, and so frustrated the enterprise; Bothwell taking at once to flight, and Huntley being presently reduced to submission.

The words *nil perterrefactus* &c. (Faust. F. viii. fo. 2.) are in Bacon's hand.

II.

In his account of the trial of the Earl of Arundel (p. 595.) Camden had stated that the Justices assessors (*justiciarii assessores*), being asked by the prisoner whether an indictment were lawful which contained errors in the description both of places and times, declared that those things were not to be regarded, so the fact were proved (*ista minime attendenda esse, modo factum probetur*). For these words Bacon substitutes

(Faust. F. viii. fo. 4.) *ista regulariter non attendenda esse, nisi criminis ipsius naturam varient:* that the rule was, that such points should not be regarded unless the nature of the crime itself were affected by them.

III.

In April 1589, an expedition against Spain was undertaken by Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, with the Queen's permission, but not at the public charge. The Earl of Essex followed soon after, unknown to the Queen, and joined the fleet. In allusion to this circumstance Camden had said (p. 602.) that he committed himself to the sea without the Queen's knowledge, yea to the incurring of her displeasure; for he had no hope to obtain leave of the Queen to go, who was unwilling that any of the prime nobility should hazard themselves in this voyage; (*quæ neminem e primariâ nobilitate in hâc expeditione periclitari voluit.*)

Instead of this, Bacon suggests (Faust. F. viii. fo. 9.) *quæ*[1] *nec absentiam aut periculum ejus libenter admissura esset, et expeditionem ipsam potius a privatorum alacritate quam Principis designatione susceptam videri vellet:* who would not only have been unwilling to let Essex himself be absent or in danger, but wished besides that the expedition itself should seem to have been undertaken rather by the eagerness of private persons than by appointment of the sovereign.

IV.

A little further on (p. 604.), where Camden mentions the blame which was cast on Sir Francis Drake for not supporting the land-forces with his fleet, Bacon adds (Faust. F. viii. fo. 10.) *quique militiâ navali bonus, terrestri impar habebatur:* that Drake was accounted an able commander for naval warfare, but not equal to warfare by land.

V.

The same year, after describing the confusions in France and the conspiracy against the King which ensued upon the

[1] The words *nec enim a Regina veniam abeundi impetrare speravit, quæ* are omitted from the text by Hearne; who prints *nec absentiam . . . vellet,* as an independent sentence. The correction is inserted in Rawlinson's copy between the lines, but without any mark to show where it is to come in: the writer not having attended to the line drawn by Bacon under the words for which he meant this sentence to be substituted; though the direction is quite distinct.

murder of Henry Duke of Guise, the great head of the Catholic party, Camden proceeds to say (p. 608.) that hereupon the King was forced to betake himself to the Protestants whom he had persecuted; and the conspirators resorting to a detestable crime murdered him by the hands of James Clement, a monk. (*Adeo ut Rex necessario ad Protestantes quos exagitaverat confugeret, et isti ad detestabile scelus conversi illum per Jacobum Clementem monachum parricidio tollerent.*) Here Bacon merely inserts in place of *et isti* (Faust. F. viii. fo. 13.) the words *unde duplicatâ invidiâ conjurati:* whereby the conspirators, more enraged than ever, &c.

Hearne suggests in a note that for *tollerent* we should read *sustulerunt*. Rightly, no doubt. The introduction of Bacon's words alters the construction, which the transcriber had overlooked. But he is wrong in retaining the words *et isti*, which are not erased in the corrected volume, but which Bacon has underlined in the manuscript, clearly meaning that they should be struck out and his own words substituted.

VI.

A few lines further on (p. 609.) Camden had said that the Duke de Mayenne was proclaimed *Lieutenant-General of the Crown of France*. Bacon corrects this (Faust. F. viii. fo. 14.) to *statûs et coronæ:* Lieutenant-General of the *State and* Crown of France.

VII.

In 1591, Hacket, a religious madman, was executed for treason. Having spent his youth in riot and profaneness, and ruined himself by prodigality, Camden tells us (p. 630.) that he suddenly assumed a character of admirable sanctity, spent all his time in hearing sermons and learning the Scriptures, and pretended heavenly revelations and an extraordinary mission. Here Bacon inserts (Faust. F. viii. fo. 32.) the following curious passage: *Ante omnia vero, miro et peregrino quodam fervore preces fundebat, in faciem concidens, et veluti extasi correptus et cum Deo quasi expostulans. Attamen unum ex ejus asseclis, cæteris forte perspicaciorem, abalienavit formulâ quâdam orationis quæ illi erat familiaris. Nam cum omnes soleant Dei præsentiam in invocando implorare, ille solus Deum rogare consueverat ut a cœtu precantium abesse et se subtrahere vellet; quod*

licet auditores ad excessum quendam humilitatis trahebant, tamen potuit quoque esse vox plane Satanica, a Dæmone malo qui eum obsidebat dictata. Above all, he poured forth prayers with a certain strange and outlandish fervour, falling upon his face, and rapt as it were in extasy, and like a man expostulating with God. Moreover there was one of his followers who, being clearer sighted perhaps than the rest, forsook him in consequence of a form of speech which was familiar to him. For whereas all other men are wont in their invocations to implore God's presence, he alone used to ask of God that he would be pleased to absent and withdraw himself from the assembly of those who prayed: which the hearers imputed to excess of humility; and yet it may have been the voice of Satan himself, put into Hacket's mouth by the evil spirit that possessed him.

VIII.

A little further on (p. 632.) where Camden says that this Hacket had persuaded himself that God had ordained him to be King of Europe, Bacon inserts (Faust. F. viii. fo. 33.) the words *homo ex vilissima fæce Anabaptistarum renatus:* being a man newborn from the vilest dregs of the Anabaptists.

IX.

In the next page, Camden describes him as assuming to be Christ himself, and sending his disciples to proclaim through the city that Jesus Christ was come with his fan in his hand to judge the world; and if any asked where he was, to bring them thither, and if they would not believe, let them kill him if they could. To which Bacon adds (Faust. F. viii. fo. 33.) *cum satis gnarus esset nequissimus impostor id neminem propter legis metum ausurum:* the wretched impostor knowing well enough that fear of the law would prevent any man from attempting such a thing.

X.

In 1593, Queen Elizabeth had to clear herself of some slanders circulated against her in Germany, as having excited the Turk to make war upon Christendom. In allusion to these slanders Camden had observed (p. 660.) that she had had no dealings with the Turk, except for the purpose of enabling her

subjects to trade securely in that empire: on which account (he adds) she had an agent at Constantinople to negotiate the merchants' affairs at their own expense, *as had also the French King, the Polonian, the states of Venice and others.* This statement Bacon corrects (Faust. viii. fo. 55.), by saying that she had *only* an agent at Constantinople, whereas the French, the Polonian, &c. had *ambassadors* there: quo nomine Agentem *tantum*, qui negotia mercatorum ipsorum impensis ageret, Constantinopoli habuit, *cum* Gallus, Polonus, Respub. Veneta, et alii *Legatos ibidem haberent.* The words in italics are inserted by Bacon.

XI.

In the beginning of 1594, Roderigo Lopez, a Portuguese, employed by Queen Elizabeth as physician of her household, was tried for a conspiracy (at the instigation of Spain) to poison her. He confessed that he had been dealt with by the Spaniard for that purpose, that he had received from an inward counsellor of the King a rich jewel, had supplied him with intelligence from time to time, and had promised for 50,000 ducats to poison her; but maintained that he never intended to perform the promise and only meant to cozen the Spaniard of his money. Camden had represented him (p. 676.) as stating in his defence that he had *given* (*donâsse*) the jewel to the Queen. For *donâsse* Bacon substitutes (Faust. F. viii. fo. 68.) *monstrâsse:* he had *shewed* it to her; and adds the following particulars.

Ad fidem faciendam etiam eâ usus est circumstantiâ, quod Reginæ se in syrupo venenum exhibiturum dixisset, cum satis (ut aiebat) notum esset Reginam in cura corporis syrupis nunquam usam fuisse, sed ab iis magnopere abhorrere. Verum cum plane liqueret idque ex confessione propriâ, eum, cum monile illud Reginæ monstrâsset, nullam prorsus veneni mentionem fecisse, sed tantum per ænigma Reginam interrogâsse annon fraudem fraude tanquam laqueum laqueo intercipere liceret, (quod tamen ipsum Regina ut prudens et cauta fœmina rejecisset sibique minime placere respondisset), cumque insuper testatum esset eum serio de fugâ faciendâ seque ad cognatum quendam et gentilem suum Salomonem Judæum, qui Constantinopoli habitabat, et prædives erat, conferre deliberâsse, idque in animo habuisse, impostoris ei larva detracta est et proditoris merito adhæsit.

In confirmation of this, he urged this point—that he had told his employers that he would exhibit the poison to the Queen in a syrup; whereas it was well known (he said) that she never used syrups in her diet, but had an especial dislike to them. But when it clearly appeared that in shewing that jewel to the Queen he had made no mention whatever of poison, but had merely asked her in a dark manner whether it were lawful to meet deceit with deceit as snare with snare (by which however the Queen, as a wise and cautious woman, was not caught, but replied that she by no means approved of it), and when moreover it was given in evidence that he had seriously thought of taking flight and betake himself to a kinsman of his own race, one Solomon a Jew, who lived at Constantinople and was very rich, and that he had had a purpose so to do, his impostor's mask fell off, leaving the traitor's behind, as was fit.

XII.

Upon the death of Ferdinand Stanley, Earl of Derby, in 1594, there arose a suit between his daughters and his brother William who succeeded to the earldom, for the dominion of the Isle of Man. In the discussion of the title a flaw was detected by the Crown Lawyers which enabled them to put in a claim on behalf of the Queen. But the Queen (says Camden, p. 687.) waived that right, and an agreement was made between the uncle and his nieces. Here Bacon inserts (Faust. F. viii. fo. 76.) the words *ut appareret illud potius ad competitores in ordinem redigendos, quam ad rigorem aliquem in medium adductum fuisse:* to shew that the claim was put in with a view of bringing the competitors to reason rather than of any rigour.

XIII.

In the autumn of 1599, England was alarmed with rumours of a Spanish fleet approaching, and an army was hastily levied as in defence of the kingdom. But there was no such thing. It came to light some year and a half after, that about that time the Earl of Essex, then commanding a great army in Ireland and in high discontent with the Queen, was seriously thinking of crossing over to Wales with 2000 men, and marching up to London with such additional forces as would probably have joined him by the way, and so overpowering his enemies. Camden seems to have suspected that the rumour of the

Spanish fleet had been got up by the Government in order to provide themselves against this danger; but leaves it doubtful. "Whether the Queen had any secret intimation of this (he says) I know not. Certain it is that at that very time, upon uncertain rumours eagerly credited of a Spanish fleet prepared, 6000 of the best-trained infantry were raised at London, of which 3000 were to guard the Queen's person and the rest to be ready for all occasions; while from the countries round about a more numerous and carefully selected army was sent for: of which Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Admiral of England, was made commander-in-chief, with full authority as well against foreign enemies as domestic rebels. But this army was within a few days discharged."

Bacon seems to have had less doubt as to the secret history of this rumour and levy — may indeed have had positive knowledge of the fact — and proposes (Faust. F. ix. fo. 33.) to substitute the following passage.

Atque hoc Reginæ occulto aliquo indicio innotuisse, probabile est. Etenim eodem tempore increbuerunt rumores et per totum regnum pervagati sunt (quales spargi solent cum Principe volente volitant), adesse classem Hispanam potentem et optime instructam, ad oras occidentales regni conspectam esse, neque quam partem peterent certum esse. Itaque delectus acriter ubique habiti, provinciæ maritimæ armari et in procinctu esse jussæ, nuntii assidue ad aulam missi, quinetiam exercitus regius sub duce Comite Notingamiæ Admirallo Angliæ conscriptus. Evulgata etiam fabella quæ vel prudentiores capere et fallere posset. Regem Hispanum, expeditionis in Lusitaniam cui idem Essexius adfuerat non oblitum, cum certior factus esset tantum exercitum ad motus Hybernicos compescendos apparari sub duce tam eminenti et florenti, in suspicionem venisse hæc prætextu rerum Hybernicarum ad Hispaniæ partem aliquam invadendam designata esse, atque idcirco in defensionem regnorum suorum classem numerosam atque etiam copias terrestres parâsse. Postquam autem comperisset exercitum revera in Hiberniam transmissam esse, atque illis rebus implicitum; submonitum a consilio suo, ut cum tantam classem et copias magnis impensis et rerum motu jam collegisset et paratas haberet, ne eas inutiliter dimitteret, sed in Angliam impressionem faceret, eo magis quod flos militiæ Anglicanæ cum Essexio transportatus esset, et Regina nihil tale eo tempore expectaret. Hæc omnia eo fiebant, ut Essexius, certior factus regnum in armis esse,

ab aliquo conatu exercitum Hybernicum in Angliam transportandi injecto metu desisteret. Attamen hæc Reginæ consilia etiam vulgo in suspicionem venerant et in pejorem partem accipiebantur, ut etiam dicteriis non abstinerent, cum dicerent anno octogesimo octavo ab Hispania appulisse classem illam invincibilem, at hoc anno alteram classem invisibilem[1]*, atque mussarent, si hujusmodi ludi florales a consilio Angliæ ineunte Maio celebrati fuissent, magis congruum existimari potuisse; verum ut plebs a messe sua avocaretur (erat enim adultus Autumnus) nimis serias ineptias esse.*

And it is probable that the Queen had some secret intimation of this design. For just at that time there grew up rumours (such as are commonly spread when the sovereign is willing they should circulate) and went abroad all over the land, that a mighty and well appointed Spanish fleet was at hand, that it had been seen on the western coast, and was doubtful for what part it was designed. Thereupon musters were diligently held on all sides, the coast counties were ordered to arm themselves and be in readiness, couriers were sent continually to the court, nay a royal army, under command of the Earl of Nottingham, Admiral of England, was levied. Moreover a tale was given out by which even the wiser sort might well be taken in: viz. that the King of Spain, who had not forgotten the voyage to Portugal in which the same Essex had been engaged, when he was informed that so great an army had been set forth to suppress the Irish rebellion, under so eminent and prosperous a commander, fell into a suspicion that it was designed, under pretext of Irish matters, to invade some part of Spain: and therefore got together a numerous fleet and also land forces for the defence of his own dominions: but that when he found that the army was in truth sent over into Ireland and occupied with the work there, he was advised by his council, seeing that he had gathered together such a fleet and force with great charge and trouble and had them ready, not to discharge them without doing some service; but to strike a blow at England; the rather because the flower of the English army had been sent over with Essex, and the Queen expected nothing of the kind at that time. Now all this was done to the end that Essex, hearing that the kingdom was in

[1] The words *at hoc — invisibilem* are omitted in Hearne's edition, p. 795., having been omitted by the transcriber of the corrections in Rawlinson's copy.

arms, might be deterred from any attempt to bring the Irish army over into England. And yet these devices of the Queen were even by the common people suspected and taken in bad part; insomuch that they forbore not from scoffs, saying that in the year '88 Spain had sent an *Invincible Armada* against us and now she had sent an *Invisible Armada;* and muttering that if the council had celebrated this kind of May-game in the beginning of May, it might have been thought more suitable, but to call the people away from the harvest for it (for it was now full autumn) was too serious a jest.

The substance of this story is given by Fuller in his Church History (ix. 41.) on the authority of Camden's MS. Life of Queen Elizabeth, which it seems he had seen. It is the more worthy of notice because any one collecting the history of the time from the documents now remaining in the State Paper Office might easily conclude that the danger, or at least the alarm, was a real one. For though the occasion was pretended the preparations were in earnest.

Fuller makes a remark upon the last sentence, which is strange for a man of his judgment. "My author addeth (he says) that people affirmed that such May-games had been fitter in the spring (when sports were used amongst the Romans to Flora) and not in the autumn when people were seriously employed to fetch in the fruits of the earth. But by his leave, *these expressions flow from critics, and fly far above the capacities of countrymen.*" Here Fuller seems to have been deceived by his own learning, and to have forgotten that the *May-game* was an incident of spring in England as well as at Rome. The incongruity of May-games (*ludi florales* means no more) in harvest time, must have been intelligible enough to *any* Englishman.

XIV.

The only remaining additions or corrections which I find in Bacon's hand occur in the trial of the Earl of Essex for treason in February 1600-1. They are few and slight, but sufficient to shew that he had read that part of the history with care. As it stands in Hearne's edition, in which these corrections are introduced, it may be regarded as having in a manner received his sanction.

1.

Camden had represented Bacon himself (p. 853.) as saying at the trial (in answer to Essex's assertion that the violence of Cobham, Cecil, and Raleigh had driven him to take up arms in necessary self-defence) that Cobham, Cecil, and Raleigh were such sincere honest men, and had such large estates (*adeo sincere probos esse, et ab opibus instructos*), that they would never overthrow their estates and hopes by committing such a crime. For the words *adeo sincere probos, &c.* Bacon substitutes (Faust. F. ix. fo. 82.) *tales esse et animo et fortunis:* were of such a condition both in mind and in fortunes, that they would never &c. Which agrees with the summary of the argument as given in the Declaration of Treasons. "Then it was shewed how improbable it was, considering that my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh were men *whose estates were better settled and established* than to overthrow their fortunes by such a crime."

2.

In the next sentence Camden had represented him as observing that the fictions put forward by Essex of a plot against his life, fell to the ground by reason of their inconsistency and variety—inasmuch as Essex, not keeping to one story, cried out at one time that he was to have been murdered in his bed, at another in a boat, at another by the Jesuits; and likewise by the vanity of them (*necnon e vanitate*), since he exclaimed that the kingdom of England was to have been sold to the Spaniard. For *necnon e vanitate, cum exclamaret &c.* Bacon substitutes *Quinetiam subinde exclamaret &c.* (nay and he cried out presently after &c.) His argument, as represented both in the contemporary reports of the trial and in the Declaration, was not that the story about the kingdom being to be sold to the Spaniard was so vain a fiction as to shake the credit of the whole plea (the vanity of it was proved by other evidence), but that it was irrelevant to the point in question, which was the taking up arms in self-defence against private enemies.

3.

Camden had represented him as adding, that it was a familiar thing to *traitors* (*proditoribus*) to strike at princes not directly but through the sides of their ministers. For *proditoribus*

Bacon substitutes *defectionem et rebellionem tentantibus:* attempters of revolt and rebellion.

4.

In the next sentence, Camden had represented him as taxing *Essex* with deep dissimulation, *as if he had put on the mask of piety;* and likening him to Pisistratus of Athens, who had gashed his body, &c. (*Essexium profundæ dissimulationis arguit, quasi pietatis larvam induerat: et Pisistrato Atheniensi assimilat, qui corpus &c.*) For this Bacon substitutes *Essexii factum profundæ dissimulationis arguit, quale fuit illud Pisistrati Atheniensis, qui corpus &c.* He taxes *the action* of Essex with deep dissimulation; comparing it to that of Pisistratus, &c. There is nothing about the "mask of piety" either in the report or in the Declaration. Such an imputation would indeed have been quite from the purpose; for Pisistratus's object was not to gain a reputation for piety, but to make people think that he was in danger of his life. The report of the trial says, "I cannot resemble *your proceedings* more rightly than to one Pisistratus, &c. And in the Declaration, the substance of the argument is thus given, "It was said . . . . that *this action* of his resembled *the action* of Pisistratus of Athens, that proceeded so far in this kind of fiction and dissimulation, as he lanced his own body, &c."

5.

At a later stage of the trial, Essex argued that if he had meant anything else than his own defence against private persons, he would not have gone forth with so small a force and so slightly armed. To which (Camden had added, p. 856.) Bacon replied, "This was cunningly done of you, who placed all your hope in the citizens' arms, expecting them to arm both yourself and your party and to take arms in your behalf; imitating herein the Duke of Guise, &c. (*vafre hoc a te factum, qui in civium armis spem totam defixisti, ut te tuosque armarent et pro te arma caperent; imitatus in hoc Guisium, qui Lutetiam &c.*) For this Bacon substitutes (in accordance, as before, with the contemporary reports and with the Declaration) "Cui Baconus: *at in hoc imitatus es recens exemplum Guisii,* qui Lutetiam non ita pridem cum pauculis ingressus, cives *nihilominus* ad arma ita concitavit ut Regem urbe exturbaret." But in this you imitated the recent example of the Duke of Guise,

ho, no long time since, though he entered Paris with a small ompany, yet he roused the citizens to take up arms, in such sort that the King was obliged to fly the city. The words in italic are inserted in Bacon's hand.

In Hearne's edition *nihilominus* is inserted after *Lutetiam;* which is wrong. When I examined the volume in the Bodleian Library into which these corrections have been transcribed, I neglected to observe whether the same mistake occurs there. But as that volume was printed after Camden's death, and the corrections may all have been made from the Cotton MS., we are so far without evidence that they had received Camden's own sanction. That they were derived from a fair copy in which they had been incorporated under his superintendence, seems to me improbable, considering the nature of the errors into which the transcriber has fallen (see above, pp. 354, 355, 360.); all of which materially injure the sense and construction.

ESSAYS OR COUNSELS

CIVIL AND MORAL.

PREFACE.

AMONG the innumerable editions of Bacon's Essays that have been published, there are only four which, as authorities for the text, have any original or independent value; namely those published by Bacon himself in 1597, in 1612, and in 1625; and the Latin version published by Dr. Rawley in 1638. The rest are merely reprints of one or other of these.

The edition of 1597 contained ten essays, together with the *Meditationes Sacræ*, and the *Colours of Good and Evil*. That of 1612, a small volume in 8vo. contained essays only; but the number was increased to thirty-eight, of which twenty-nine were quite new, and all the rest more or less corrected and enlarged. That of 1625, a 4to. and one of the latest of Bacon's publications, contained fifty-eight essays, of which twenty were new, and most of the rest altered and enlarged.

The gradual growth of this volume, containing as it does the earliest and the latest fruits of Bacon's observation in that field in which its value has been most approved by universal and undiminished popularity, is a matter of considerable interest; and as the successive changes are not such as could be represented by a general description or conveniently specified in foot-notes, I have thought it best to reprint the two first editions entire, and add them in an appendix. Considering also that, although it has been thought expedient throughout the text of this edition of Bacon's works to modernize the spelling, it may nevertheless be convenient to the reader to have a specimen of the orthography of Bacon's time, I have taken this opportunity of giving one; and preserved the original spelling throughout both these reprints.

I have also been able to supply from a manuscript in the British Museum evidence of another stage in the growth of this volume, intermediate between the editions of 1597 and 1612; of which manuscript, in connexion with the reprint of the latter, a complete account will be given.

The text of the Essays is taken of course from the edition of 1625; a correct representation of which is nearly all that a modern reader requires. The only points in which the audience to which they now address themselves stands in a different position towards them from that to which they were originally addressed, appear to be,—first, knowledge of Latin, which is probably a less general accomplishment among the readers of books now than it was then; and secondly, familiarity with the ordinary language of that day, in which some expressions have worn out of use with time, and some have acquired new meanings. To meet these changes, I have in the first place translated the Latin quotations, in the same manner and upon the same principle which I have explained at length in my preface to the Advancement of Learning (Vol. III. p. 258); and in the second place, I have added an explanatory note wherever I have observed any expression which a modern reader is likely to misunderstand or not to understand. But I have not attempted to develop allusions, or to canvass historical statements, or to point out inaccuracies of quotation, where the difference does not affect the argument,—still less to entertain the reader with discourses of my own; conceiving that the worth of writings of this kind depends in great part upon the rejection of superfluities, and that an annotator who is too diligent in producing all that he can find to say about his text runs a great risk of merely encumbering the reader with the very matter from which it was the author's labour to disembarrass him. I have even had my doubts whether in writings which remain as fresh as these, the very insertion of references to passages quoted be not an unwelcome interruption and an unwarrantable liberty. When a modern writer introduces, for ornament or illustration or impression, a line from Virgil or Milton, he never thinks of adding a reference to the book and verse; and I suppose that Mr. Singer would not look upon an asterisk and a foot-note, with *Hor. Carm.* I. 12. 45., as any improvement to the elegant motto which occupies the blank page fronting the title of his very elegant edition of these Essays. Bacon's philosophical works stand in many respects in a different position. Their value is in great part historical and antiquarian. They no longer speak to us as to contemporaries. To understand their just import, we must be carried back to the time, and it is of importance to know what books were then

in estimation and what authors were familiarly appealed to, and carried weight as vouchers. The Essays, on the contrary, have for us precisely the same sort of interest which they had for the generation to which they were immediately addressed; they "come home to men's business and bosoms" just in the same way; they appeal to the same kind of experience; the allusions and citations are still familiar, and produce the same kind of impression on the imagination. So that I do not see why the reason which induced Bacon to cite an ancient saying, a tradition of the poets, an observation of one of the fathers, or a sentence from some classical writer, without specifying the volume and page where he found it, should not still be held a reason for leaving them to produce the effect which he intended, unincumbered with a piece of information which I suppose he thought superfluous or inconvenient.

The Latin translation of the Essays, published by Dr. Rawley in 1638 among the *Opera Moralia et Civilia*, under the weightier[1] title of *Sermones Fideles sive Interiora Rerum*, has (as I said) an original and independent value. Whether any of them were actually translated by Bacon himself, or how far he superintended the work, it seems impossible to know. Mr. Singer indeed represents them, on the authority of the title[2], as having been put into Latin by Bacon himself "*præterquam in paucis:*" but the words which he quotes occur in the title not of the *Sermones Fideles*, but of the whole volume, which contains four other works; the *Sermones Fideles* forming less than a fourth of the whole: so that for any thing these words imply they may themselves have been among the things excepted[3]. As it is certain however that Bacon himself regarded the Latin version as that in which they were to live, we may be sure that he took care to have it properly done: only as it was not pub-

[1] Deinde sequetur libellus ille quem vestra lingua *Saggi Morali* appellastis. Verum illi libro nomen gravius impono: scilicet ut inscribatur *Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum.*— *Bacon's Letter to Fulgentio.*

[2] "In the year 1638, Dr. Rawley, who had been Bacon's chaplain, published a folio volume, containing, amongst other works in Latin, a translation of the Essays, under the title of 'Sermones Fideles, ab ipso Honoratissimo Auctore, præterquam in paucis, Latinitate donati."—Pref. p. xvi.

[3] Francisci Baconi . . . . . operum moralium et civilium tomus.

Qui continet
- *Historiam Regni Henrici Septimi Regis Angliæ.*
- *Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum.*
- *Tractatum de Sapientia Veterum.*
- *Dialogum de Bello Sacro.*
- *Et Novam Atlantidem.*

Ab ipso Honoratissimo Auctore, præterquam in paucis, Latinitate donatus.

lished till twelve years after his death, we cannot be sure that it was all finished before he died. Several hands are said to have been employed in the work, and in the absence of all specific information, it is not improbable that there are parts of it which he did not live to see completed. Taken with this caution however, the Latin translation must be accepted as a work of authority, and in one respect of superior authority to the original, because of later date. I have therefore treated it in the same way as the translation of the history of Henry the Seventh; see above, p. 7.

I am not aware that any such value belongs to any of the translations into modern languages. An Italian translation of the Essays and the De Sapientia Veterum published in London in 1618, with a dedicatory letter from Tobie Matthew to Cosmo de' Medici, may be presumed to have been made with Bacon's sanction; both because Matthew was so intimate a friend, and because it includes one essay which had not then been published[1], as well as a large extract from the letter to Prince Henry which Bacon had intended to prefix to the edition of 1612, but was prevented by his death. But there is no reason to suppose that Bacon had anything more to do with it. It is true that Andrea Cioli, who by Cosmo's direction brought out a new and revised edition of this volume at Florence in 1619, seems at first sight to speak of the translation as if it were Bacon's own composition—(ma non hò già voluto alterare alcuna di quelle parole, che forse nella lingua nostra non appariscono interamente proprie del senso, à che sono state in detta Opera destinate, *per non torre all' Autore la gloria, che merita di havere cosi ben saputo esprimere i suoi Concetti* in Idioma altretanto diverso dal suo, quanto è lontana da questa nostra la sua Regione;)—but the supposition is hardly reconcilable with the words of Matthew's dedicatory letter (non può mancar la scusa à chi s' è ingegnato tradur li concetti di questo Autore, &c.); and in the absence of all other evidence is too improbable to be believed. Nor do Cioli's words necessarily imply more than that the translator was an Englishman. That the translation was not the work of an Italian,—and therefore not (according to Mr. Singer's conjecture) by Father Fulgentio,—they afford evidence which may be considered conclusive.

[1] Mr. Singer says two: but one of those he quotes,—the Essay "Of Honour and Reputation,"—will be found in the edition of 1597.

THE

ESSAYES OR COUNSELS,

CIVILL AND MORALL,

OF

FRANCIS LO. VERULAM, VISCOUNT ST. ALBAN.

NEWLY ENLARGED.

LONDON:

Printed by JOHN HAVILAND, for HANNA BARRETT and RICHARD WHITAKER,
And are to be sold at the sign of the King's Head, in
Paul's Churchyard.

1625.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To the Right Honourable my very good Lo. the DUKE of BUCKINGHAM his Grace, Lo. High Admiral of England.

EXCELLENT LO.

SALOMON says, *A good name is as a precious ointment;* and I assure myself, such will your Grace's name be with posterity. For your fortune and merit both have been eminent. And you have planted things that are like to last. I do now publish my Essays; which, of all my other works, have been most current; for that, as it seems, they come home to men's business and bosoms. I have enlarged them both in number and weight; so that they are indeed a new work. I thought it therefore agreeable to my affection and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them, both in English and in Latin.[1] For I do conceive that the Latin volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last. My Instauration I dedicated to the King; my History of Henry the Seventh (which I have now also translated into Latin), and my portions of Natural History, to the Prince; and these I dedicate to your Grace; being of the best fruits that by the good encrease which God gives to my pen and labours I could yield. God lead your Grace by the hand.

Your Grace's most obliged and

faithful seruant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

[1] *Tum in editione Anglicâ, quam in Latinâ.*

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ESSAYS OR COUNSELS

CIVIL AND MORAL.

I. Of Truth.

What is Truth? said jesting Pilate; and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness[1], and count it a bondage to fix a belief; affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits[2] which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth; nor again that when it is found it imposeth upon men's thoughts[3]; that doth bring lies in favour; but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later school of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies, where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets, nor for advantage, as with the merchant; but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell: this same truth is a naked and open day-light, that doth not shew the masks and mummeries and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that sheweth best by day; but it will not rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of a lie doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of men's minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds

[1] *Cogitationum vertigine.* [2] *ingenia quædam ventosa et discursantia.*
[3] *nec quæ ex eâ inventâ cogitationibus imponitur captivitas.*

of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers, in great severity, called poesy *vinum dæmonum* [devil's-wine], because it filleth the imagination; and yet it is but with the shadow of a lie. But it is not the lie that passeth through the mind, but the lie that sinketh in and settleth in it, that doth the hurt; such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus in men's depraved judgments and affections, yet truth, which only doth judge itself, teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature. The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense; the last was the light of reason; and his sabbath work ever since, is the illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed light upon the face of the matter or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen. The poet that beautified the sect that was otherwise inferior to the rest[1], saith yet excellently well: *It is a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tossed upon the sea; a pleasure to stand in the window of a castle, and to see a battle and the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of Truth,* (a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene,) *and to see the errors, and wanderings, and mists, and tempests, in the vale below;* so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride. Certainly, it is heaven upon earth, to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence, and turn upon the poles of truth.

To pass from theological and philosophical truth, to the truth[2] of civil business; it will be acknowledged even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing[3] is the honour of man's nature; and that mixture of falsehood is like allay in coin of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent; which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that

[1] Lucretius. See the beginning of the second book.
[2] *veritatem aut potius veracitatem.*
[3] *apertam et minime fucatam in negotiis gerendis rationem.*

doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason, why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace and such an odious charge? Saith he, *If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much to say, as that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men.*[1] For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man. Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men; it being foretold, that when Christ cometh, *he shall not find faith upon the earth.*

II. Of Death.

Men fear Death, as children fear to go in the dark; and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin and passage to another world, is holy and religious; but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself what the pain is if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved; when many times death passeth with less pain than the torture of a limb: for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense. And by him that spake only as a philosopher and natural man, it was well said, *Pompa mortis magis terret, quam mors ipsa*[2]: [it is the accompaniments of death that are frightful rather than death itself.] Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and obsequies, and the like, shew death terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death; and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the

[1] Essais, II. 18. Compare Plutarch, Lysand. c. 8: ὁ γὰρ ὅρκῳ παρακρουόμενος, τὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν ὁμολογεῖ δεδιέναι, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ καταφρονεῖν.

[2] Seneca, Ep. 24. Tolle istam pompam sub qua lates et stultos territas: mors es, quem nuper servus meus, quem ancilla contempsit. See the rest of the passage, and my note on Rawley's Life of Bacon, Vol. I. p. 13. n. 1.

combat of him. Revenge triumphs over death; Love slights it; Honour aspireth to it; Grief flieth to it[1]; Fear pre-occupateth it; nay we read, after Otho the emperor had slain himself, Pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die, out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers. Nay Seneca adds niceness and satiety: *Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.* A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make; for they appear to be the same men till the last instant. Augustus Cæsar died in a compliment; *Livia, conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale:* [farewell, Livia; and forget not the days of our marriage.] Tiberius in dissimulation; as Tacitus saith of him, *Jam Tiberium vires et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant:* [his powers of body were gone, but his power of dissimulation still remained.] Vespasian in a jest; sitting upon the stool, *Ut puto Deus fio:* [I think I am becoming a god.] Galba with a sentence; *Feri, si ex re sit populi Romani:* [strike, if it be for the good of Rome;] holding forth his neck. Septimius Severus in despatch; *Adeste si quid mihi restat agendum:* [make haste, if there is anything more for me to do.] And the like. Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful. Better saith he, *qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ:* [who accounts the close of life as one of the benefits of nature.] It is as natural to die as to be born; and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolours of death. But above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, *Nunc dimittis;* when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations. Death hath this also; that it openeth the gate to good fame, and extinguisheth envy. *Extinctus amabitur idem:* [the same man that was envied while he lived, shall be loved when he is gone].

[1] The translation adds, *metus ignominiæ eligit:* a sentence which is also found in the edition of 1612, — "Delivery from ignominy chooseth it;" omitted here probably by accident.

III. Of Unity in Religion.

Religion being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of Unity. The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen. The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any constant belief. For you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets. But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a *jealous God*; and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the Unity of the Church; what are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds; and what the Means.

The Fruits of Unity (next unto the well pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within. For the former; it is certain that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals; yea, more than corruption of manners. For as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour; so in the spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep men out of the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of unity. And therefore, whensoever it cometh to that pass, that one saith *Ecce in deserto,* another saith *Ecce in penetralibus;* that is, when some men seek Christ in the conventicles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's ears, *Nolite exire,— Go not out.* The Doctor of the Gentiles (the propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care of those without) saith, *If an heathen come in, and hear you speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly it is little better, when atheists and profane persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions in religion; it doth avert them from the church, and maketh them *to sit down in the chair of the scorners.* It is but a light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it expresseth well the deformity. There is a master of scoffing, that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library sets down this title of a book, *The morris-dance of Heretics.* For indeed every sect of them hath a diverse posture or cringe by them-

selves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and depraved politics, who are apt to contemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within; it is peace; which containeth infinite blessings. It establisheth faith. It kindleth charity. The outward peace of the church distilleth into peace of conscience. And it turneth the labours of writing and reading of controversies into treatises[1] of mortification and devotion.

Concerning the Bounds of Unity; the true placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two extremes. For to certain zelants all speech of pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Jehu? What hast thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me.* Peace is not the matter, but following and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconcilements; as if they would make an arbitrement between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done, if the league of Christians penned by our Saviour himself were in the two cross clauses thereof[2] soundly and plainly expounded: *He that is not with us is against us;* and again, *He that is not against us is with us;* that is, if the points fundamental and of substance in religion were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention.[3] This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already. But if it were done less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two kinds of controversies. The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction. For as it is noted by one of the fathers, *Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's vesture was of divers colours;* whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit,* [let there be variety in the garment, but let there be no division:] they be two things, Unity and Uniformity. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-

[1] *treaties*, in the original.

[2] *in clausulis illis quæ primo intuitu inter se opponi videntur.*

[3] *quæ non sunt ex fide, sed ex opinione probabili et intentione sancta, propter ordinem et ecclesiæ politiam sancita.*

great subtilty and obscurity; so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment which is between man and man, shall we not[1] think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not[1] discern that frail men in some of their contradictions intend the same thing; and accepteth of both? The nature of such controversies is excellently expressed by St. Paul in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, *Devita profanas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientiæ:* [Avoid profane novelties of terms, and oppositions of science falsely so called.] Men create oppositions which are not; and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces or unities: the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance; for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points. For truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nabuchadnezzar's image; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the Means of procuring Unity; men must beware, that in the procuring or muniting of religious unity they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians, the spiritual and temporal; and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion. But we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it; that is, to propagate religion by wars or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences; except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state; much less to nourish seditions; to authorise conspiracies and rebellions; to put the sword into the people's hands; and the like; tending to the subversion of all government[2], which is the ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the first table against the

[1] So in the original. One of the *nots* should obviously be struck out; the reader can choose which.

[2] *quæ omnia manifestissime tendunt ad majestatem imperii minuendam et auctoritatem magistratuum labefactandam; cum tamen omnis legitima potestas sit a Deo ordinata.*

second; and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucretius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed:

Tantum Relligio potuit suadere malorum:

[to such ill actions Religion could persuade a man.] What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in France, or the powder treason of England? He would have been seven times more Epicure and atheist than he was. For as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion; so it is a thing monstrous to put it into the hands of the common people. Let that be left unto the Anabaptists, and other furies. It was great blasphemy when the devil said, *I will ascend and be like the Highest;* but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, *I will descend, and be like the prince of darkness:* and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murthering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or raven; and set out of the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bark of pirates and Assassins. Therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod, do damn and send to hell for ever those facts and opinions tending to the support of the same; as hath been already in good part done. Surely in counsels concerning religion, that counsel of the apostle would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet justitiam Dei:* [The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God.] And it was a notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed; *that those which held and persuaded pressure of consciences, were commonly interessed therein themselves for their own ends.*

IV. Of Revenge.

Revenge is a kind of wild justice; which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out. For as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law; but the revenge of

that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior; for it is a prince's part to pardon. And Salomon, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence.* That which is past is gone, and irrevocable; and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake; but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong merely out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy; but then let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish; else a man's enemy is still before hand, and it is two for one.[1] Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh. This the more generous. For the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent. But base and crafty cowards[2] are like the arrow that flieth in the dark. Cosmus, duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable; *You shall read* (saith he) *that we are commanded to forgive our enemies; but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends.* But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune: *Shall we* (saith he) *take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?* And so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate; as that for the death of Cæsar; for the death of Pertinax; for the death of Henry the Third[3] of France; and many more. But in private revenges it is not so. Nay rather, vindictive persons live the life of witches; who, as they are mischievous, so end they infortunate.

[1] *Alias ipse sibi pœnam conduplicat, inimicus vero lucrum facit.*

[2] *Vili ingenio præditi et malitiosi.*

[3] So the original. The Latin translation has *Henrici Quarti, magni illius Galliæ regis.* It is probable therefore that we should read here *fourth* instead of *third.* But the observation is true to a certain extent with regard to both.

V. Of Adversity.

It was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), *that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished; but the good things that belong to adversity are to be admired. Bona rerum secundarum optabilia; adversarum mirabilia.* Certainly if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen), *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God. Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.* This would have done better in poesy, where transcendences are more allowed. And the poets indeed have been busy with it; for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian; that *Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus* (by whom human nature is represented), *sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher;* lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail bark of the flesh thorough the waves of the world. But to speak in a mean.[1] The virtue of Prosperity is temperance, the virtue of Adversity is fortitude; which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament; Adversity is the blessing of the New; which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols; and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Salomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes; and Adversity is not without comforts and hopes. We see in needle-works and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground: judge therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye. Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed: for Prosperity doth best discover vice, but Adversity doth best discover virtue

[1] *Ut a granditate verborum ad mediocritatem descendamus.*

VI. Of Simulation and Dissimulation.

Dissimulation is but a faint kind of policy or wisdom[1]; for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it. Therefore it is the weaker sort of politics that are the great dissemblers.

Tacitus saith[2], *Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband and dissimulation of her son;* attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius. And again, when Mucianus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith[3], *We rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius.* These properties, of arts or policy and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished. For if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to whom and when, (which indeed are arts of state and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them,) to him a habit of dissimulation is a hinderance and a poorness. But if a man cannot obtain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler. For where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general; like the going softly, by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness of dealing; and a name of certainty and veracity; but then they were like horses well managed; for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn; and at such times when they thought the case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad of their good faith and clearness of dealing made them almost invisible.[4]

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self. The first, Closeness, Reservation, and Secrecy; when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be

[1] *Artium civilium compendium quoddam et pars infirmior.*

[2] *Quod discrimen bene apud Tacitum Cæsarem Augustum inter et Tiberium adnotatum est. Etenim de Liviâ sic ait.*

[3] *Idem alibi hisce verbis Mucianum inducit Vespasianum ad arma contra Vitellium sumenda hortantem.*

[4] *Quod si necessitas quædam ingruat dissimulationem profundam postulans, tunc quidem opinio et fama de bonâ fide et veracitate eorum præconcepta eos reddit prorsus invisibiles.*

taken, what he is.[1] The second, Dissimulation, in the negative; when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is. And the third, Simulation, in the affirmative; when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.

For the first of these, Secrecy; it is indeed the virtue of a confessor. And assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions. For who will open himself to a blab or babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery[2]; as the more close air sucketh in the more open; and as in confession the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart[3], so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind; while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds. In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy[4]. Besides (to say truth) nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body; and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open. As for talkers and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not. Therefore set it down, *that an habit of secrecy is both politic and moral.* And in this part, it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak. For the discovery of a man's self by the tracts of his countenance is a great weakness and betraying; by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is Dissimulation; it followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity; so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree. For men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side.[5] They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd silence, he must shew an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little

[1] *Primus est Taciturnitas, cum quis sensus animi sui premit, adeoque relinquit in æquilibrio, ut in quam partem propendeat nemo facile conjecerit.*

[2] *facile aliorum animos reserabit.*

[3] *ad conscientiam sublevandam.*

[4] *silentibus.*

[5] *in æquilibrio se continere, absque aliqua in alteram partem inclinationis sua declaratione.*

scope of dissimulation; which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is Simulation and false profession; that I hold more culpable, and less politic; except it be in great and rare matters. And therefore a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice, rising either of a natural falseness or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults, which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure.

The great[1] advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise. For where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarum to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat. For if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through or take a fall.[2] The third is, the better to discover the mind of another. For to him that opens himself men will hardly shew themselves adverse; but will (fair)[3] let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought. And therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, *Tell a lie and find a troth.* As if there were no way of discovery but by simulation.[4] There be also three disadvantages, to set it even. The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a shew of fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him; and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third and greatest, is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action; which is trust and belief. The best composition and temperature is to have openness in fame and opinion[5]; secrecy in habit; dissimulation in seasonable use; and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.

[1] So in original, and in ed. 1639. *Great* is omitted in the translation, and in some modern editions, including Mr. Singer's.

[2] *Quod in hominis potestate relinquit ut pedem referat, et se absque æstimationis suæ jactura de negotio subducat. Si quis enim se manifesta declaratione obstringit, is cuneis quasi impactis includitur; aut pergendum est ei, aut turpiter desistendum.*

[3] So in the original, and also in edition 1639. The translation has: *Etenim ei qui consilia sua profert, non facile quis se adversarium profiteatur, verum assentabitur potius.* I do not remember to have met with this use of *fair* any where else; but it is intelligible enough, and may, I should think, be right.

[4] *perinde ac si simulatio clavis esset ad secreta reseranda.*

[5] *Veracitatis famam.*

VII. Of Parents and Children.

The joys of parents are secret; and so are their griefs and fears. They cannot utter the one; nor they will not utter the other. Children sweeten labours; but they make misfortunes more bitter. They increase the cares of life; but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity by generation is common to beasts; but memory, merit, and noble works, are proper to men. And surely a man shall see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from childless men; which have sought to express the images of their minds, where those of their bodies have failed. So the care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity. They that are the first raisers of their houses are most indulgent towards their children; beholding them as the continuance not only of their kind but of their work[1]; and so both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their several children is many times unequal; and sometimes unworthy; especially in the mother; as Salomon saith, *A wise son rejoiceth the father, but an ungracious son shames the mother.* A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons[2]; but in the midst some that are as it were forgotten, who many times nevertheless prove the best. The illiberality of parents in allowance towards their children is an harmful error; makes them base[3]; acquaints them with shifts; makes them sort with mean company; and makes them surfeit more when they come to plenty. And therefore the proof is best, when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse.[4] Men have a foolish manner (both parents and schoolmasters and servants) in creating and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The Italians make little difference between children and nephews or near kinsfolks; but so they be of the lump, they care not though they pass not through their own body. And, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter; insomuch that we see a

[1] *non tantum ut continuationem speciei suæ, sed ut rerum a se gestarum hæredes.*
[2] *in deliciis esse.*
[3] *animo degeneres.*
[4] *auctoritatem tuentur, crumenam laxant.*

nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle or a kinsman more than his own parent; as the blood happens. Let parents choose betimes[1] the vocations and courses they mean their children should take; for then they are most flexible; and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to. It is true, that if the affection or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it; but generally the precept is good, *optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet consuetudo:* [choose the best — custom will make it pleasant and easy.] Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the elder are disinherited.

VIII. Of Marriage and Single Life.

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune; for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief. Certainly[2] the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men; which both in affection and means have married and endowed the public. Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times; unto which they know they must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end with themselves, and account future times impertinences.[3] Nay, there are some other that account wife and children but as bills of charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer. For perhaps they have heard some talk, *Such an one is a great rich man*, and another except to it, *Yea, but he hath a great charge of children;* as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants; but not always best subjects; for they are light to run away; and almost all fugitives are of that

[1] *in tenera ætate filiorum suorum.*
[2] *ut alibi diximus.*
[3] *nihil ad se pertinentia.*

condition. A single life doth well with churchmen; for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates; for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly in their hortatives put men in mind of their wives and children; and I think the despising of marriage amongst the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they may be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hardhearted (good to make severe inquisitors,) because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures, led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands; as was said of Ulysses, *vetulam suam prætulit immortalitati:* [he preferred his old wife to immortality.] Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity and obedience in the wife, if she think her husband wise; which she will never do if she find him jealous. Wives are young men's mistresses; companions for middle age; and old men's nurses. So as a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will. But yet he was reputed one of the wise men, that made answer to the question, when a man should marry?— *A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.* It is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives; whether it be that it raiseth the price of their husband's kindness when it comes; or that the wives take a pride in their patience. But this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent; for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

IX. Of Envy.

There be none of the affections which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but love and envy. They both have vehement wishes; they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions; and they come easily into the eye[1],

[1] *Uterque facile ascendit in oculos*

especially upon the presence of the objects; which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see likewise the scripture calleth envy an *evil eye;* and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars *evil aspects;* so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation or irradiation of the eye. Nay some have been so curious as to note, that the times when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph; for that sets an edge upon envy: and besides, at such times the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities, (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place,) we will handle, what persons are apt to envy others; what persons are most subject to be envied themselves; and what is the difference between public and private envy.

A man that hath no virtue in himself, ever envieth virtue in others. For men's minds will either feed upon their own good or upon others' evil; and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other; and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand by depressing another's fortune.

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious. For to know much of other men's matters cannot be because all that ado may concern his own estate; therefore it must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure[1] in looking upon the fortunes of others. Neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy. For envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home: *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus:* [There is no curious man but has some malevolence to quicken his curiosity.]

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise. For the distance is altered; and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back.

Deformed persons, and eunuchs, and old men, and bastards, are envious. For he that cannot possibly mend his own case will do what he can to impair another's; except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to

[1] *Scenicam quandam voluptatem.*

make his natural wants part of his honour; in that it should be said, that an eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters; affecting the honour of a miracle; as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamberlanes, that were lame men.

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and misfortunes. For they are as men fallen out with the times; and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings.

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever envious. For they cannot want work[1]; it being impossible but many in some one of those things should surpass them. Which was the character of Adrian the Emperor; that mortally envied poets and painters and artificers, in works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near kinsfolks, and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others; and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted there was no body to look on. Thus much for those that are apt to envy.

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy: First, persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied. For their fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather.[2] Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self; and where there is no comparison, no envy; and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless it is to be noted that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better[3]; whereas contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre; for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising. For it seemeth but right done to their birth.[4] Besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune; and envy is as the sunbeams,

[1] *i.e.* Matter for envy to work upon: *ubique enim occurrunt objecta invidiæ.*
[2] *sed largitioni supra meritum.* [3] *postea vero minus.*
[4] *nihil aliud videtur quam debitum majoribus suis repensum.*

that beat hotter upon a bank or steep rising ground, than upon a flat. And for the same reason those that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly and *per saltum*.

Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy. For men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and pity ever healeth envy. Wherefore you shall observe that the more deep and sober[1] sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves, what a life they lead; chanting a *quanta patimur*. Not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy. But this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business. And nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places. For by that means there be so many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy, which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner; being never well but while they are shewing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition; whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves sometimes of purpose to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain glory) doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion. For in that course a man doth but disavow fortune; and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth[2]; and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part; as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there

[1] *magis sanos ac sobrios.*

[2] *nihilominus illud verum est, potentiæ ostentationem apertam et indissimulatam (modo absit arrogantia et gloria inanis) minore invidia laborare, quam si callide et quasi furtim se notæ subtrahat. Etenim hoc cum fit, nihil aliud facit quis quam ut fortunam insimulet, quasi ipse sibi esset conscius indignitatis suæ.* The undisguised assumption and display of greatness is less subject to envy than any furtive attempt to withdraw it from observation: for by seeming to be ashamed of his position, a man admits that he is unworthy of it; and so "disavows" (*i. e.* declines to justify) or impeaches (*i. e.* throws the blame upon) fortune.

is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is, to remove the *lot* (as they call it) and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive[1] the envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants; sometimes upon colleagues and associates; and the like; and for that turn there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost.

Now, to speak of public envy. There is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none. For public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great. And therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds.

This envy, being in the Latin word *invidia*, goeth in the modern languages by the name of *discontentment*; of which we shall speak in handling Sedition. It is a disease in a state like to infection. For as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour. And therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions. For that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hurteth so much the more; as it is likewise usual in infections; which if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves. But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small; or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate; then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself. And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy; that of all other affections it is the most importune and continual. For of other affections there is occasion given but now and then; and therefore it was well said, *Invidia festos dies non agit:* [Envy keeps no holidays:] for it is ever working upon some or other. And it is also noted that love and envy do

[1] Turn from its course.

make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved; for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called *The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night;* as it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark; and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat.

X. Of Love.

The stage is more beholding to Love, than the life of man. For as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief; sometimes like a syren, sometimes like a fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent,) there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love: which shews that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except nevertheless Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and lawgiver[1]; whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere and wise man: and therefore it seems (though rarely) that love can find entrance not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor[2] saying of Epicurus, *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus:* [Each is to other a theatre large enough]; as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make himself a subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye; which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves the nature and value of things, by this; that the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love. Neither is it merely in the phrase; for whereas it hath been well said that the arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self; certainly the lover is more. For there was never proud man thought so absurdly

[1] *legislatorum apud Romanos principem.*
[2] *abjectum et pusillanimum.*

well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved; and therefore it was well said, *That it is impossible to love and to be wise,*[1] Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved; but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciproque. For it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded either with the reciproque or with an inward and secret contempt. By how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation doth well figure them; That he that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas. For whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness; which are great prosperity and great adversity; though this latter hath been less observed: both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be the child of folly. They do best, who if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter; and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life; for if it check once with business, it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love: I think it is but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable; as it is seen sometime in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind; friendly love perfecteth it; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

XI. Of Great Place.

Men in great place are thrice servants: servants of the sovereign or state; servants of fame; and servants of business. So as they have no freedom; neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire, to seek power and to lose liberty: or to seek power over others and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is labo-

[1] *Recte itaque receptum est illud diverbium :* Amare et sapere vix Deo conceditur.

rious; and by pains men come to greater pains; and it is sometimes base; and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing. *Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere:* [When a man feels that he is no longer what he was, he loses all his interest in life.] Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of privateness, even in age and sickness, which require the shadow; like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions, to think themselves happy; for if they judge by their own feeling, they cannot find it: but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report; when perhaps they find the contrary within. For they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind. *Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi:* [It is a sad fate for a man to die too well known to every-body else, and still unknown to himself.] In place there is licence to do good and evil; whereof the latter is a curse: for in evil the best condition is not to will; the second not to can. But power to do good is the true and lawful end of aspiring. For good thoughts (though God accept them) yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act; and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground. Merit and good works is the end of man's motion; and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest. For if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis;* [And God turned to look upon the works which his hands had made, and saw that all were very good;] and then the sabbath. In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts. And after a time set before thee thine own example; and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also

the examples of those that have carried themselves ill in the same place; not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform therefore, without bravery[1] or scandal of former times and persons; but yet set it down to thyself as well to create good precedents as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate; but yet ask counsel of both times; of the ancient time, what is best; and of the latter time, what is fittest. Seek to make thy course regular[2], that men may know beforehand what they may expect; but be not too positive and peremptory; and express thyself well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserve the right of thy place; but stir not questions of jurisdiction: and rather assume thy right in silence and *de facto*, than voice it with claims and challenges. Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places; and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all. Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place; and do not drive away such as bring thee information, as meddlers; but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly four; delays, corruption, roughness, and facility. For delays; give easy access; keep times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, and interlace not business but of necessity. For corruption; do not only bind thine own hands or thy servants' hands from taking, but bind the hands of suitors also from offering. For integrity used doth the one; but integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other. And avoid not only the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth suspicion of corruption. Therefore always when thou changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to change; and do not think to steal it. A servant or a favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent cause of esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corruption. For roughness; it is a needless cause of discontent[3]: severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting. As for facility; it is worse than

[1] *sed absque elatione tui ipsius.*

[2] *Contende ut quæ agis* pro Potestate *tanquam regulis quibusdam cohibeantur; ut hominibus tanquam digito monstres, quid illis sit expectandum.*

[3] *invidiam et malevolentiam parit illa, nihil inde metens.*

bribery. For bribes come but now and then; but if importunity or idle respects lead a man, he shall never be without. As Salomon saith, *To respect persons is not good; for such a man will transgress for a piece of bread.* (It is most true that was anciently spoken, *A place sheweth the man.* And it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse. *Omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset,* [a man whom every body would have thought fit for empire if he had not been emperor,] saith Tacitus of Galba; but of Vespasian he saith, *Solus imperantium, Vespasianus mutatus in melius:* [He was the only emperor whom the possession of power changed for the better;] though the one was meant of sufficiency[1], the other of manners and affection. It is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom honour amends. For honour is, or should be, the place of virtue; and as in nature things move violently to their place and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority settled and calm. All rising to great place is by a winding stair; and if there be factions, it is good to side a man's self whilst he is in the rising, and to balance himself when he is placed. Use the memory of thy predecessor fairly and tenderly; for if thou dost not, it is a debt will sure be paid when thou art gone. If thou have colleagues, respect them, and rather call them when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reason to look to be called. Be not too sensible or too remembering of thy place in conversation and private answers to suitors[2]; but let it rather be said, *When he sits in place he is another man.*

XII. Of Boldness.

It is a trivial grammar-school text, but yet worthy a wise man's consideration. Question was asked of Demosthenes, *what was the chief part of an orator?* he answered, *action:* what next? *action:* what next again? *action.* He said it that knew it best, and had by nature himself no advantage in that he commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player,

[1] *de arte imperatoriâ.*
[2] *in quotidianis sermonibus aut conversatione privatâ.*

should be placed so high, above those other noble parts of invention, elocution, and the rest; nay almost alone, as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of Boldness, in civil business; what first? Boldness: what second and third? Boldness. And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts. But nevertheless it doth fascinate and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part; yea and prevaileth with wise men at weak times. Therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states; but with senates and princes less; and more ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after; for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call an hill to him, and from the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled; Mahomet called the hill to come to him, again and again; and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, *If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill.* So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, bold persons are a sport to behold; nay and to the vulgar also, boldness has somewhat of the ridiculous. For if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity. Especially it is a sport to see, when a bold fellow is out of countenance; for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture [1]; as needs it must; for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come; but with bold men. upon like occasion, they stand at a stay; like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation. This

[1] *vultum enim tunc nanciscitur in se reductum, sed deformiter.*

is well to be weighed; that boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences. Therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds, and under the direction of others. For in counsel it is good to see dangers; and in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

XIII. Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature.

I take Goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia*; and the word *humanity* (as it is used) is a little too light [1] to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and Goodness of Nature the inclination. This of all virtues and dignities of the mind is the greatest; being the character of the Deity: and without it man [2] is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing; no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue Charity, and admits no excess, but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall; the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall: but in charity there is no excess; neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man, insomuch that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds; insomuch as Busbechius reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl.[3] Errors indeed in this virtue of goodness or charity may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente; So good, that he is good for nothing.* And one of the doctors of Italy[4], Nicholas Machiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, *That the Christian faith had*

[1] *levius aliquanto et angustius.* [2] *homo animalis.*

[3] The Latin translation has, more correctly, *adeo ut (referente Busbequio) aurifex quidam Venetus, Byzantii agens, vix furorem populi effugerit, quod avis ejusdem rostri oblongi fauces inserto baculo diduxisset.* The bird was a goat-sucker, which the goldsmith ("homo alioqui ridiculus") fastened over his door with wings spread and jaws distended. The story will be found in Busbequius's letter from Constantinople, p. 179. of ed. 1633.

[4] These words are omitted in the translation; no doubt as likely to give offence at Rome. The Italian translation has "quel empio Nicolo Macciavello."

given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust. Which he spake, because indeed there was never law, or sect, or opinion, did so much magnify goodness, as the Christian religion doth. Therefore, to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies; for that is but facility or softness; which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly; *He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine, upon the just and unjust;* but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues, upon men equally. Common benefits are to be communicate with all; but peculiar benefits with choice. And beware how in making the portraiture thou breakest the pattern. For divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern; the love of our neighbours but the portraiture. *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me:* but sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great; for otherwise in feeding the streams thou driest the fountain. Neither is there only a habit of goodness, directed by right reason; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it; as on the other side there is a natural malignity. For there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others.[1] The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficilness, or the like; but the deeper sort to envy and mere mischief. Such men in other men's calamities are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part[2]: not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores; but like flies that are still buzzing upon any thing that is raw; *misanthropi*[3], that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens[4], as Timon had. Such dispositions are the very errours of human nature[5]; and yet they are the fittest timber to make

[1] *qui ingenii proprii instinctu aversentur aliorum bonum.*

[2] *easque semper aggravant.*

[3] *Non paucos reperias* misanthropos; *quibus volupe est*, &c.

[4] That is, I suppose, without openly professing it. The Italian translation introduces the word *palesemente:* "et con tutto ciò non hanno palesemente nel loro giardini à tal proposito l'albero di Timone."

[5] *non injuriâ vocare licet humanæ naturæ vomicas et carcinomata.*

great politiques of; like to knee timber, that is good for ships, that are ordained to be tossed; but not for building houses, that shall stand firm. The parts and signs of goodness are many. If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shews he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them. If he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shews that his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm. If he easily pardons and remits offences, it shews that his mind is planted above injuries; so that he cannot be shot. If he be thankful for small benefits, it shews that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash. But above all, if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to be an *anathema* from Christ for the salvation of his brethren, it shews much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

XIV. Of Nobility.

We will speak of Nobility first as a portion of an estate; then as a condition of particular persons. A monarchy where there is no nobility at all, is ever a pure and absolute tyranny; as that of the Turks. For nobility attempers sovereignty, and draws the eyes of the people somewhat aside from the line royal. But for democracies, they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet and less subject to sedition, than where there are stirps of nobles. For men's eyes are upon the business, and not upon the persons; or if upon the persons, it is for the business sake, as fittest, and not for flags and pedigree.[1] We see the Switzers last well, notwithstanding their diversity of religion and of cantons. For utility is their bond, and not respects.[2] The united provinces of the Low Countries in their government excel; for where there is an equality, the consultations are more indifferent, and the payments and tributes more cheerful. A great and potent nobility addeth majesty to a monarch, but diminisheth power; and putteth life and spirit into the people, but presseth their fortune. It is well when

[1] *vel si omnino in personas, id fit tanquam in maxime idoneas rebus gerendis, minime vero ut ratio habeatur insignium aut imaginum.*

[2] *dignitas.*

nobles are not too great for sovereignty nor for justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the insolency of inferiors may be broken upon them[1] before it come on too fast upon the majesty of kings. A numerous nobility causeth poverty and inconvenience in a state[2]; for it is a surcharge of expense; and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means.

As for nobility in particular persons; it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay; or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect. How much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time. For new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants[3]; for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and and evil arts. But it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry; and he that is not industrious, envieth him that is. Besides, noble persons cannot go much higher: and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them; because they are in possession of honour.[4] Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business[5]; for people naturally bend to them, as born in some sort to command.

XV. Of Seditions and Troubles.

Shepherds of people had need know the calendars[6] of tempests in state; which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality; as natural tempests are greatest about the *Equinoctia*.

[1] *illorum reverentiâ, tanquam obice, retundatur.*

[2] *Rursus numerosa nobilitas, quæ plerumque minus potens est, statum prorsus depauperat.*

[3] *virtutum claritudine plerumque posteris eminent, sed innocentiâ minime.*

[4] That is, *born* in possession. *Eo quod nobiles in honorum possessione nati videntur.*

[5] *negotia sua mollius fluere sentient, si eos potissimum adhibeant.*

[6] *Prognostica.*

And as there are certain hollow[1] blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states:

——— Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella.

[Of troubles imminent and treasons dark
Thence warning comes, and wars in secret gathering.]

Libels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open; and in like sort, false news often running up and down to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced; are amongst the signs of troubles. Virgil giving the pedigree of Fame, saith *she was sister to the Giants:*

Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit.

As if fames were the relics of seditions past; but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine; especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced: for that shews the envy great, as Tacitus saith, *conflata magna invidia, seu bene seu male gesta premunt:* [when dislike prevails against the government, good actions and bad offend alike.] Neither doth it follow, that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that[2] the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles. For the despising of them many times checks them best; and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived.[3] Also that kind of obedience which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected: *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari quam exequi;* [ready to serve, and yet more disposed to construe commands than execute them;] disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and assay of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously.

[1] *cavos, et veluti a longinquo.*
[2] So in original. One of the *thats* should of course be omitted.
[3] *nihil aliud fere efficit quam ut durent magis.*

Also, as Machiavel[1] noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side, it is as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side; as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France; for first himself entered league for the extirpation of the Protestants; and presently after the same league was turned upon himself. For when the authority of princes is made but an accessary to a cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession.

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost. For the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under *primum mobile;* (according to the old opinion,) which is, that every of them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion.[2] And therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and, as Tacitus expresseth it well, *liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent,* [unrestrained by reverence for the government], it is a sign the orbs are out of frame. For reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God; who threateneth[3] the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula regum:* [I will unbind the girdles of kings.]

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken or weakened (which are Religion, Justice, Counsel, and Treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth); and let us speak first of the Materials of seditions; then of the Motives of them; and thirdly of the Remedies.

Concerning the Materials of seditions. It is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it) is to take away the matter of them. For if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds; much poverty and much discontentment. It is certain,

[1] The Italian translation omits the name of Machiavel, and says only *un scrittore.*

[2] *qui rapide quidem circumferuntur secundum motum* primi mobilis, *leniter autem reluctantur in motu proprio.*

[3] That is, holds it out as a threat. A manuscript copy of this Essay in an earlier form (which will be given in the Appendix) has, "who threateneth the dissolving thereof as one of his greatest judgments."

so many overthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. Lucan noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war,

> Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,
> Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum:

[estates eaten up by usurious rates of interest, credit shaken, war a gain to many.]

This same *multis utile bellum*, is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles. And if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great. For the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments[1], they are in the politic body like to humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame. And let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust: for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable; who do often spurn at their own good: nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small: for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling: *Dolendi modus, timendi non item:* [Suffering has its limit, but fears are endless.] Besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do withal mate the courage; but in fears it is not so. Neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discontentments, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued: for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm; so it is nevertheless true that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull.*

The Causes and Motives of seditions are, innovation in religion; taxes; alteration of laws and customs; breaking of privileges; general oppression; advancement of unworthy persons; strangers; dearths; disbanded soldiers; factions grown desperate; and whatsoever, in offending people, joineth and knitteth them in a common cause.

For the Remedies; there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak: as for the just cure, it must answer

[1] *alienationes animorum, et tædium rerum præsentium.*

to the particular disease; and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy or prevention is to remove by all means possible that material cause of sedition whereof we spake; which is, want and poverty in the estate. To which purpose serveth, the opening and well-balancing of trade; the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness; the repressing of waste and excess by sumptuary laws; the improvement and husbanding of the soil; the regulating of prices of things vendible; the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars) do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them. Neither is the population to be reckoned only by number; for a smaller number that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more. Therefore the multiplying of nobility and other degrees of quality in an over proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity; and so doth likewise an overgrown clergy; for they bring nothing to the stock; and in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another; the commodity as nature yieldeth it; the manufacture; and the vecture, or carriage. So that if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that *materiam superabit opus;* that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth a state more; as is notably seen in the Low-Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world.

Above all things, good policy is to be used that the treasure and monies in a state be not gathered into few hands. For otherwise a state may have a great stock, and yet starve. And money is like muck, not good except it be spread. This is done chiefly by suppressing, or at the least keeping a strait hand upon the devouring trades of usury, ingrossing[1], great pasturages, and the like.

[1] *monopoliorum.*

For removing discontentments, or at least the danger of them; there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects; the nobless and the commonalty. When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great; for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort; and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The poets feign, that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter; which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid. An emblem, no doubt, to show how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people.

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery), is a safe way. For he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.

The part of Epimetheus mought well become Prometheus, in the case of discontentments; for there is not a better provision against them. Epimetheus, when griefs and evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments. And it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding, when it can hold men's hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner, as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope: which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that they believe not.[1]

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation; that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes; and that is thought discontented in his own particular: which kind of persons are

[1] *aut saltem ostentare, in gloriam suam, quod non omnino credunt.*

either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner; or to be fronted with some other of the same party, that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust, amongst themselves, is not one of the worst remedies. For it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted that some witty and sharp speeches which have fallen from princes have given fire to seditions. Cæsar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, *Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare:* [Sylla was no scholar, he could not dictate:] for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech, *legi a se militem, non emi;* [that he did not buy his soldiers, but levied them:] for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative. Probus likewise, by that speech, *si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus;* [if I live, the Roman empire shall have no more need of soldiers:] a speech of great despair for the soldiers. And many the like. Surely princes had need, in tender matters and ticklish times, to beware what they say; especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions. For as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of troubles than were fit. And the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith; *Atque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur:* [A few were in a humour to attempt mischief, more to desire, all to allow it.] But let such military persons be assured, and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular; holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state; or else the remedy is worse than the disease.

XVI. Of Atheism.

I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran[1], than that this universal frame is without a mind. And therefore God never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it. It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism; but depth in philosphy bringeth men's minds about to religion. For while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them, confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity. Nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism doth most demonstrate religion; that is, the school of Leucippus and Democritus and Epicurus. For it is a thousand times more credible, that four mutable elements, and one immutable fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions or seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal. The scripture saith, *The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God;* it is not said, *The fool hath thought in his heart;* so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can throughly believe it, or be persuaded of it. For none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this; that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others. Nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects. And, which is most of all[2], you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant; whereas if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoyed themselves without having respect to the government of the world. Wherein they say he did temporize;

[1] In the edition of 1612, it stood, "all the fables in the Legend and the Alcoran." The Italian translation omits the Legend, and has only "tutte le favole dell' Alcorano."

[2] *quod monstri simile est.*

though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly he is traduced; for his words are noble and divine: *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum:* [There is no profanity in refusing to believe in the Gods of the vulgar: the profanity is in believing of the Gods what the vulgar believe of them.] Plato could have said no more. And although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the west have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God: as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c. but not the word *Deus;* which shews that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it. So that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare: a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are; for that all that impugn a received religion or superstition are by the adverse part branded with the name of atheists. But the great atheists indeed are hypocrites; which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling; so as they must needs be cauterized in the end. The causes of atheism are; divisions in religion, if they be many; for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides; but many divisions introduce atheism. Another is, scandal of priests; when it is come to that which St. Bernard saith, *Non est jam dicere, ut populus sic sacerdos; quia nec sic populus ut sacerdos:* [One cannot now say, the priest is as the people, for the truth is that the people are not so bad as the priest.] A third is, custom of profane scoffing in holy matters; which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion. And lastly, learned times, specially with peace and prosperity; for troubles and adversities do more bow men's minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy man's nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature; for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man; who to him is instead of a God, or *melior natura;* which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a

better nature than his own, could never attain. So man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith which human nature in itself could not obtain. Therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations. Never was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome. Of this state hear what Cicero saith: *Quam volumus licet, patres conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos et Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus:* [Pride ourselves as we may upon our country, yet are we not in number superior to the Spaniards, nor in strength to the Gauls, nor in cunning to the Carthaginians, nor to the Greeks in arts, nor to the Italians and Latins themselves in the homely and native sense which belongs to this nation and land; it is in piety only and religion, and the wisdom of regarding the providence of the Immortal Gods as that which rules and governs all things, that we have surpassed all nations and peoples.]

XVII. Of Superstition.[1]

It were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy[2] of him. For the one is unbelief, the other is contumely: and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose: *Surely* (saith he) *I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born;* as the poets speak of Saturn. And as the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation[3]; all which may be

[1] This Essay is omitted in the Italian translation.

[2] *contumeliosam et Deo indignam.*

[3] *Atheismus non prorsus convellit dictamina sensûs, non philosophiam, affectus naturales, leges, bonæ famæ desiderium.*

guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men. Therefore atheism did never perturb states; for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further[1]: and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus Cæsar) were civil[2] times. But superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new *primum mobile*, that ravisheth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people; and in all superstition wise men follow fools; and arguments are fitted to practice, in a reversed order.[3] It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bare great sway, *that the schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs, to save the phænomena; though they knew there were no such things;* and in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems, to save the practice of the church. The causes of superstition are, pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies; excess of outward and pharisaical holiness; over-great reverence of traditions, which cannot but load the church; the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre; the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties[4]; the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations[5]: and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received; therefore care would be had[6] that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad; which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

[1] *cautos . . . . . et securitati suæ consulentes.* [2] *tranquilla.*

[3] That is, reason is governed by practice, instead of practice by reason. *Argumenta practicæ succumbunt, ordine perverso.*

[4] *novitatibus et ethelothreskiis.*

[5] *Exemplorum importuna et inepta petitio ab humanis, quæ in divina transferantur, quæ necessario parit fantasiarum male cohærentium mixturam.*

[6] *curæ esse dicit in Religione reformandâ.*

XVIII. Of Travel.

Travel, in the younger sort, is a part of education; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth into a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young men travel under some tutor, or grave servant[1], I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before; whereby he may be able to tell them what things are worthy to be seen in the country where they go; what acquaintances they are to seek; what exercises or discipline the place yieldeth. For else young men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing, that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries; but in land-travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chance were fitter to be registered than observation. Let diaries therefore be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are, the courts of princes, specially when they give audience to ambassadors; the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes; and so of consistories ecclesiastic; the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant; the walls and fortifications of cities and towns, and so the havens and harbours; antiquities and ruins; libraries; colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are; shipping and navies; houses and gardens of state and pleasure, near great cities; armories; arsenals; magazines; exchanges; burses; warehouses; exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like; comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort; treasuries of jewels and robes; cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go. After all which the tutors or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masks, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not to be put in mind of them; yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do. First as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth.

[1] *servo aliquo experto.*

Then he must have such a servant or tutor as knoweth the country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some card or book describing the country where he travelleth; which will be a good key to his inquiry. Let him keep also a diary. Let him not stay long in one city or town; more or less as the place deserveth, but not long; nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another; which is a great adamant of acquaintance.[1] Let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth. Let him upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth; that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his travel with much profit. As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel; that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors: for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many. Let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad; that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame.[2] For quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided. They are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words. And let a man beware how he keepeth company with choleric and quarrelsome persons; for they will engage him into their own quarrels. When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him; but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth. And let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture; and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers, than forward to tell stories; and let it appear that he doth not change his country manners for those of foreign parts; but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad into the customs of his own country.

[1] *nam et hoc certe magnes est attrahendi familiaritates et consuetudines hominum complurium.*

[2] *quomodo os, vultus, et corporis lineamenta et motus, respondeant famæ.*

XIX. Of Empire.

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire, and many things to fear; and yet that commonly is the case of kings; who, being at the highest, want matter of desire, which makes their minds more languishing; and have many representations of perils and shadows, which makes their minds the less clear. And this is one reason also of that effect which the Scripture speaketh of, *That the king's heart is inscrutable.* For multitude of jealousies, and lack of some predominant desire that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that princes many times make themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys; sometimes upon a building; sometimes upon erecting of an order; sometimes upon the advancing of a person; sometimes upon obtaining excellency in some art or feat of the hand; as Nero for playing on the harp, Domitian for certainty of the hand with the arrow, Commodus for playing at fence, Caracalla for driving chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto those that know not the principle *that the mind of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting*[1] *in small things, than by standing at a stay in great.* We see also that kings that have been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy; as did Alexander the Great; Dioclesian; and in our memory, Charles the Fifth; and others: for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was.

To speak now of the true temper of empire; it is a thing rare and hard to keep; for both temper and distemper consist of contraries. But it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, *what was Nero's overthrow?* He answered, *Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is

[1] *progrediendo.*

that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal [1] and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs is rather fine deliveries and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof. But this is but to try masteries with fortune. And let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared; for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with princes (saith Tacitus)[2] to will contradictories, *Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ:* [Their desires are commonly vehement and incompatible one with another.] For it is the solecism of power, to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second-nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First for their neighbours; there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable,) save one, which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade[3], by approaches, or the like), as they become more able to annoy them than they were. And this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First King of France, and Charles the Fifth Emperor, there was such a watch kept, that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war; and would not in any wise take up peace at interest. And the like was done by that league (which Guicciardine saith was the security of Italy) made between Ferdinando King of Naples, Lorenzius Medices, and

[1] *inæqualem et quasi subsultoriam.*
[2] Not Tacitus, but Sallust. *Bell. Jug.* 113.
[3] *commercium ad se attrahendo.*

Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, *that a war cannot justly be made but upon a precedent injury or provocation.* For there is no question but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives; there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband; Roxalana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward the Second of England his queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murther of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly, when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children; or else that they be advoutresses.

For their children; the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many. And generally, the entering of fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus the Second was thought to be suppositious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house; for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other son, did little better; who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the Second of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance. And many like examples there are; but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust; except it were where the sons were up in open arms against them; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet; and the three sons of Henry the Second, King of England.

For their prelates; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury; who with their crosiers did almost try it with the king's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings; William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not

from that state, but where it hath a dependance of foreign authority; or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.[1]

For their nobles; to keep them at a distance, it is not amiss[2]; but to depress them, may make a king more absolute, but less safe; and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in my History of King Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his nobility; whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business. So that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second-nobles; there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt; besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent[3]; and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants; they are *vena porta*[4]; and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king's revenue; for that that he wins in the hundred he leeseth in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons; there is little danger from them, except

[1] *At periculum hujusmodi a Prælatis non est magnopere pertimescendum, nisi ubi Clerus ab auctoritate aut jurisdictione principatus externi pendet; aut etiam ubi Ecclesiastici eliguntur a populo, non autem a Rege vel patronis Ecclesiarum.*

[2] *Sunt illi certe cohibendi, et tamquam in justâ distantiâ a solio regali continendi.*

[3] *Quinimo fovendi sunt, tunquam qui potentiam nobilitatis superioris optime temperent, ne immodice exeresoat.*

[4] Upon this phrase, which recurs two or three times in Bacon (see for instance the History of Henry VII. p. 172.; "being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue *in the gate-vein, which disperseth that blood,*") I am indebted to Mr. Ellis for the following characteristic note. "The metaphor," he writes "is historically curious; for no one would have used it since the discovery of the circulation of the blood and of the lacteals. But in Bacon's time it was supposed that the chyle was taken up by the veins which converge to the *vena porta*. The latter immediately divides into branches, and ultimately into four ramifications, which are distributed throughout the substance of the liver, so that it has been compared to the trunk of a tree giving off roots at one extremity and branches at the other. Bacon's meaning therefore is, that commerce concentrates the resources of a country in order to their redistribution. The *heart*, which receives blood from all parts of the body and brings it into contact with the external air, and then redistributes it everywhere, would I think have taken the place of the *vena porta*, after Harvey's discovery had become known; especially as the latter is a mere conduit, and not a source of motion."

it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.[1]

For their men of war; it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body[2], and are used to donatives; whereof we see examples in the janizaries, and pretorian bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them[3] in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence, and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances; *memento quod es homo*; and *memento quod es Deus*, or *vice Dei*; [Remember that you are a man; and remember that you are a God, or God's lieutenant:] the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

XX. Of Counsel.

The greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel. For in other confidences men commit the parts of life; their lands, their goods, their child[4], their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors, they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel.[5] God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son; *The Counsellor*. Salomon hath pronounced that *in counsel is stability*. Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune; and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Salomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it. For the beloved kingdom of God was

[1] *vel in consuetudinibus antiquis, vel in gravaminibus tributorum, vel in aliis quæ victum eorum decurtant.*
[2] *si in corpus unum cogantur, vel exercitûs vel præsidiorum.*
[3] *militum conscriptio et ad arma tractanda instructio.*
[4] So edd. 1612 and 1625. Ed. 1639 has *children*.
[5] *si consilio virorum selectorum utantur.*

first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned; that it was young counsel, for the persons; and violent counsel, for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel; whereby they intend that Sovereignty is married to Counsel: the other in that which followeth, which was thus: They say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child, but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire; how kings are to make use of their counsel of state. That first they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their counsel, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their counsel to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed) proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three. First, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret. Secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves.[1] Thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled. For which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy[2], and practice of France, in some kings' times, hath introduced *cabinet* counsels; a remedy worse than the disease.[3]

[1] *ac si minus ex se penderent.*

[2] *doctrina quorundam ex Italis.* The Italian translation has *l'uso d' Italia e di Francia.*

[3] The sentence ends here in both the printed editions. But in the manuscript (of which an account will be given in the Appendix, and which appears to have been

As to secrecy; princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors; but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do. But let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves. And as for cabinet counsels, it may be their motto, *plenus rimarum sum:* [they are full of leaks:] one futile person that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the king: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction, without distraction. But then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill[1]; and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority; the fable[2] showeth the remedy. Nay, the majesty of kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of counsel; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependances[3] by his counsel; except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor or an over-strict combination in divers; which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves; certainly, *non inveniet fidem super terram* [he will not find faith on the earth,] is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful, and sincere, and plain, and direct; not crafty and involved; let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to

written a little earlier than 1612), the following clause is added "which hath turned Metis the wife to Metis the mistress; that is counsels of state, to which princes are married, to counsels of favoured persons, recommended chiefly by flattery and affection." *Cabinet Counsels* therefore (translated *concilia interiora quæ vulgo vocantur* Cabinetti) are not to be understood in the modern sense. What we call the Cabinet answers exactly to what Bacon calls a Counsel of State.

[1] *si rex prudens sit, et proprio marte validus.*

[2] That is, the fable of Jupiter and Metis.

[3] *auctoritate suâ imminutum.*

the king's ear. But the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them:

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is rather to be skilful in their master's business, than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their counsel both separately and together. For private opinion is more free; but opinion before others is more reverent.[1] In private, men are more bold in their own humours; and in consort, men are more obnoxious to others' humours; therefore it is good to take both; and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater rather in consort, to preserve respect.[2] It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images; and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning persons *secundum genera*, as in an idea, or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, *optimi consiliarii mortui:* [the best counsellors are the dead:] books will speak plain when counsellors blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.[3]

The counsels at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated. And they run too swift to the order or act of counsel. It were better that in causes of weight, the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; *in nocte consilium:* [night is the season for counsel.] So was it done in the Commission of Union between England and Scotland; which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may *hoc agere*. In choice of committees for ripening

[1] *gravior.*
[2] *ut modestius sententiam ferant.*
[3] *qui et ipsi gubernacula rerum tractarunt.*

business for the counsel, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular counsels and but one counsel of estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions: save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform counsels out of their particular professions, (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like,) be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the counsel. And let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour counsels, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king, when he presides in counsel, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him [1], and instead of giving free counsel, sing him a song of *placebo*.

XXI. Of Delays.

Fortune is like the market; where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer; which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price. For occasion (as it is in the common verse) *turneth a bald noddle, after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken;* or at least turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things.[2] Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived men than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch

[1] *se ad nutum ejus applicabunt.*
[2] *quam in tempestivis negotiorum auspiciis principiisque eligendis.*

upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on, by over early buckling towards them[1]; is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argos with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed. For the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the counsel and celerity in the execution. For when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

XXII. Of Cunning.

We take Cunning for a sinister or crooked wisdom. And certainly there is a great difference between a cunning man and a wise man; not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of business; which is the constitution[2] of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel; and they are good but in their own alley: turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule to know a fool from a wise man, *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis,* [Send them both naked to those they know not,] doth scarce hold for them. And because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning, to wait upon him with whom you speak, with your eye[3]; as the Jesuits give it in precept: for

[1] *pericula præmature obviando accersere.* [2] *constitutio ipsissima.*
[3] *ut quis vultum ejus cum quo colloquitur limatius observet.*

there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances. Yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtain of present despatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse; that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary, that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate, that she thought the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him with whom you confer to know more.

And because it works better when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by question, than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change? As Nehemias did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the king.*

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, *The world says*, or *There is a speech abroad.*

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a bye-matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have speech, he would pass over that that he intended most; and go forth, and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them; and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; to the end they may be apposed[1] of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning, to let fall those words in a man's own name, which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage.[2] I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place in queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter between themselves[3]; and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, That to be a secretary *in the declination of a monarchy* was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declination of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the Queen; who hearing of *a declination of a monarchy*, took it so ill[4], as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning, which we in England call[5] *The turning of the cat in the pan;* which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him. And to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say *This I do not;* as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, *Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare:* [That he had not several hopes to rest on, but looked simply to the safety of the Emperor.]

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.[6]

[1] *ut interrogentur de iis rebus.*

[2] *ut inde alterum irretiat et subruat.*

[3] *qui tamen se invicem amice tractabant.*

[4] *eaque verba ut ad Reginæ aures pervenirent, tanquam scilicet ab altero prolata, curavit; quæ indignata circa illa verba, in Declinatione Monarchiæ, cum ipsa se vigentem reputaret, &c.*

[5] *quod Anglico proverbio* Felem in aheno vertere *satis absurde dicitur.*

[6] *unde et se magis in tuto continent, quasi nihil diserte affirmantes, et rem ipsam majore cum voluptate spargi efficiunt.*

It is a good point of cunning, for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far about they will fetch; and how many other matters they will beat over, to come near it. It is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him that, having changed his name and walking in Paul's, another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite; and it were a good deed to make a list of them[1]; for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts and falls of business, that cannot sink into the main of it[2]; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room. Therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are no ways able to examine or debate matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction.[3] Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) *putting tricks upon them*, than upon soundness of their own proceedings. But Salomon saith, *Prudens advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos:* [The wise man taketh heed to his steps: the fool turneth aside to deceits.]

XXIII. Of Wisdom for a Man's Self.

An ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason

[1] *Si quis eorum conficeret uberiorem catalogum.*

[2] *nonnullos negotiorum periodos et pausas nosse, qui in ipsorum viscera et interiora penetrare nequeunt.*

[3] *Itaque tales videbis in conclusionibus deliberationum commodos quosdam exitus reperire; ad rem vero examinandam et disceptandam nullo modo sufficere. Attamen sæpenumero ex hac re existimationem quandam aucupantur; veluti ingeniu quæ ad decernendum potius quam ad disputandum sint aptiora.*

between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself, as thou be not false to others; specially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, *himself*. It is right earth. For that only stands fast upon his own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in a sovereign prince; because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune. But it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic. For whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends; which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his master or state. Therefore let princes, or states, choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is that all proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's. And yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs. And for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing. It is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall. It is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger, who digged and made room for him. It is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are *sui amantes, sine rivali,* [lovers of themselves without rival,] are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their times sacrificed

to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune; whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

XXIV. Of Innovations.

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all Innovations, which are the births of time. Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation.[1] For Ill, to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion, strongest in continuance; but Good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation; and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils; for time is the greatest innovator; and if time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit[2]; and those things which have long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well[3]; but though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity. Besides, they are like strangers; more admired and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new. It were good therefore that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself; which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived. For otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends some, and pairs other; and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states[4], except the necessity be urgent, or

[1] *Ita rerum exemplaria et primordia (quando feliciter jacta sunt) imitationem ætatis sequentis ut plurimum superant.*

[2] *aptum esse tamen temporibus.*

[3] *ubi contra, nova veteribus non usquequaque tam concinne cohæreant.*

[4] *in corporibus politicis medendis.*

the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation. And lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect; and, as the Scripture saith, *that we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.*

XXV. Of Dispatch.

Affected dispatch[1] is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be. It is like that which the physicians call *predigestion*, or hasty digestion; which is sure to fill the body full of crudities and secret seeds of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business. And as in races it is not the large stride or high lift that makes the speed; so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily[2] for the time; or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off. And business so handled at several sittings or meetings goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, *Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.*

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing. For time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch; *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna; Let my death come from Spain;* for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business; and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward,

[1] *celeritas nimia et affectata.*
[2] *ut brevi tempore multum confecisse videantur.*

and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time. But there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch, as a robe or mantle with a long train is for race. Prefaces and passages[1], and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery.[2] Yet beware of being too material[3] when there is any impediment or obstruction in men's wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech; like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order, and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch; so as the distribution be not too subtle: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time; and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business; the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch: for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction[4] than an indefinite; as ashes are more generative than dust.

XXVI. Of Seeming Wise.

It hath been an opinion, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man. For as the Apostle saith of godliness, *Having a shew of godliness, but denying the power thereof;* so certainly

[1] *transitiones bellæ.*
[2] *gloriolæ captatrices.*
[3] That is, of keeping too close to the matter. *Cave ne in rem ipsam ab initio descendas.*
[4] *plus valebit ad consilia educenda.*

there are in point of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly[1]: *magno conatu nugas.* It is a ridiculous thing and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives[2] to make *superficies* to seem body that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not shew their wares but by a dark light; and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs; as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; *Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some think to bear it[3] by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good.[4] Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it as impertinent or curious; and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter[5]; of whom A. Gellius saith, *Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera:* [a trifler, that with verbal points and niceties breaks up the mass of matter]. Of which kind also, Plato in his Protagoras bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally, such men in all deliberations find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties; for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar[6], hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion[7]; but let no man choose them for employment;

[1] *ita certe inveniuntur nonnulli qui nugantur solemniter, quum prudentes minime sint.*
[2] *et quali utantur arte quasi prospectivâ.*
[3] *se valere putant.*
[4] *itaque nihil morantur, et pro admissis accipiunt quæ probare non possunt.*
[5] *rem prætervehuntur.* [6] *decoctor rei familiaris occultus.*
[7] *Certe homines hac prudentia præditi opinionem vulgi facile aucupari possunt.*

for certainly you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.[1]

XXVII. Of Friendship.

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in that speech, *Whosoever is delighted in solitude is either a wild beast or a god.* For it is most true that a natural and secret hatred and aversation towards society in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue that it should have any character at all of the divine nature; except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen; as Epimenides the Candian, Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth. For a crowd is not company; and faces are but a gallery of pictures; and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little: *Magna civitas, magna solitudo;* [a great town is a great solitude;] because in a great town friends are scattered; so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods. But we may go further, and affirm most truly that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends; without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind; you may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower[2] of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart, but

[1] *quam hujusmodi formalistam fastidiosum.*

[2] So Ed. 1639. The original edition has *flowers.*

a true friend; to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak: so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes; as if it were matter of grace, or conversation. But the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them *participes curarum;* for it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only [1], but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned; who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants; whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner; using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height, that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's over-match. For when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his [2], against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; *for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting.* With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew. And this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death. For when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calpurnia; this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate [3] till his wife had dreamt a

[1] *delicatos et imbecillis animi.*

[2] Lepidus. See Plutarch in Pompey. But the occasion on which Pompey made the remark in question was Sylla's opposition to his triumph.

[3] *cum non senatum tam parvi habiturum, ut dimittere illum vellet,* &c

better dream. And it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited *verbatim* in one of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him *venefica, witch;* as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as when he consulted with Mæcenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, *that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life: there was no third way, he had made him so great.* With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height[1], as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius in a letter to him saith, *hæc pro amicitiâ nostrâ non occultavi;* [these things, as our friendship required, I have not concealed from you;] and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like or more was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus.[2] For he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus; and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son[3]; and did write also in a letter to the senate, by these words: *I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live me.* Now if these princes had been as a Trajan or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half piece, except they mought have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy; namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on and saith that towards his latter time *that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding.* Surely Comineus mought have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his

[1] *Tiberius Cæsar Sejanum tantis honoribus auxit.*

[2] *Plautianus* in the original, and also in Ed. 1639, and in the Latin translation, in all the places.

[3] *Plautianum sæpe, etiam cum contumelia filii sui, honoravit.*

second master Lewis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true; *Cor ne edito; Eat not the heart.* Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts. But one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halfs. For there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more: and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is in truth of operation upon a man's mind, of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone for man's body; that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature. But yet without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature. For in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action; and on the other side weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression: and even so it is of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections. For friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections, from storm and tempests; but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words: finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, *That speech was like cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs.* Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel; (they indeed are best;) but even without that, a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man

were better relate himself to a statua or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open and falleth within vulgar observation; which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, *Dry light is ever the best.* And certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer. For there is no such flatterer as is a man's self; and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self, as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business. For the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine, sometime, too piercing and corrosive. Reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead. Observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case.[1] But the best receipt (best, I say, to work, and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit, for want of a friend to tell them of them; to the great damage both of their fame and fortune: for, as St. James saith, they are as men *that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour.* As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one; or that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on; or that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters; or that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all. But when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight. And if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well, (that is to say, better per-

[1] *observatio propriorum defectuum in aliis, tanquam in speculo, aliquando, ut fit etiam in speculis, minus respondet.*

haps than if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe, (though with good meaning,) and mixed partly of mischief and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a physician that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and therefore may put you in way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind; and so cure the disease and kill the patient. But a friend that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience. And therefore rest not upon scattered counsels; they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship, (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment,) followeth the last fruit; which is like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, *that a friend is another himself;* for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him. So that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires.[1] A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but where friendship is, all offices of life are as it were granted to him and his deputy. For he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them; a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg; and a number of the like. But all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again,

[1] *adeo ut fatum immaturum vix obeat; atque habeat quis (ut loquamur more tribulum aut firmariorum) in desideriis suis terminum non unius sed duarum vitarum.*

a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms: whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part; if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

XXVIII. Of Expense.

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary expense must be limited [1] by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven. But ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate; and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best shew, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand [2], his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken. But wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties.[3] A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as saving again in some other. As if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel; if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable; and the like. For he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long. For hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Be-

[1] *commensurandi.* [2] *qui diminutionem fortunarum suarum pati nolit.*
[3] *quæ computationi subjacent, in certos reditus atque etiam sumptus vertere.*

sides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair, may not despise small things; and commonly it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges, than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges which once begun will continue: but in matters that return not he may be more magnificent.

XXIX. Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.

The speech of Themistocles the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant in taking so much to himself[1], had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.* These words (holpen a little with a metaphor[2]) may express two differing[3] abilities in those that deal in business of estate. For if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly[4], but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And, certainly those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient (*negotiis pares*), able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which nevertheless are far from the ability to raise and amplify an

[1] *sibi ipsi applicatum, incivile certe fuit et inflatum.*
[2] *ad sensum politicum transluta.*
[3] *nullum inter se discrepantes.*
[4] *in cithara aut lyra (hoc est aulicis tricis) miri artifices.*

estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates, and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces, they leese themselves in vain enterprises; nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenew doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps. But yet there is not any thing amongst civil affairs more subject to error, than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command[1]; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number (itself) in armies importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage; for (as Virgil saith) *It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.* The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela was such a vast sea of people, as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army; who came to him therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, *He would not pilfer the victory.* And the defeat was easy.[2] When Tigranes the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said, *Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight.* But, before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so

[1] *latius imperandum.*

[2] *Ea autem etiam opinione fuit facilior.*

that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men.[1] Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said[2]), where the sinews of men's arms, in base and effeminate people, are failing. For Solon said well to Crœsus (when in ostentation he shewed him his gold), *Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.* Therefore let any prince or state think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers. And let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength; unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, *he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.*

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; *that the same people or nation should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burthens;* neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes levied by consent of the estate do abate men's courage less: as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England. For you must note that we speak now of the heart and not of the purse. So that although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversly upon the courage. So that you may conclude, *that no people over-charged with tribute is fit for empire.*

Let states that aim at greatness, take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast. For that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; if you leave your staddles[3] too thick, you shall never have clean underwood[4], but shrubs and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll will be fit for an helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be

[1] *Primo igitur pro re certissimâ et exploratissimâ decernatur et statuatur, quod caput omnium quæ ad magnitudinem regni aut statûs spectant, sit ut populus ipse sit stirpe et ingenio bellicosus.*

[2] *Atque illud magis tritum quam verum, quod nervi belli sint pecuniæ.*

[3] *caudicum, sive arborum majorum.* [4] *non renascitur sylva sincera aut pura.*

great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been no where better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an over-match; in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of king Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them, as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings.[1] And thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character which he gives to ancient Italy:

Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ:

[A land powerful in arms and in productiveness of soil.] Neither is that state (which, for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in Poland) to be passed over; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen; which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms.[2] And therefore out of all question, the splendour and magnificence and great retinues and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen, received into custom, doth much conduce unto martial greatness. Whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown or state bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern.[3] Therefore all states that are liberal of naturalisation towards strangers are fit for empire.[4] For to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion,

[1] *quæ habeant certum, eumque mediocrem, agri modum annexum, qui distrahi non possit; eo fine ut ad victum liberiorem sufficiat; atque agricultura ab iis exerceretur, qui domini fuerint fundi, aut saltem usu-fructuarii, non conductitii aut mercenarii.*

[2] *hujus enim generis etiam inferiores, quoad peditatum, agricolis ipsis minime cedunt.*

[3] *ad subditos extraneos cohibendos satis superque sufficiat.*

[4] *ad imperii magnitudinem bene comparati sunt.*

it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly.[1] The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalisation[2]; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm; but when they did spread, and their boughs were becomen too great for their stem[3], they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was in this point so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly; for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalisation (which they called *jus civitatis*), and to grant it in the highest degree; that is, not only *jus commercii*, *jus connubii*, *jus hæreditatis*; but also *jus suffragii*, and *jus honorum*.[4] And this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families; yea to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies; whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations. And putting both constitutions together, you will say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards; but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree; far above Rome and Sparta at the first. And besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalise liberally, yet they have that which is next to it; that is, to employ almost indifferently all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers; yea and sometimes in their highest commands.[5] Nay it seemeth at this instant they are sensible of this want of natives; as by the Pragmatical Sanction, now published[6], appeareth.

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition. And generally, all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail. Neither must they be too much

[1] *diuturnitatem hæc res non assequitur.*

[2] *parci et difficiles in cooptandis novis civibus.*

[3] *et latius dominari quam ut stirps Spartanorum turbam exterorum imperio commode coercere posset.*

[4] *jus petitionis sive honorum.*

[5] *quinetiam summum belli imperium haud raro ad duces natione non Hispanos deferunt.*

[6] *hoc anno promulgata.* A royal decree, or *pragmática*, was published in the summer of 1622, which gave certain privileges to persons who married, and further immunities to those who had six children. See Mr. Ellis's note, Vol. I. p. 798.

broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures.[1] But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it, is to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds,—tillers of the ground; free servants; and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, &c: not reckoning professed soldiers.

But above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation. For the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act?[2] Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms; and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end.[3] The Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash. The Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time. The Turks have it at this day, though in great declination.[4] Of Christian Europe, they that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards. But it is so plain *that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms[5], may look to have greatness fall into their mouths. And on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders.[6] And those that have professed arms but for an age, have notwithstanding commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained

[1] *quorum laboribus istiusmodi officia expediebantur.*

[2] *Quorsum autem habilitas, si non rei ipsi incumbitur ut producatur in actum?*

[3] *ut cives sui belligeratores essent.*

[4] *Persarum et Macedonum idem erat institutum, sed non tam constans aut diuturnum. Britanni, Galli, Germani, Goti, Saxones, Normanni, et nonnulli alii etiam ad tempus armis se præcipue dediderunt. Turcæ idem institutum, lege suâ paululum extimulati, hodie retinent, sed magnâ cum militiæ (ut nunc est) declinatione.*

[5] *iisque præcipue studeat et incumbat.*

[6] *miros in imperio amplificando fucere progressus.*

them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms hath grown to decay.

Incident[1] to this point is, for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended)[2] of war. For there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue) but upon some, at the least specious, grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect; a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war. First therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this; that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation. Secondly, let them be prest[3] and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch, as if the confederates had leagues defensive with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally[4], yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of estate[5], I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia; or when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies; or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression; and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and certainly to a kingdom or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war indeed is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt. But

[1] *affine.* [2] *aut saltem prætextus.* [3] *prompta sit.*

[4] *si forte in populum fœderatum, cui etiam cum aliis fœdus defensivum intercederet, hostilis impressio facta esset, atque ille a plurimis suppetias peteret.*

[5] *propter statuum conformitatem quandam aut correspondentiam tacitam.*

howsoever it be for happiness, without all question, for greatness it maketh, to be still for the most part in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business) always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law, or at least the reputation, amongst all neighbour states[1]; as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey his preparation against Cæsar, saith, *Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri;* [Pompey is going upon the policy of Themistocles; thinking that he who commands the sea commands all.] And, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea. The battle of Actium decided the empire of the world. The battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war; but this is when princes or states have set up their rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will. Whereas those that be strongest by land are many times nevertheless in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great[2]; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessary to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry; which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers; and some remembrance perhaps upon the scutcheon; and some hospitals for maimed soldiers; and such like things.

[1] *ut statui alicui quasi arbitrium rerum inter vicinos, aut saltem plurimum existimationis ad omnia conferat.*

[2] *At hodie atque apud nos Europæos, si unquam aut uspiam, potentia navalis . . . . . summi ad rerum fastigia momenti est.*

But in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal[1]; the style of Emperor, which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies; were things able to inflame all men's courages.[2] But above all, that of the Triumph, amongst the Romans, was not pageants or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was. For it contained three things; honour to the general; riches to the treasury out of the spoils; and donatives to the army. But that honour perhaps were not fit for monarchies; except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons, as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person; and left only, for wars achieved by subjects, some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can *by care taking* (as the Scripture saith) *add a cubit to his stature*, in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

XXX. Of Regiment of Health.

There is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it;* than this, *I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it.* For strength of nature in youth passeth over many

[1] *Coronæ civicæ, militares, singulis concessæ.*

[2] *Hæc (inquam) tot et tanta fuerunt, et tam insigni splendore coruscantia, ut pectoribus mortalium etiam maxime congluciatis igniculos subdere, eaque ad bellum inflammare potuerint.*

excesses, which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and if necessity inforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one.[1] Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel[2], and the like; and try, in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome[3], from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and of sleep and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind; avoid envy; anxious fears; anger fretting inwards[4]; subtle and knotty inquisitions; joys and exhilarations in excess; sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes; mirth rather than joy; variety of delights, rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet for certain seasons, than frequent use of physic, except it be grown into a custom. For those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion[5] of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action.[6] For those that put their bodies to endure in health, may in most sicknesses, which are not very sharp, be cured only with diet and tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise; and the like. So shall

[1] *quam unum magnum.*
[2] *quæ toto genere sunt salubria.*
[3] *consilium medicorum.*
[4] The translation adds *mansionis.*
[4] *iram intus cohibitam.*
[6] *corpore tuo utere, nec sis nimis delicatus.*

nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries.[1] Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

XXXI. Of Suspicion.

Suspicions amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded: for they cloud the mind; they leese friends; and they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly. They dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy. They are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest natures; as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England. There was not a more suspicious man, nor a more stout. And in such a composition they do small hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with examination, whether they be likely or no? But in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little; and therefore men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother.[2] What would men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true and yet to bridle them as false.[3] For so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide, as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no

[1] *robur acquiret.*

[2] *ut quis inquisitionem urgeat. Fumo enim et tenebris aluntur suspiciones.*

[3] *remedia parare ac si suspiciones essent veræ; iis vero fræna injicere, ac si essent falsæ.*

hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect not to give further cause of suspicion. But this would not be done to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, *Sospetto licentia fede;* as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

XXXII. Of Discourse.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common places and themes wherein they are good, and want variety[1]; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else; for then a man leads the dance. It is good, in discourse and speech of conversation, to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest: for it is a dull thing to tire, and, as we say now, to jade, any thing too far.[2] As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be privileged from it; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity. Yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick. That is a vein which would be bridled;

Parce, puer, stimulis, et fortius utere loris.

[1] *catera steriles et jejuni.*
[2] *satietatem enim et fastidium parit, in aliquo subjecto diutius hærere.*

And generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness. Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others' memory. He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge. But let his questions not be troublesome; for that is fit for a poser.[1] And let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak.[2] Nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on; as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself:* and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace; and that is in commending virtue in another; especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others[3] should be sparingly used; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man.[4] I knew two noblemen, of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, *Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry blow given?* To which the guest would answer, *Such and such a thing passed.* The lord would say, *I thought he would mar a good dinner.*[5] Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shews slowness; and a good reply or second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in

[1] That is, an examiner. *Id enim examinatori convenit.*

[2] *Etiam qui sermonis familiaris dignitatem tueri cupit, aliis vices loquendi relinquat.*

[3] *alios pungens et vellicans.*

[4] *instar campi aperti in quo spatiari licet, non viæ regiæ quæ deducit domum,* (a translation in which it seems to me that the point of the original is partly missed; the "via *regia*" introducing an idea alien to the sense, as I understand it).

[5] *at ille, utpote alter inæmulus, satis sciebam eum prandium bonum malis condimentis corrupturum.*

the course, are yet nimblest in the turn; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances ere one come to the matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

XXXIII. Of Plantations.[1]

Plantations are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works.[2] When the world was young it begat more children; but now it is old it begets fewer: for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others. For else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods; for you must make account to leese almost twenty years profit, and expect your recompense in the end.[3] For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations, hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no further. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and bakers[4], In a country of plantation[5], first look about what kind of victual[6] the country yields of itself to hand; as chestnuts, wallnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like; and make use of them. Then consider what victual or esculent things there are, which grow

[1] *De Plantationibus populorum et coloniis.* This Essay seems to have been carefully translated; and revised in the translation, probably by Bacon himself.
[2] *Colonia eminent inter antiqua et heroica opera.*
[3] *verum fructus uber et locuples in fine operis expectandus.*
[4] The translation adds, *cervisiarii, et hujusmodi.*
[5] *In regione ubi plantare instituis.*
[6] *quod genus esculentorum et poculentorum.*

speedily, and within the year; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish[1], artichokes of Hierusalem, maize, and the like. For wheat[2], barley, and oats, they ask too much labour; but with pease and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread. And of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oat-meal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts, or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest; as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves[3], and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town; that is, with certain allowance. And let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn, be to a common stock; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private. Consider likewise what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation, (so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business,) as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia.[4] Wood commonly aboundeth but too much[5]; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore[6], and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-salt[7], if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience. Growing silk likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity. Pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail. So drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit. Soap-ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of. But moil not too much under ground; for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things.[8] For government, let it be in the hands

[1] The translation adds, *melones, pepones, cucumeres.*

[2] The translation adds *siliquam.*

[3] The translation adds, rabbits: *cuniculi.*

[4] *ut exportatio eorum in loca ubi maxime in pretio sunt sumptus levet; ut usuvenit in Nicotiano apud Virginiam; modo non sit,* &c. I have inserted the marks of parenthesis, which are not in the original; the construction being ambiguous without them.

[5] The words "but too much," are omitted in the translation.

[6] Spelt *ure* in the original; as the same word is in one place in the manuscript of the History of Henry VII. The translation has *vena ferri.*

[7] *Salis nigri confectio per vigorem solis.*

[8] *verum fodinis ne confidas nimium, præsertim a principio. Fodinæ enim fallaces sunt et sumptuosæ, et spe pulchrâ lactantes, colonos reddunt circa alia socordes.*

of one, assisted with some counsel; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation. And above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his service, before their eyes. Let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number[1]; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants; for they look ever to the present gain. Let there be freedoms from custom, till the plantation be of strength; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company; but rather harken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish and unwholesome grounds. Therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the streams, than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary.[2] If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles; but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless; and do not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men; that the plantation may spread into generations[3], and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.[4]

[1] *Rursus, Colonia a numerosiore concilio (intelligo in regione matre coloniæ residente) non pendeat; nec ob contributiones exiguas multitudini nimiæ subjiciatur; sed sit numerus eorum qui coloniam procurant et ordinant moderatus.*

[2] *quo cibi, quos verisimile est putridos aliter sæpe futuros, condiantur.*

[3] *ex sese propagetur.*

[4] *nil aliud est quam proditio mera, profusioque sanguinis complurium hominum miserorum.*

XXXIV. Of Riches.

I CANNOT call Riches better than the baggage of virtue. The Roman word is better, *impedimenta*. For as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to virtue. It cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march[1]; yea and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory. Of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution; the rest is but conceit. So saith Salomon, *Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?* The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches[2]: there is a custody of them; or a power of dole and donative of them; or a fame of them; but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles. As Salomon saith, *Riches are as a strong hold, in the imagination of the rich man.* But this is excellently expressed[3], that it is in imagination, and not always in fact. For certainly great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly. Yet have no abstract nor friarly[4] contempt of them. But distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, *In studio rei amplificandæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæri;* [In seeking to increase his estate it was apparent that he sought not a prey for avarice to feed on, but an instrument for goodness to work with.] Hearken also to Salomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches; *Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons:* [He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent.] The poets feign, that when Plutus (which is Riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps and goes slowly; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs and is swift of foot. Meaning that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others (as by the

[1] *necessaria siquidem sunt, sed graves.*
[2] *Possessio divitiarum nulla voluptate dominum perfundit, quantum ad sensum.*
[3] *sed caute Salomon.* [4] *instar monachi alicujus aut a sæculo abstracti.*

course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man. But it mought be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil. For when riches come from the devil (as by fraud and oppression and unjust means), they come upon speed. The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent; for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches; for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth's; but it is slow. And yet where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in England, that had the greatest audits of any man in my time; a great grazier, a great sheep-master, a great timber man[1], a great collier, a great corn-master, a great lead-man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry. So as the earth seemed a sea to him, in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, that himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very easily to great riches. For when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome those bargains which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men[2], he cannot but increase mainly. The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest; and furthered by two things chiefly; by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing. But the gains of bargains[3] are of a more doubtful nature; when men shall wait upon others' necessity, broke by servants and instruments to draw them on[4], put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and naught.[5] As for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst; as that whereby a man doth eat his bread *in sudore vultûs alieni;* [in the sweat of another man's face;] and besides, doth plough upon Sundays. But yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that

[1] *dives sylvis tam cæduis quam grandioribus.*
[2] *etiam in laboribus aliorum participare qui minus pecuniâ abundant.*
[3] *lucra ex contractibus majoribus.*
[4] *servos et ministros alienos in damnum dominorum corrumpat.*
[5] *quæ omnes merito damnandæ sunt.*

the scriveners and brokers do value unsound men[1] to serve their own turn. The fortune in being the first in an invention or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches; as it was with the first sugar man in the Canaries. Therefore if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters; especially if the times be fit. He that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty[2]: it is good therefore to guard adventures with certainties, that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for re-sale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise[3], yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, *testamenta et orbos tamquam indagine capi,*) it is yet worse; by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much them that seem to despise riches; for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them.[4] Be not penny-wise; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public[5]; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in years and judgment. Likewise glorious gifts and foundations are like *sacrifices without salt;* and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure[6]: and defer not charities till death; for, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

[1] *homines fortunarum dubiarum quandoque extollent.*
[2] *vix fortunarum dispendia vitabit.*
[3] *Opum acquisitio per servitium regum aut magnatum dignitatem aliquam habet.*
[4] *neque invenies usquam tenaciores, ubi incipient ditescere.*
[5] *aut usui publico, aut liberis, cognatis, et amicis.*
[6] *dona tua magnitudine ne metiaris, sed commoditate; et ad debitam mensuram redigas.*

XXXV. Of Prophecies.[1]

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies; nor of heathen oracles; nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul, *To-morrow thou and thy son shall be with me.* Homer hath these verses:

> At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
> Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.

[The house of Æneas shall reign in all lands, and his children's children, and their generations.] A prophecy, as it seems, of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses:

> ——— Venient annis
> Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
> Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
> Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos
> Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
> Ultima Thule:

[There shall come a time when the bands of ocean shall be loosened, and the vast earth shall be laid open; another Tiphys shall disclose new worlds, and lands shall be seen beyond Thule:] a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren; but Aristander the soothsayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, *Philippis iterum me videbis:* [Thou shall see me again at Philippi.] Tiberius said to Galba, *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium:* [Thou likewise shall taste of empire.] In Vespasian's time, there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea should reign over the world: which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed, the

[1] There is no Latin translation of this Essay.

night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck: and indeed the succession that followed him, for many years, made golden times. Henry the Sixth of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, *This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive.* When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the Queen Mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the King her husband's nativity to be calculated, under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgment, that he should be killed in a duel; at which the Queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels: but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy, which I heard when I was a child, and queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

When hempe is sponne
England's done:

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principial letters of that word *hempe* (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name; for that the King's style is now no more of England, but of Britain. There was also another prophecy, before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand.

There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh and the May,
The black fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build houses of lime and stone,
For after wars shall you have none.

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight: for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jest. It was, that he was devoured of a long

dragon; and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology. But I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised; and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fireside. Though when I say *despised*, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised. For they have done much mischief; and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things. First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do generally also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies; while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect. As that of Seneca's verse. For so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which mought be probably conceived not to be all sea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's Timæus, and his Atlanticus [1], it mought encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains merely contrived and feigned after the event past.

XXXVI. Of Ambition.

Ambition is like choler; which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have his way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked [2] in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state. Therefore it is good

[1] That is the Critias.

[2] *frænentur et subinde frustrentur.*

for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still progressive and not retrograde; which because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all. For if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious; for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest[1]; and to take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part, except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since therefore they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous. There is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble; and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular: and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is of all others the best remedy against ambitious great-ones. For when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over-great. Another means to curb them, is to balance them by others as proud as they. But then there must be some middle counsellors, to keep things steady[2]; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure[3] some meaner persons, to be as it were scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin[4]; if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of

[1] *etenim utilitas ipsorum, ut præficiantur, cætera compensat.*
[2] *qui partes medias teneant, ne factiones omnia pessundent.*
[3] *allicere . . . et animare.*
[4] *quantum ad ingenerandam illam in ambitiosis opinionem, ut se ruinæ proximos putent, atque eo modo contineantur.*

favours and disgraces; whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful, the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in every thing; for that breeds confusion [1], and mars business. But yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependances.[2] He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public. But he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers is the decay of a whole age. Honour hath three things in it; the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising; and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery [3]; and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

XXXVII. Of Masques and Triumphs.[4]

These things are but toys, to come amongst such serious observations. But yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy than daubed with cost. Dancing to song, is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it, that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music; and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing); and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly, (a base and a tenor; no treble;) and the ditty high and tragical; not nice or dainty. Several quires, placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches, anthem-wise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity. And generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down are such as do

[1] *confusionem consiliorum.*
[2] *quam ex ostentatione.*
[3] *qui gratiâ et clientelis pollet.*
[4] This Essay is not translated.

naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye, before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, specially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings. Let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that shew best by candle-light, are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water-green; and oes, or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizards are off; not after examples of known attires; Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild-men, antics, beasts, sprites, witches, Ethiops, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statua's moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques; and any thing that is hideous, as devils, giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety. But all is nothing except the room be kept clear and neat.

For justs, and tourneys, and barriers; the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts: as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance; or in the bravery of their liveries; or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII. Of Nature in Men.

Nature is often hidden; sometimes overcome; seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune[1]; but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failings; and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings. And at the first let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders or rushes; but after a time let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes. For it breeds great perfection, if the practice be harder than the use. Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be[2], first to stay and arrest nature in time; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters[3] when he was angry; then to go less in quantity[4]; as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal; and lastly, to discontinue altogether.[5] But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best:

Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.

[Wouldst thou be free? The chains that gall thy breast
With one strong effort burst, and be at rest.]

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right; understanding it, where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission. For both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions. But let not a man trust his victory over his nature too

[1] *affectus naturales reddunt minus quidem importunos, sed non tollunt.*
[2] *opus erit per gradus quosdam procedere, qui tales sint.*
[3] *priusquam quicquam faceret.*
[4] *secundo, naturam moderari et ad minores portiones reducere.*
[5] *naturam penitus sub jugum mittere et domare.*

far; for nature will lay[1] buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation. Like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end, till a mouse ran before her. Therefore let a man either avoid the occasion altogether; or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness, for there is no affectation; in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations; otherwise they may say, *multum incola fuit anima mea,* [my soul hath been a stranger and a sojourner;] when they converse in those things they do not affect.[2] In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves; so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

XXXIX. Of Custom and Education.

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed. And therefore as Machiavel well noteth (though in an evil-favoured instance,) there is no trusting to the force of nature nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings[3]; but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard[4]; yet his rule holdeth still, that nature,

[1] So in original, and also in Ed. 1639. I have not thought it right to substitute *lie*, as has been usually done; because it may be that the form of the word was not settled in Bacon's time; and the correction of obsolete forms tends to conceal the history of the language. Compare vol. ii. p. 345.

[2] This clause is omitted in the translation.

[3] *aut in promissis constantibus, nedum juramentis.*

[4] The translation adds: *aut Guidone Faulxio.*

nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood[1] are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary resolution is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things the predominancy of custom is every where visible; insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before; as if they were dead images, and engines moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men[2]) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay the wives strive to be burned with the corpses of their husbands. The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as quecking.[3] I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the Deputy that he might be hanged in a with, and not in an halter; because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom[4], both upon mind and body. Therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years: this we call education; which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions, in youth than afterwards. For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the ply; except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custom simple and separate be great, the force of custom copulate and conjoined and collegiate is far greater. For there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory

[1] The translation has *primæ classis sicarii*; (murderers of the first class): which seems to me to miss the meaning of the English. "Men of the first blood" must mean here, *men whose hands have not been in blood before.*

[2] *loquor de gymnosophistis, et veteribus et modernis.*

[3] *vix ejulatu aut gemitu ullo emisso.* *Quech*, according to Dr. Whately, means to *move* or *stir.*

[4] *plane stupendas consuetudinis vires . . . . prolentia.*

raiseth: so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature [1] resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined. For commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds. But the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

XL. Of Fortune.

It cannot be denied, but outward accidents conduce much to fortune [2]; favour [3], opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue. But chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ*, saith the poet.[4] And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors. *Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco.* [A serpent must have eaten another serpent, before he can become a dragon.] Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries of a man's self, which have no name. The Spanish name, *desemboltura*, partly expresseth them; when there be not stonds [5] nor restiveness in a man's nature; but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune. For so Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, *In illo viro tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturus videretur*) [Such was his strength of body and mind, that wherever he had been born he could have made himself a fortune;] falleth upon that, that he had *versatile ingenium:* [a wit that could turn well.] Therefore if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see Fortune: for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milken way in the sky; which is a meeting or knot of a number of small stars; not seen asunder, but giving light together. So are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men

[1] *multiplicatio et (ut chymicorum vocabulo utar) projectio super naturam humanam.*
[2] *ad fortunas promovendas vel deprimendas.* [3] *gratia alicujus ex magnatibus.*
[4] *inquit Comicus.* The poet is Plautus. Trinum. ii. 2. 34.
[5] *obices.*

fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath *Poco di matto.* And certainly there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest. Therefore extreme lovers of their country or masters were never fortunate, neither can they be. For when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. An hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover; (the French hath it better, *entreprenant,* or *remuant;*) but the exercised fortune maketh the able man.[1] Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation. For those two felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him.[2] All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them[3]: and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, *Cæsarem portas, et fortunam ejus:* [You carry Cæsar and his fortune.] So Sylla chose the name of *Felix,* and not of *Magnus.* And it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end infortunate. It is written that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, *and in this Fortune had no part,* never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets; as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune, in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas. And that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

XLI. Of Usury.

Many have made witty invectives against Usury. They say that it is a pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe. That the usurer is the greatest sabbath-breaker, because

[1] *Fortuna præpropera magna molientes et nonnihil turbulentos reddit; at fortuna exercita ea est quæ efficit prudentes et cordatos*

[2] The translation adds, *Eæque vicissim pariunt animos et auctoritatem.*

[3] *decentius et liberius eas sibi assumere.*

his plough goeth every Sunday. That the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of;

Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent.

That the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, *in sudore vultûs tui comedes panem tuum;* not, *in sudore vultûs alieni;* [in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread—not in the sweat of another's face.] That usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they do judaize. That it is against nature for money to beget money; and the like. I say this only, that usury is a *concessum propter duritiem cordis:* [a thing allowed by reason of the hardness of men's hearts:] for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks[1], discovery of men's estates, and other inventions. But few have spoken of usury usefully.[2] It is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out or culled out; and warily to provide, that while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.[3]

The discommodities of usury are, First, that it makes fewer merchants. For were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon merchandizing; which is the *vena porta*[4] of wealth in a state. The second, that it makes poor merchants. For as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent; so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well, if he sit at great usury. The third is incident to the other two[5]; and that is the decay of customs of kings or states, which ebb or flow with merchandizing. The fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands. For the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties, at the end of the game[6] most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread.[7] The fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandizing or purchasing; and usury waylays both. The sixth, that it doth dull and damp

[1] *de argentariis et excambiis publicis.*
[2] *solide et utiliter.*
[3] *ne dum fœnore feramur in melius, intercipiamur et incidamus in pejus.*
[4] See p. 422 note 4.
[5] *duorum priorum appendix quædam.*
[6] So Ed. 1639. The original has *gaine*; the translation, *in fine ludi.*
[7] *quum pecuniæ dispergantur non conserventur.*

all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug. The last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates; which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants, upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade. The second is, that were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing; in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods) far under foot[1]; and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets[2] would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging or pawning, it will little mend the matter: for either men will not take pawns without use; or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel monied man in the country, that would say, The devil take this usury, it keep us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds. The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped. Therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle. All states have ever had it, in one kind or rate, or other. So as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and reiglement of usury; how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury[3], two things are to be reconciled. The one, that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other, that there be left open a means to invite monied men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater. For if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money. And it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandize, being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate: other contracts not so.

[1] *nimis vili pretio.* [2] *distractiones præpropere.* [3] *quod modo fecimus*

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus. That there be two rates of usury; the one free, and general for all; the other under licence only, to certain persons and in certain places of merchandizing. First therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred; and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take any penalty for the same.[1] This will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness. This will ease infinite borrowers in the country.[2] This will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more; whereas this rate of interest yields but five.[3] This by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements; because many will rather venture in that kind than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury at a higher rate; and let it be with the cautions following. Let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant, or whosoever. Let it be no bank or common stock, but every man be master of his own money. Not that I altogether mislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions.[4] Let the state be answered some small matter for the licence, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender. For he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred, than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandizing; for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's monies in the country: so as the licence of nine will not suck away the current rate of five[5]; for no man will lend his monies far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

[1] *mulctæ omni renunciet.* [2] *rure et alibi degentibus.*

[3] *Quandoquidem annuus valor prædiorum, hic apud nos in Anglia, excedet illum fœnoris ad hanc proportionem redacti, quantum annuus valor sex librarum excedit illum quinque tantum.*

[4] These two sentences are omitted in the translation.

[5] *ita enim, prætextu licentiarum, opportunitatem non habebunt pecunias aliorum pro suis commodandi: nec novem aut octo librarum proportio, licentiâ munita, generalem illam quinque librarum absorbebit.* To "colour another man's money" is to pass it for one's own. See Whateley's edition of Bacon's Essays, p. 382.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorize usury, which before was in some places but permissive; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance.[1]

XLII. Of Youth and Age.

A man that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second. For there is a youth in thoughts, as well as in ages. And yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old; and imaginations stream into their minds better, and as it were more divinely. Natures that have much heat and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years; as it was with Julius Cæsar, and Septimius Severus. Of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem egit erroribus, imo furoribus, plenam;* [He passed a youth full of errors, yea of madnesses.] And yet he was the ablest[2] emperor, almost, of all the list. But reposed natures may do well in youth. As it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, Gaston de Fois, and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge; fitter for execution than for counsel; and fitter for new projects than for settled business.[3] For the experience of age[4], in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them; but in new things, abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences[5]; use extreme remedies at first; and that which doubleth all errors, will not

[1] The last paragraph is omitted in the translation.
[2] *celeberrimus.*
[3] *et ad negotia nova, melius adhibentur quam ad consueta.*
[4] *senum.*
[5] This clause is omitted in the translation.

acknowledge or retract them; like an unready horse[1], that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon[2], and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and, lastly, good for extern accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth. But for the moral part, perhaps youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin, upon the text, *Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams*, inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream. And certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth: and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes.[3] These are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned; such as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle; who afterwards waxed stupid. A second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions which have better grace in youth than in age; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech; which becomes youth well, but not age: so Tully saith of Hortensius, *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat:* [He continued the same, when the same was not becoming.] The third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold. As was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant:* [His last actions were not equal to his first.]

XLIII. Of Beauty.

Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features;

[1] *equus male domitus.*
[2] *pericula plus quam expedit reformidant; pœnitentiâ præpropera vacillant.*
[3] *sunt qui in juventute admodum præcoces sunt, sed currentibus annis citò marcescunt.*

and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect. Neither is it almost seen, that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue; as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency. And therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behaviour than virtue. But this holds not always: for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits; and yet the most beautiful men of their times.[1] In beauty, that of favour[2] is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious motion[3] more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty, which a picture cannot express; no nor the first sight of life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions; the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces, to make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them. Not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity[4], (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music,) and not by rule. A man shall see faces, that if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel though persons in years seem many times more amiable[5]; *pulchrorum autumnus pulcher;* [beautiful persons have a beautiful Autumn;] for no youth can be comely but by pardon, and considering the youth as to make up the comeliness.[6] Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last; and for the most part it makes a dissolute youth, and an

[1] *et nihilominus perpulchri.* [2] *venustas.*

[3] *decorus et gratiosus corporis et oris motus.*

[4] *felicitate quâdam et casu.* Keats seems to have felt that this is true also with regard to his own art:—

> "When I behold upon the night's starred face
> Huge cloudy symbols of a high romance,
> And think that I may never live to trace
> Their shadows, *with the magic hand of chance.*"

— *Life, Letters, &c. of John Keats*, vol. ii. p. 293.

[5] The translation adds: *Secundum illud Euripidis.*

[6] *Ftenim fieri non potest ut juvenis per omnia decus tueatur, nisi forte juventutem ipsam ad supplementum decoris assumas.*

age a little out of countenance[1]; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtue shine, and vices blush.

XLIV. Of Deformity.

Deformed persons are commonly even with nature[2]; for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature; being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) *void of natural affection*; and so they have their revenge of nature.[3] Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind; and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other. *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero.* But because there is in man an election touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue. Therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign, which is more deceivable; but as a cause, which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn. Therefore all deformed persons are extreme bold. First, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn; but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep; as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in possession. So that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising. Kings in ancient times (and at this present in some countries) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs; because they that are envious towards all are more obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials and good whisperers, than good magistrates and officers. And much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves

[1] *senectutem autem sero pœnitentem*

[2] *naturam fere ulciscuntur.*

[3] This clause is omitted in the translation.

from scorn; which must be either by virtue or malice; and therefore let it not be marvelled if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was Agesilaus, Zanger the son of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca President of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them; with others.

XLV. Of Building.

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets; who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat, committeth himself to prison. Neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome; but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about it[1]; whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth[2] as in troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat, but ill ways, ill markets: and, if you will consult with Momus[3], ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water; want of wood, shade, and shelter; want of fruitfulness, and mixture[4] of grounds of several natures; want of prospect; want of level grounds; want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers[5], or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business, or too near them, which lurcheth all provisions[6], and maketh every thing dear; where a man hath a great living

[1] *in colliculo paululum elevato; sed cincto undique, more theatri, collibus altioribus.*

[2] *variis æstibus reciprocantur.*

[3] For an explanation of this allusion to Momus, about which there has been some controversy of late, I am indebted to Mr. Ellis. "In one of Æsop's fables," he writes, "Minerva makes a house; and Momus says it should have been on wheels, to get away from bad neighbours."

[4] That is, *want of* mixture. *Sterilitas soli, aut quod ex variis glebarum generibus minime commistum sit.*

[5] So in the original, and also in Ed. 1639. It seems as if *not* had dropped out; or as if *the* should be *no*. The translation has *commoditas nulla fluviorum navigabilium.*

[6] *quod victui necessaria absorbet.*

laid together, and where he is scanted: all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can [1]; and if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well; who, when he saw his stately galleries, and rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his houses, said, *Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter?* Lucullus answered, *Why, do you not think me as wise as some fowl are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?*

To pass from the seat to the house itself; we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art; who writes books *De Oratore*, and a book he entitles *Orator;* whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof. For it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escurial and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair [2] room in them.

First therefore, I say you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides [3]; a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Hester, and a side for the household; the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns [4], but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand. I would have on the side of the banquet, in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty foot high [5]; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place at times of triumphs.[6] On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel, (with a partition between;) both of good state and bigness [7]; and those not to go all the length, but to have at

[1] *locus ubi quis latifundia ampla possideat, aut acquirere possit, et locus contra ubi pennas extendere nequeat: quæ singula minime eo animo enumeramus ac si domus aliqua his incommodis omnibus vacare possit, verum ut tot ex illis evitemus quot evitari concedatur.*

[2] *vere magnificam.* [3] *nisi duas habeat portiones diversas.* [4] *non ut latera domûs.*

[5] The translation raises it to fifty feet. *Eamque supra gradus ad quinquaginta pedes ad minus altam.*

[6] *et sulter eam cameram item alteram, similis longitudinis et latitudinis; quæ apparatum et instructionem ad festa, ludos, et ejusmodi magnificentius, actores etiam dum se ornant et parent, commoda recipiat.*

[7] *amplam et pulchram.*

the further end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair. And under these rooms [1], a fair and large cellar sunk under ground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen [2] foot high a piece, above the two wings; and a goodly leads upon the top [3], railed with statua's interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit.[4] The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel, and finely railed in with images of wood, cast into a brass colour [5]; and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of servants. For otherwise you shall have the servants' dinner after your own: for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel.[6] And so much for the front. Only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot [7], which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it, of a far lower building than the front. And in all the four corners of that court fair stair-cases, cast into turrets, on the outside, and not within the row of buildings themselves. But those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building.[8] Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter. But only some side alleys, with a cross, and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near shorn.[9] The row of return [10] on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries: in which galleries let there be three, or five, fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance; and fine coloured windows of several works.[11] On the household

[1] *atque subter hæc omnia (excepto sacello).*
[2] *quindecim.*
[3] *coopertam plumbo, æquabili.*
[4] This clause is omitted in the translation.
[5] *gradus autem turris apertos esse, et in se revertentes, et per senos sublinde divisos: utrinque statuis ligneis inauratis, vel saltem ænei coloris cinctos.*
[6] *verum cavendum ne locus ubi famuli comedant sit ad imum gradum, vel prope; si enim sit, ciborum nidor ascendet, tanquam in tubo quodam.*
[7] *viginti.*
[8] *turres extruantur, altitudinem laterum prædictorum nonnihil superantes, ad gradus quibus in superiora ascendatur capiendos; quæ turres non recipiantur in planum ædificii, sed extra promineant.*
[9] *Arca autem integra lapidibus latis quadrangulis minime substernatur; nam hujusmodi pavimenta calorem molestum æstate, et similiter frigus asperum hyeme immittunt: sed habeat ambulacra, ex ejusmodi lapidibus, per latera tantum ædificii; et formam crucis ex iisdem in medio; cum quadris interpositis, quæ gramine vestiantur, detonso quidem, sed non nimis prope terram.*
[10] *latus universum areæ.*
[11] *ubi pingantur columnæ, imagines omnigenæ, flores, et similia.*

side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments [1], with some bed-chambers; and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms [2] from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer, and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold. For inbowed windows, I hold them of good use; (in cities, indeed, upright [3] do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street;) for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and besides, they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost thorough the room doth scarce pass the window. But let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.[4]

Beyond this court, let there be an inward court, of the same square and height; which is to be environed with the garden on all sides [5]; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides, upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story. On the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotta, or place of shade, or estivation. And only have opening and windows towards the garden; and be level upon the floor, no whit sunken under ground, to avoid all dampishness. And let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statua's in the midst of this court; and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides; and the end [6] for privy galleries. Whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary [7], if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, antecamera, and recamera, joining to it.[8] This upon the second story. Upon the ground story [9], a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story likewise, an open gallery [10], upon pillars, to take

[1] *At latus ex parte familiæ, simul cum latere tertio e regione frontis, complectatur cameras præsentiales; et alias usûs ac decoris ordinarii.*

[2] *cubicula et cameræ.*

[3] *ad planum ædificii, et minime protuberantes.*

[4] *duæ scilicet ex utroque latere areæ.*

[5] *horto per exterius circumcincta.*

[6] *latus transversum.*

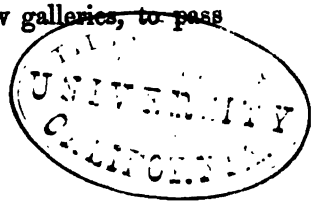
[7] *curandum vero ut aliquæ, tam ex cameris et conclavibus, quam ex porticibus, designentur ad usum infirmorum.*

[8] *Habeant autem portiones singulæ ægris destinatæ, (ut moderni loquuntur)* Ante-Cameram, Cameram *ad cubile, et* Re-cameram.

[9] *At latus transversum solarii inferioris, versus hortum convertatur in porticum, spatiosum,* &c.

[10] *Rursus supra solarium tertium, ex omnibus tribus lateribus, statuantur porticus elegantes,* &c.

the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further side, by way of return[1], let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that may be thought upon.[2] In the upper gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances.[3] And thus much for the model of the palace[4]; save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts. A green court plain, with a wall about it[5]; a second court of the same, but more garnished, with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with tarrasses, leaded aloft, and fairly garnished, on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside, with pillars, and not with arches below.[6] As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries, to pass from them to the palace itself.



XLVI. Of Gardens.

God Almighty first planted a Garden. And indeed it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handyworks[7]: and a man shall ever see that when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely[8]; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year; in which

[1] *ad angulos duos lateris transversi in solario secundo.*

[2] *Sint autem conclavia illa rebus curiosis omnigenis et spectatu dignis referta.*

[3] *qui per secretos tubos iterum transeant.* The following sentence is inserted here in the translation: *Interior autem pars in solario superiore, versus aream, formetur in porticus et ambulacra, bene munita et obducta, ad usum convalescentium.*

[4] The translation adds: *nam de balneis et piscinis non loquor.*

[5] *Area viridis, gramine vestita, cum pariete in circuitu, et juxta parietem arboribus, ordine positis, sata.*

[6] *sed ambulacris supra columnas, non arcus, erectis; in summitate vero plumbo vel lapide quadrato coopertis, et ad latera elegantibus statuis parvis, æneo colore, munitis clausam.*

[7] *manûs tantum sunt opera, nec sapiunt naturam.*

[8] *citius pervenire ad ædificiorum pulchritudinem quam ad hortorum elegantiam et amœnitatem.*

severally things of beauty may be then in season.[1] For December, and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter[2]: holly; ivy; bays; juniper; cypress-trees; yew; pine-apple-trees[3]; fir-trees; rosemary; lavender; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue; germander; flags[4]; orange-trees; lemon-trees; and myrtles, if they be stoved; and sweet marjoram, warm set.[5] There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primroses; anemones; the early tulippa; hyacinthus orientalis; chamaïris; fritellaria. For March, there come violets, specially the single blue, which are the earliest; the yellow daffodil[6]; the daisy; the almond-tree in blossom; the peach-tree in blossom; the cornelian-tree in blossom; sweet-briar. In April follow, the double white violet; the wall-flower; the stock-gilliflower; the cowslip; flower-de-lices, and lilies of all natures[7]; rosemary-flowers; the tulippa; the double piony; the pale daffodil[8]; the French honeysuckle; the cherry-tree in blossom; the dammasin and plum-trees in blossom; the white thorn in leaf; the lilac-tree.

[1] *in quibus separatim plantæ quæ illo mense florent et vigent producantur.* The scene in the "Winter's Tale," where Perdita presents the guests with flowers suited to their ages, has some expressions which, if this Essay had been contained in the earlier edition, would have made me suspect that Shakespeare had been reading it. As I am not aware that the resemblance has been observed, I will quote the passages to which I allude in connexion with those which remind me of them.

[2]
> Reverend Sirs,
> For you there's Rosemary and Rue: these keep
> Seeming and savour all the winter long.
> Grace and Remembrance be to you both,
> And welcome to our shearing.
>
> *Pol.* Shepherdess,
> (A fair one are you) well you fit our ages
> With flowers of winter.

[3] In place of "pine-apple-trees," the translation has *buxus, pinus, abies.*

[4] *Irides quoad folia.* [5] *juxta parietem et versus solem satus.*

[6] *pseudo-narcissus luteus.*

[7]
> Now, my fair'st friend,
> I would I had some flowers o' the Spring, that might
> Become your time of day . . . .
> Daffodils,
> That come before the swallow dares, and take
> The winds of March with beauty: Violets (dim
> But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes,
> Or Cytherea's breath): pale Prime-roses,
> That die unmarried, ere they can behold
> Bright Phœbus in his strength . . . .
> bold Oxlips, and
> The Crown Imperial: Lilies of all kinds,
> (The Flower-de-Luce being one).

[8] *narcissus verus.*

In May and June come pinks of all sorts, specially the blush-pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honey-suckles; strawberries; bugloss; columbine; the French marigold; flos Africanus[1]; cherry-tree in fruit; ribes; figs in fruit; rasps; vine-flowers; lavender in flowers; the sweet satyrian, with the white flower; herba muscaria; lilium convallium; the apple-tree in blossom.[2] In July come gilliflowers of all varieties[3]; musk-roses; the lime-tree in blossom; early pears and plums in fruit; genitings, quadlins. In August come plums of all sorts in fruit; pears; apricocks; berberries; filberds; musk-melons; monks-hoods, of all colours. In September come grapes; apples; poppies of all colours; peaches; melocotones; nectarines; cornelians; wardens; quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services; medlars; bullaces; roses cut or removed to come late; holly-oaks; and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have *ver perpetuum*, as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air.[4] Roses, damask and red[5], are fast flowers of their smells; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea though it be in a morning's dew. Bays likewise yield no smell as they grow. Rosemary little; nor sweet majoram. That which above all others yields the sweetest smell in the air[6], is the violet, specially the white double violet, which comes twice a year; about the middle

[1] *Flos Africanus, simplex et multiplex.* The "French Marigold" is omitted in the translation.

[2] The translation adds; *flos cyaneus:* [the corn-cockle].

[3] Sir, the year growing ancient,
Not yet on Summer's death, nor on the birth
Of trembling Winter, the fairest flowers o' the season
Are our Carnations and streaked Gilly-vors
(Which some call Nature's bastards) . . . .
Here's flowers for you:
Hot Lavender, Mints, Savory, Marjoram,
The Mary-gold, that goes to bed wi' the Sun,
And with him rises, weeping: These are flowers
Of middle Summer, and I think they are given
To men of middle age.

[4] *quæ adhuc crescentes, nec avulsæ, maxime emittunt auras suaves, et aërem odore perfundunt.*

[5] *tam pallidæ quam rubeæ.* [6] *suavissimo odore (crescens) imbuit.*

of April, and about Bartholomew-tide.[1] Next to that is the musk-rose. Then the strawberry-leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell.[2] Then the flower of the vines; it is a little dust, like the dust of a bent[3], which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth. Then sweet-briar. Then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window. Then pinks and gilliflowers[4], specially the matted pink and clove gilliflower. Then the flowers of the lime-tree. Then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off.[5] Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field flowers. But those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three; that is, burnet, wild-thyme, and watermints. Therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are indeed prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground; and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance; a heath or desert[6] in the going forth; and the main garden in the midst; besides alleys on both sides. And I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green; six to the heath; four and four to either side; and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden. But because the alley will be long, and, in great heat of the year or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun thorough the green, therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots or figures with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands[7], they be but toys:

[1] *sub finem Augusti.*

[2] So Ed. 1639. The original has "which a most excellent cordial smell." Possibly it should be *which yield.* The translation has *quæ halitum emittunt plane cardiacum.*

[3] *qualis est in caule plantaginis.*

[4] The British Museum copy (see note at the end) omits *and gilliflowers.* The translation has *tum cariophyllatæ tam minores quam majores.*

[5] The translation adds *tum flores lavendulæ.*

[6] *fruticetum sive eremum.*

[7] This clause is omitted in the translation.

you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge. The arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad; and the spaces between of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turret, with a belly, enough to receive a cage of birds: and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon. But this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys; unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you. But there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting[1] your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting[2] your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising nevertheless that whatsoever form you cast it into, first,[3] it be not too busy, or full of work. Wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round, like welts[4], with some pretty pyramides, I like well; and in some places, fair columns upon frames of carpenter's work.[5] I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents, and alleys[6], enough

[1] *ne . . . impediat.* [2] *ne . . . intercipiat.*

[3] My copy of Ed. 1625 has a comma after *first* and no comma after *into*. The copy in the British Museum has a comma after *into*, and no comma after *first*. So also Ed. 1639. The translation has *quæcunque ea tandem sit, nimis curiosa et operosa ne sit.* I suspect that the direction was to add the second comma and leave the first, and that it was misunderstood, or imperfectly executed; an accident which may easily happen, and would account for the occasional introduction of a change which could not have been intended.

[4] *instar fimbriarum.*

[5] *Columnas etiam, et pyramides altas, ex opere lignario, in aliquibus locis sparsas, sepibus vestitas, recipio.*

[6] *et tribus ambulacris.*

for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty foot high; and some fine banqueting-house[1], with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all[2], and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures: the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water; the other a fair receipt of water[3], of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images gilt, or of marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is so to convey the water, as it never stay[4], either in the bowls or in the cistern; that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red or the like; or gather any mossiness or putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand. Also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it, doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curiosity[5] and beauty; wherewith we will not trouble ourselves: as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the sides likewise; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine rails of low statua's. But the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little. And for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it[6], but some thickets made only of

[1] *atque in vertice domicellus elegans extruatur.* [2] *sed stagna et piscinæ exulent.*

[3] *unum qui aquam salientem versat et dispergat, cum crateribus suis; alterum nitidum aquæ puræ receptaculum,* &c.

[4] *ut perpetuo fluat, nec consistat.* [5] The translation adds: *ut maneat limpida.*

[5] The copy in the British Museum has a semicolon after *curiosity:* my copy has a comma. And as it has certainly been a change in the type, and not a variety in the impression or an alteration made by the hand, I am inclined to think that the Museum copy was a proof in which corrections were afterwards made.

[7] The translation adds: *nisi quod, in aliquibus locis erîji præcipio arborum series, quæ in vertice ambulacra contineant, ramis arborum cooperta, cum fenestris. Subjaceat*

sweet-briar and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries [1], and primroses. For these are sweet, and prosper in the shade. And these to be in the heath, here and there, not in any order.[2] I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with wild thyme; some with pinks; some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle; some with violets; some with strawberries; some with cowslips; some with daisies; some with red roses; some with lilium convallium; some with sweet-williams red; some with bear's-foot [3]: and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly. Part of which heaps are to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without. The standards to be roses [4]; juniper; holly; berberries; (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom [5];) red currants; gooseberry; rosemary; bays; sweet-briar; and such like. But these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.[6]

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade, some of them, whereso-ever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery. And those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys likewise, you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts; as well upon the walls as in ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair and large, and low, and not steep [7]; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive [8] the

autem pars soli floribus odoris suavis abunde consita, qui auras in superius exhalent; alias fruticetum apertum esse sine arboribus velim.

[1] *fragis præcipue.*

[2] *Dumeta autem, et ambulacra super arbores, sparyi volumus ad placitum, non in ordine aliquo collocari.*

[3] *Helleboro flore purpureo.*

[4] *Pars autem cumulorum habeat in vertice frutices; ea sint rosa, &c.*

[5] *sed hæc rarior, propter odoris gravitatem dum floret.* The British Museum copy has a semicolon after *blossom* and no stop after *berberries* (or *beare-berries* as it is spelt): my copy has a semicolon after *beare-berries* and no stop after blossom. It is difficult to say which has been the alteration; for in the original setting of the type room for a semicolon does not seem to have been left in either place. Here (as before) I suspect the intention of the corrector was to insert the first without removing the second. The parenthesis certainly refers to the berberry; the blossom of which has an offensive smell, when too near.

[6] *ne deformiter excrescant.*

[7] *et molliter ascendens.*

[8] *succo defraudent.*

trees. At the end of both the side grounds, I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.[1]

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides, with fruit trees; and some pretty tufts of fruit trees, and arbours with seats, set in some decent order[2]; but these to be by no means set too thick; but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year; and in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them; that the birds may have more scope, and natural nestling[3], and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary.[4] So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing, not a model, but some general lines of it[5]; and in this I have spared for no cost. But it is nothing for great princes, that for the most part taking advice with workmen[6], with no less cost set their things together[7]; and sometimes add statua's, and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII. Of Negociating.

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good,

[1] *ad talem altitudinem parietis exterioris, ut in monticello stanti in agros pateat prospectus.*

[2] *ambulacra quædam, eaque minime angusta, arboribus fructiferis utrinque consita. Quin et arboreta aliqua, arborum fructiferarum prope consitarum; et umbracula artificiosa et bella cum sedibus ordine eleganti locata.*

[3] *ut aves liberius volitent, et se per diversa oblectare et componere possint.*

[4] The translation adds. *Quantum vero ad ambulacra in clivis et variis ascensibus amœnis conficienda, illa Naturæ dona sunt, nec ubique extrui possunt; nos autem ea posuimus quæ omni loco conveniunt.*

[5] *partim modulo generali, sed minime accurato.*

[6] *hortulanos.* [7] *varia, parum cum judicio, componunt.*

when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases [1], where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh may give him a direction how far to go; and generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report [2] for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed; for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter; as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself.[3] Use also such as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start or first performance is all [4]; which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such, which must go before; or else a man can persuade the other party that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honester man.[5] All practice [6] is to discover, or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work [7] any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade

[1] *in rebus quas extremis tantum digitis tangere convenit.*
[2] *ea quæ referent verbis emollient.*
[3] *quæ aliquid iniqui habeat.*
[4] *prima velut occupatio aut possessio votorum in præcipuis numeranda.*
[5] *pro homine imprimis integro et verace.*
[6] *negotiatio.*
[7] *si quem ad nutum fingere cupias, ut inde efficias aliquid.*

him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negociations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII. Of Followers and Friends.

Costly followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience; for they taint business through want of secrecy[1]; and they export honour from a man[2], and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers likewise which are dangerous, being indeed espials; which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others. Yet such men, many times, are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to that which a great person himself professeth, (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like,) hath ever been a thing civil[3], and well taken even in monarchies; so it be without too much pomp or popularity. But the most honourable kind of following is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert[4] in all sorts of persons. And yet, where there is no eminent odds in suf-

[1] *futilitate sud.*
[2] The translation inserts, *si quis vere rem reputet.*
[3] *pro re decorâ habitum est.*
[4] *ut quis patronum se profiteatur eorum qui virtute et meritis clarent.*

ficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able.[1] And besides, to speak truth, in base times active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true that in government it is good to use men of one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claim a due.[2] But contrariwise, in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious: because all is of favour.[3] It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not safe; for it shews softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation; for those that would not censure or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour. Yet to be distracted with many is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression[4], and full of change. To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable; *for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters; and*[5] *the vale best discovereth the hill.* There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

XLIX. Of Suitors.

Many ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance. Some embrace[6] suits, which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other mean, they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or at least to make use in the mean time of the suitor's hopes. Some

[1] *præstat mediocribus patrocinari quam eminentioribus.*

[2] *quandoquidem ordinis paritas æquas gratiæ conditiones tanquam ex debito poscit.*

[3] *neque de hoc merito conqueratur quispiam, quum omnia ex gratia non ex debito prodeant.*

[4] *postremæ* (*ut nunc loquuntur*) *editionis.* Whence it would appear that the metaphor is from the printing-press.

[5] *atque* (*ut adagio dicitur*).

[6] *recipiunt et operam avide pollicentur.*

take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other; or to make an information [1] whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext; without care what become of the suit when that turn is served; or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own. Nay some undertake suits, with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right in equity, if it be a suit of controversy; or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour: but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place: so far forth consideration may be had of his trust [2], that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means; and in some sort recompensed for his discovery.[3] To be ignorant of the value of a suit is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience. Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others. But timing of the suit is the principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general.[4] The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant [5]; if a man

[1] *ut aliquid obiter deferant et informent.* [2] *fides in re illâ patefaciendâ.*

[3] *hoc ei fraudi non sit, sed potius remuneretur.*

[4] *atque eum potius adhibe qui paucioribus negotiis se immiscet, quam qui omnia complectitur.*

[5] *Denegatæ petitionis iteratio concessioni ipsi quandoque æquiparat.*

shew himself neither dejected nor discontented. *Iniquum petas ut æquum feras*, [Ask more than is reasonable, that you may get no less,] is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit[1]; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not in the conclusion lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments[2] than these general contrivers of suits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

L. Of Studies.

Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability[3]. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse[4]; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business.[5] For expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies is sloth[6]; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation[7]; to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar.[8] They perfect nature, and are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need proyning[9] by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute; nor to believe and take for granted; nor to find talk and discourse; but

[1] *gradibus quibusdam ad id quod petis ascendere, et aliquid saltem impetrare.*
[2] *non invenitur in rebuspublicis perniciosius hominum genus.*
[3] *aut meditationum voluptati, aut orationis ornamento, aut negotiorum subsidio.*
[4] *in sermone tam familiari quam solemni.*
[5] *ut accuratiore judicio res et suscipiantur et disponantur.*
[6] *speciosa quædam socordia.*
[7] *affectatio mera est quæ se ipsam prodit.*
[8] *de rebus autem ex regulis artis judicare, scholam omnino sapit, nec bene succedit.*
[9] So in the original. Compare *Sylva Sylvarum*, § 432.: "the lower boughs only maintained, and the higher continually *proined* off:" and again § 823.: "many birds do *proine* their feathers:" from which I suppose that it is not a misprint, but another form of the word.

to weigh and consider.[1] Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed[2], and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others[3]; but that would be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are like common distilled waters, flashy things.[4] Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man.[5] And therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets witty; the mathematics subtile; natural philosophy deep; moral grave[6]; logic and rhetoric able to contend.[7] *Abeunt studia in mores.* [The studies pass into the manners.] Nay there is no stond or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises. Bowling is good for the stone and reins; shooting for the lungs and breast; gentle walking for the stomach; riding for the head; and the like. So if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again. If his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen; for they are *cymini sectores*, [splitters of hairs.] If he be not apt to beat over matters[8], and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases. So every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LI. Of Faction.

Many have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy;

[1] *sed ut addiscas, ponderes, et judicio tuo aliquatenus utaris.*
[2] *quos deglutire cursimque legere oportet.*
[3] *eorumque compendia tantum desumere.* [4] *penitus insipidi.*
[5] *scriptio autem, et notarum collectio, perlecta in animo imprimit et altius figit.*
[6] *gravitatem quandam morum conciliat.*
[7] *pugnacem reddit, et ad contentiones alacrem.*
[8] *si quis ad transcursus ingenii segnis sit.*

whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree; or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one.[1] But I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising, must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves[2], were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way.[3] The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called *Optimates*) held out awhile against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions. And therefore those that are seconds in factions do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove cyphers and cashiered; for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men once placed take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter: thinking belike that they have the first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase.[4] The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it[5]; for when matters have stuck long in balancing[6], the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both.[7] Certainly in Italy they

[1] *in palpandis, conciliandis, et tractandis singulis.*
[2] *jam pridem honorem adeptis.*
[3] *ita caute adhærere, ut videatur quis alteri ex partibus addictus, et tamen parti adversæ minime odiosus, viam quandam sternit ad honores per medium factionum.*
[4] *ad novos amicos conciliandos se comparare.*
[5] *plerumque rem obtinet.*
[6] *tanquam in æquilibrio.*
[7] *sed ex consilio callido, quandoquidem proximus sibi quisque sit, atque ex utráque factione utilitatem demetere speret.*

hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth *Padre commune*[1]: and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies: for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king *tanquam unus ex nobis* [like one of themselves]; as was to be seen in the League of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently[2], it is a sign of weakness in princes; and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *primum mobile*.

LII. Of Ceremonies and Respects.[3]

He that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil.[4] But if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men as it is in gettings and gains: for the proverb is true, *That light gains make heavy purses;* for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it is true that small matters[5] win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note: whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals.[6] Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as queen Isabella[7] said) *like perpetual letters commendatory*, to have good forms. To attain them it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour[8] is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his

[1] *in suspicionem incurrit Papa, de quo vox illa in vulgus volitat,* Padre Commune.
[2] *cum factiones manu forti et palam concertant.*
[3] *De Cæremoniis Civilibus, et Decoro.*
[4] *sine ornamento omni.*
[5] *exiguæ virtutes.*
[6] *raro admodum obtingit.*
[7] *Isabella, regina Castiliana.*
[8] *vultus et gestus et externa alia.*

mind too much to small observations? Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminisheth respect to himself; especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures; but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon[1], is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks.[2] And certainly there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments[3], which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state. Amongst a man's inferiors one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in anything, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self to others is good; so it be with demonstration that a man doth it upon regard[4], and not upon facility. It is a good precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments[5]; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute[6], to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be curious in observing times and opportunities. Salomon saith, *He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap.* A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

LIII. Of Praise.

Praise is the reflexion of virtue. But it is as the glass or body which giveth the reflexion.[7] If it be from the common

[1] *locutio hyperbolica (quali nonnulli utuntur).*
[2] *et pondus eorum quæ dicuntur.*
[3] *modus artificiosæ cujusdam insinuationis, in verbis ipsis, inter formulas communes, qui homines revera inescat et mirifice afficit.*
[4] *ex comitate et urbanitate.* [5] *cæremoniis et formulis.*
[6] *audies tamen ab invidis, in nominis tui detrimentum,* urbanus *tantum et* affectator.
[7] *atque ut fit in speculis, trahit aliquid e natura corporis quod reflexionem præbet.*

people, it is commonly false and naught; and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous. For the common people understand not many excellent virtues. The lowest virtues draw praise from them; the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense of perceiving at all. But shews, and *species virtutibus similes*, serve best with them. Certainly fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swoln, and drowns things weighty and solid. But if persons of quality and judgment concur[1], then it is (as the Scripture saith), *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis;* [a good name like unto a sweet ointment.] It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There be so many false points[2] of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self; and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to perforce, *spretâ conscientiâ.* Some praises come of good wishes and respects[3], which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, *laudando præcipere;* when by telling men what they are, they represent[4] to them what they should be. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them; *pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium;* [the worst kind of enemies are they that praise;] insomuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that *he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose;* as we say, *that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie.* Certainly moderate praise, used with opportunity[5], and not vulgar, is that which doth the good.[6] Salomon saith, *He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse.* Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn.

[1] *cum vulgo concurrunt.*
[2] *conditiones fallaces.*
[3] *a voluntate bonâ cum reverentiâ conjunctâ proficiscuntur.*
[4] *humiliter moneas.*
[5] *tempestive irrogatos.*
[6] *honori vel maxime esse.*

To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The Cardinals of Rome, which are theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business: for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, *sbirrerie*, which is *under-sheriffries*; as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catch-poles: though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations.[1] St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, *I speak like a fool;* but speaking of his calling, he saith, *magnificabo apostolatum meum:* [I will magnify my mission.]

LIV. Of Vain-Glory.

It was prettily devised of Æsop; *the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and said, What a dust do I raise!* So are there some vain persons, that whatsoever goeth alone or moveth upon greater means[2], if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all bravery stands upon comparisons.[3] They must needs be violent, to make good their own vaunts. Neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual[4]; but according to the French proverb, *Beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit; Much bruit, little fruit.* Yet certainly there is use of this quality[5] in civil affairs. Where there is an opinion and fame to be created either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, *There are sometimes great effects of cross lies*[6]; as if a man that negociates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other: and sometimes he that deals between man and man, raiseth his

[1] *ac si artes illæ memoratæ magis ejusmodi homines, quam in fastigio Cardinalatûs positos, decerent: et tamen (si res rite penderetur) speculativa cum civilibus non male miscentur.*

[2] *cum aliquid vel sponte procedit, vel manu potentiore cietur.*

[3] *nulla ostentatio sine comparatione sui est.*

[4] *ideoque opere ut plurimum destituuntur.*

[5] *hujusmodi ingeniis.* [6] *mendacia reciproca, et ex utrâque parte.*

own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either. And in these and the like kinds, it often falls out that somewhat is produced of nothing; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In militar[1] commanders and soldiers, vain-glory is an essential point[2]; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure[3], a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business; and those that are of solid and sober natures have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning, the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation. *Qui de contemnendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt.* [They that write books on the worthlessness of glory, take care to put their names on the title page.] Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation.[4] Certainly vain-glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory; and virtue was never so beholding to human nature, as it received his due at the second hand.[5] Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her agé so well[6], if it had not been joined with some vanity[7] in themselves; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain-glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus; *Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quâdam ostentator:* [A man that had a kind of art of setting forth to advantage all that he had said or done:] for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion[8]; and in some persons[9] is not only comely, but gracious. For excusations, cessions, modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation. And amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. For saith Pliny very wittily, *In commending another you do yourself right; for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend,*

[1] So in the original. It is the form of the word which Bacon always (I believe) uses.

[2] *non inutile est.*

[3] *quæ sumptibus et periculo privatorum suscipiuntur.*

[4] *(magna nomina) ingenio jactabundo erant.*

[5] *Neque virtus ipsa tantum humanæ naturæ debet propter nominis sui celebrationem, quam sibi ipsi.*

[6] *ad hunc usque diem vix durasset, aut saltem non tam vegeta.*

[7] *vanitate et jactantiâ.*

[8] *ex arte et prudentiâ, cum magnanimitate quâdam conjunctâ.*

[9] *in aliquibus hominibus qui naturâ veluti comparati ad eam sunt.*

or inferior. If he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less. Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.[1]

LV. Of Honour and Reputation.

The winning of Honour[2] is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage. For some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the shew of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before; or attempted and given over; or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance; he shall purchase more honour, than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour, that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another[3] hath the quickest[4] reflexion, like diamonds cut with fascets.[5] And therefore let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation.[6] *Omnis fama a domesticis emanat.* Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends rather to seek merit than fame; and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these. In the first place are *conditores imperiorum*, founders of states and commonwealths; such as

[1] *parisitis præda et escæ; sibique ipsis et gloriæ vanæ mancipia.*

[2] *Honoris et existimationis vera et jure optimo acquisitio ea est, ut quis,* &c. Harl. MS. 5106. (for an account of which see Appendix No. II.) has "The true winning of honour:" which is probably the true reading.

[3] *qui comparativus est et alium prægravat.*

[4] *maxime vividam.*

[5] *cum angulis multiplicibus.*

[6] *Ita Q. Cicero.*

were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael. In the second place are *legislatores*, lawgivers; which are also called *second founders*, or *perpetui principes*, because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone; such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Eadgar, Alphonsus of Castile, the wise, that made the *Siete partidas*. In the third place are *liberatores*, or *salvatores*[1], such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France. In the fourth place are *propagatores* or *propugnatores imperii;* such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders. And in the last place are *patres patriæ*, [fathers of their country;] which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live. Both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number. Degrees of honour in subjects are, first *participes curarum*, those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs; their *right hands*, as we call them. The next are *duces belli*, great leaders; such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars. The third are *gratiosi*, favourites; such as exceed not this scantling, to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people. And the fourth, *negotiis pares;* such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely; that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

LVI. Of Judicature.

Judges ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare;* to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law. Else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome, which under pretext of exposition of Scripture doth not stick to add and alter; and to pronounce that which they do not find; and by shew of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident.

[1] *sive servatores patriarum suarum.*

Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. *Cursed* (saith the law) *is he that removeth the landmark.* The mislayer of a mere-stone is to blame. But it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples. For these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain. So saith Salomon, *Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario:* [A righteous man falling down before the wicked is as a troubled fountain or a corrupt spring.] The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turn judgment into wormwood;* and surely there be also that turn it into vinegar; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is to suppress force and fraud; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills: so when there appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel[1], then is the virtue of a judge seen, to make inequality equal[2]; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem;* [Violent blowing makes the nose bleed;] and where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws. Specially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos laqueos;* for penal laws pressed are a *shower of snares* upon the people. Therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise

[1] *manum elatam, veluti in prosecutione importunâ, captionibus malitiosis, combinationibus, patrocinio potentum, advocatorum disparitate, et similibus.*

[2] *in æquandis iis quæ sunt inæqualia.*

judges confined in the execution: *Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum, &c.* [A judge must have regard to the time as well as to the matter.] In causes of life and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy; and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice; and an overspeaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar; or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short; or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four: to direct the evidence; to moderate length[1], repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said; and to give the rule or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much; and proceedeth either of glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that[2] the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit; who *represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest.* But it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites[3]; which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of bye-ways.[4] There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded; especially towards the side which obtaineth not; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence. And let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge[5], nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the judge hath declared his sentence; but on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion for the party to say his counsel or proofs were not heard.

[1] *advocatorum et testium prolixitatem.*
[2] *quantum.*
[3] *advocatis quibusdam præ cæteris immoderate et aperte favere.*
[4] *corruptionis, et obliqui ad judices aditûs.*
[5] *obstrepat.*

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers. The place of justice is an hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench, but the foot-pace and precincts and purprise thereof, ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption. For certainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of thorns or thistles;* neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and polling[1] clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments. First, certain persons that are sowers of suits; which make the court swell, and the country pine. The second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly *amici curiæ*, but *parasiti curiæ*, in puffing a court up beyond her bounds, for their own scraps and advantage. The third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts; persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths. And the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding[2], and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court; and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought above all to remember the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables; *Salus populi suprema lex;* [The supreme law of all is the weal of the people;] and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is an happy thing in a state when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again when judges do often consult with the king and state: the one, when there is matter of law intervenient in business of state; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law. For many times the things deduced to judgment may be *meum* and *tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate: I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty[3], but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration or

[1] *rapacium et lucris inhiantium.* [2] *in actis ipsis concipiendis cautus.*
[3] *intelligo autem ad rationes status pertinere, non solum si quid ad Jura Regalia impetenda spectet, verum etiam, &c.*

dangerous precedent; or concerneth[1] manifestly any great portion of people. And let no man weakly conceive that just laws and true policy have any antipathy; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Salomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne; being circumspect that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws. For they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs; *Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis eâ utatur legitime.* [We know that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully.]

LVII. Of Anger.

To seek to extinguish Anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles: *Be angry, but sin not. Let not the sun go down upon your anger.* Anger must be limited and confined both in race and in time.[2] We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit to be angry may be attempered and calmed. Secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing mischief. Thirdly, how to raise anger or appease anger in another.

For the first; there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life. And the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is throughly over. Seneca saith well, *That anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us *To possess our souls in patience.* Whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees;

. . . . . animasque in vulnere ponunt:

[that put their lives in the sting.]

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness[3]; as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns; children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they

[1] *gravet.*
[2] *et quousque et quamdiu.*
[3] *res humilis et infra dignitatem hominis.*

carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear[1]; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it; which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.[2]

For the second point; the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three. First, to be too sensible of hurt; for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and therefore tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry; they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of. The next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt[3]: for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much or more than the hurt itself. And therefore when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much. Lastly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputation[4] doth multiply and sharpen anger. Wherein the remedy is[5], that a man should have, as Consalvo was wont to say, *telam honoris crassiorem*, [an honour of a stouter web.] But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time; and to make a man's self believe, that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come, but that he foresees a time for it; and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution. The one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate and proper; for *communia maledicta* are nothing so much; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit for society. The other, that you do not peremptorily break off, in any business, in a fit of anger; but howsoever you shew bitterness, do not act anything that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another; it is done chiefly by choosing of times, when men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt.

[1] *Itaque cum irasci contigerit, caveant homines (si modo dignitatis suæ velint esse memores) ne iram suam cum metu eorum quibus irascuntur, sed cum contemptu, conjungant.*

[2] *si quis iram suam paullulum regat et inflectat.*

[3] *si quis curiosus sit et perspicax in interpretatione injuriæ illatæ, quatenus ad circumstantias ejus, ac si contemptum spiraret.*

[4] *opinio contumeliæ, sive quod existimatio hominis per consequentiam lædatur et perstringatur.*

[5] *cui accedit remedium præsentaneum.*

And the two remedies are by the contraries. The former to take good times[1], when first to relate to a man an angry business; for the first impression is much; and the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

LVIII. Of Vicissitude of Things.

Salomon saith, *There is no new thing upon the earth.* So that as Plato had an imagination, *That all knowledge was but remembrance;* so Salomon giveth his sentence, *That all novelty is but oblivion.* Whereby you may see that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer[2] that saith, *if it were not for two things that are constant, (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder; the other, that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time,) no individual would last one moment.* Certain it is, that the matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets, that bury all things in oblivion, are two; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople and destroy.[3] Phaëton's car went but a day.[4] And the three years' drought in the time of Elias was but particular, and left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow.[5] But in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which hap to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one[6] as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the old world. And it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore

[1] *tempora serena et ad hilaritatem prona.*
[2] *astrologus quidam abstrusus et parum notus.*
[3] *illæ populum penitus non absorbent aut destruunt.*
[4] *Fabula Phaëtontis brevitatem conflagrationis, ad unius diei tantum spatium, repræsentavit.*
[5] The translation adds: *Pestilentias etiam prætereo quia nec illæ totaliter absorbent.*
[6] *ut oblivio non minus omnia involvat.*

been there, was not by earthquakes (as the Ægyptian priest told Solon concerning the island of Atlantis, *that it was swallowed by an earthquake*), but rather that it was desolated by a particular deluge. For earthquakes are seldom in those parts. But on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia and Africk and Europe are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems that the remnants of generation of men were in such a particular deluge saved.[1] As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities; I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities.[2]

The vicissitude or mutations in the Superior Globe are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect; not in renewing the state of like individuals, (for that is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below than indeed they have,) but in gross.[3] Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things; but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects[4]; specially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet, for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven[5], or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part) that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers comes about again[6]; as great frosts, great wet, great droughts,

[1] *unde credibile est reliquias stirpis hominum apud eos post tale diluvium particulare conservatas fuisse.*

[2] The translation adds: *Tum vero prohibita, licet tenebris cooperta, obrepunt tamen et suas nanciscuntur periodos.*

[3] *in summis et massis rerum.*

[4] *Verum homines, ut nunc est, indiligentes, aut curiosi, circa eos sunt: eosque potius mirabundi spectant, atque itineraria eorundem conficiunt, quam effectus eorum prudenter et sobrie notant.*

[5] The translation adds: *tempestatis anni; semitæ aut cursûs.*

[6] *Similem annorum temperaturam, et tempestatem cœli, velut in orbem redire.*

warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like; and they call it the *Prime.* It is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.[1]

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men, is the vicissitude of sects and religions. For those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is *built upon the rock;* the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak therefore of the causes of new sects; and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords; and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal; and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous; you may doubt the springing up of a new sect; if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof.[2] All which points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not[3]; for it will not spread. The one is, the supplanting or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that. The other is, the giving licence to pleasures and a voluptuous life. For as for speculative heresies, (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians,) though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in states; except it be by the help of civil occasions.[4] There bè three manner of plantations of new sects. By the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles; because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature: and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

[1] *Congruentiam, haud exactam sane, sed non mul'um discrepantem.*
[2] *præcipue si eo tempore ingenium quoddam intemperans et paradoxa spirans suboriatur.*
[3] *nova secta licet pullulet, duobus si destituatur adminiculis, ab eâ non metuus.*
[4] *ex occasione motuum civilium.*

The changes and vicissitude in wars are many; but chiefly in three things; in the seats or stages of the war; in the weapons; and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from east to west; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the invaders,) were all eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs: the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome. But East and West have no certain points of heaven[1]; and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation. But North and South are fixed[2]; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere; or of the great continents that are upon the north, whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea; or (which is most apparent) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courages warmest.[3]

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars. For great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey.[4] So was it in the decay of the Roman empire; and likewise in the empire of Almaigne, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befal to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars: for when a state grows to an over-power, it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous peoples[5], but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live[6], (as it is almost every where at this day, except Tartary,) there is no danger of

[1] *cœli climata non determinant.* [2] *naturâ fixi.*

[3] The translation adds: *ut liquet in populo Araucensi; qui ad ulteriora Austri positi omnibus Peruviensibus fortitudine longe præcellunt.*

[4] *aliis gentibus in prædam cadunt.*

[5] *cum mundus nationibus barbaris minus abundat, sed civiliores fere sunt.*

[6] *nisi modum familiam alendi, aut saltem victum parandi, præviderint.*

inundations[1] of people: but when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations[2]; which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war. For commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.[3]

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes. For certain it is, that ordnance[4] was known in the city of the Oxidrakes in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic. And it is well known that the use of ordnance[5] hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons, and their improvement, are, First, the fetching afar off; for that outruns the danger[6]; as it is seen in ordnance and muskets. Secondly, the strength of the percussion; wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations and ancient inventions. The third is, the commodious use of them; as that they may serve in all weathers[7]; that the carriage may be light and manageable; and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the first, men rested extremely upon number: they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour; pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match: and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After they grew to rest upon number rather competent than vast; they grew to[8] advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like: and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age

[1] *ab inundationibus aut migrationibus.*

[2] *portionem aliquam multitudinis suæ exonerent, et novas sedes quærant, et sic alias nationes invadant.*

[3] *animat gentes alias ad eosdem invadendos.*

[4] *tormenta ænea.*

[5] *pulveris pyrii et tormentorum igneorum.*

[6] *periculum ab hostili parte anticipat.*

[7] *id quod tormentis igneis majoribus etiam competit, quæ omnibus tempestatibus donea.*

[8] So in original. A word appears to have dropped out, such as *seek*, or something equivalent. The translation has *captabant.*

of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time, in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise. Learning hath his infancy, when it is but beginning and almost childish[1]: then his youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile: then his strength of years, when it is solid and reduced[2]: and lastly, his old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust.[3] But it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy. As for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales[4], and therefore not fit for this writing.

[1] *quando leviuscula sunt, et pueriles.* [2] *solidiores et exactiores.*
[3] The translation adds, *manente tamen garrulitate.*
[4] *Quatenus vero ad Philologiam, quæ in hoc argumento ut plurimum versatur, nihil aliud est quam narratiuncularum et observationum futilium congeries quædam.*

NOTE.

In speaking of the original edition, I have referred to a copy in my own possession; from which the title is copied. I have since found that there is a copy in the British Museum bearing the same date, but not in all respects the same. In the titlepage, instead of *newly enlarged*, it has *newly written*. It professes to be "printed by John Haviland, for Hanna Barret," omitting the name of Richard Whittaker, and the words which follow. In the text, it is difficult even on a careful examination to detect any differences whatever. But upon referring to the passages in which I had noticed an error, or a doubt, or a variety of reading, I find that in three of them it differs from my copy. In p. 423. it has *children* not *child:* in p. 437. *flower* not *flowers:* in p. 474. *game* not *gaine*. One or two other variations which occur in the later essays I have noticed in their places. Of these copies, one must certainly have been a proof in which corrections were afterwards made. And the fact that all the later editions have "newly enlarged" in the titlepage, instead of "newly written," favours the supposition that mine is the corrected copy. That in some cases (as for instance in pages 437. and 474.) the reading of the other copy is unquestionably the right one,

may possibly be explained by accidents of the press. The last letter in *flowers* may have failed to take the ink; the *m* in *game* may have been injured, and being mistaken for an imperfect *in* may have been replaced by a perfect *m*.

APPENDIX TO THE ESSAYS.

I.

A Fragment of an Essay on Fame.[1]

The poets make Fame a monster. They describe her in part finely and elegantly; and in part gravely and sententiously. They say, look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath; so many tongues; so many voices; she pricks up so many ears.

This is a flourish. There follow excellent parables; as that she gathereth strength in going: that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds: that in the day-time she sitteth in a watch tower, and flieth most by night: that she mingleth things done with things not done: and that she is a terror to great cities. But that which passeth all the rest is; they do recount that the Earth, mother of the Giants that made war against Jupiter and were by him destroyed, thereupon in an anger brought forth Fame; for certain it is that rebels, figured by the giants, and seditious fames and libels, are but brothers and sisters; masculine and feminine. But now, if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening fowl and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected with the stile of the poets. To speak now in a sad and a serious manner. There is not in all the politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame. We will therefore speak

[1] This fragment was first published by Dr. Rawley, in the *Resuscitatio* (1657), p. 281. Though unfinished, therefore, it may be regarded as a genuine and undoubted work of Bacon's, as far as it goes. Two other Essays, which have been ascribed to Bacon upon very doubtful authority (and at least one of them in my opinion very improbably), will be printed by themselves at the end of this Appendix.

of these points. What are false fames; and what are true fames; and how they may be best discerned; how fames may be sown and raised; how they may be spread and multiplied; and how they may be checked and laid dead. And other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part; especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius, by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations, by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with wars, and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continual giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment. And it is an usual thing with the Bashaws, to conceal the death of the great Turk from the Janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes King of Persia post apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be a thousand such like examples, and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated; because a man meeteth with them every where. Therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

The rest was not finished.

II.

Early Editions of the Essays.

Bacon's Essays in their earliest shape formed part of a very small octavo volume, published in 1597, with the following title: *Essayes. Religious Meditations. Places of perswasion and disswasion. Seene and allowed. At London, Printed for Humfrey Hooper, and are to be sold at the blacke Beare in Chauncery Lane.* 1597.

The *Religious meditations* and the *Places of perswasion and disswasion* refer to two other works; one in Latin, entitled *Meditationes sacræ:* the other in English, entitled *Of the Coulers of Good and Evill; a fragment.* These will be printed elsewhere.

The "Epistle Dedicatory" prefixed to the volume is dated the 30th of January, 1597; which in the case of an ordinary letter would be understood to mean 1597-8. But I suppose that publishers, who like to have fresh dates on their title-pages, followed the "historical" year, which was reckoned from the 1st of January, and not the "civil," which was reckoned from the 25th of March. For I find in the Lambeth library, the following rough draft of a letter from Anthony Bacon to the Earl of Essex, docqueted "le 8me de février. 1596."

"My singular good Lord.

"I am bold, and yet out of a most entire and dutiful love wherein my german brother and myself stand infinitely bound unto your Lordship, to present unto you the first sight and taste of such fruit as my brother was constrained to gather, as he professeth himself, before they were ripe, to prevent stealing; and withal most humbly to beseech your Lordship, that as my brother in token of a mutual firm brotherly affection hath bestowed by dedication the property of them upon myself, so your Lordship, to whose disposition and commandment I have entirely and inviolably vowed my poor self, and

whatever appertaineth unto me, either in possession or right, — that your Lordship, I say, in your noble and singular kindness towards us both, will vouchsafe first to give me leave to transfer my interest unto your Lordship, then humbly to crave your honourable acceptance and most worthy protection. And so I must humbly take my leave.

I shall now give a correct reprint of the Essays, as they appeared in this first edition; preserving, by way of specimen, the original orthography and punctuation. I take it from the copy in the British Museum; a copy which appears by a memorandum on the titlepage to have been sold on the 7th of February, 39 Eliz. (*i. e.* 1596-7), for the sum of twenty pence.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

To M. Anthony Bacon

his deare Brother.

Louing and beloued Brother, I doe nowe like some that haue an Orcharde il neighbored, that gather their fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing. These fragments of my conceites were going to print; To labour the staie of them had bin troublesome, and subiect to interpretation; to let them passe had beene to advēture the wrong they mought receiue by vntrue Coppies, or by some garnishment, which it mought please any that should set them forth to bestow upon them. Therefore I helde it best discreation to publish them my selfe as they passed long agoe from my pen, without any further disgrace, then the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did euer hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing mens conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the world, as in obtruding them: So in these particulars I haue played my selfe the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my vnderstanding in them contrarie or infectious to the state of Religion, or manners, but rather (as I suppose) medicinable. Only I disliked now to put them out because they will be like the late new halfe-pence, which though the Siluer were good, yet the peeces were small. But since they would not stay with their Master, but would needes trauaile abroade, I haue preferred them to you that are next myself, Dedicating them, such as they are, to our loue, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I

sometimes wish your infirmities translated uppon my selfe, that her Maiestie mought haue the seruice of so actiue and able a mind, & I mought be with excuse confined to these contemplations & studies for which I am fittest, so commende I you to the preseruation of the diuine Maiestie. From my Chamber at Graies Inne, this 30. of Ianuarie. 1597.

Your entire Louing brother.

Fran. Bacon.

ESSAIES.

1. *Of studie.*
2. *Of discourse.*
3. *Of Ceremonies and respects.*
4. *Of followers and friends.*
5. *Sutors.*
6. *Of expence.*
7. *Of Regiment of health.*
8. *Of Honour and reputation.*
9. *Of Faction.*
10. *Of Negociating.*

ESSAIES.

Of Studies.

Studies serue for pastimes, for ornaments and for abilities. Their chiefe vse for pastime is in priuatenes and retiring; for ornamente is in discourse, and for abilitie is in iudgement. For expert men can execute, but learned men are fittest to iudge or censure.

¶ To spend too much time in them is slouth, to vse them too much for ornament is affectation: to make iudgement wholly by their rules, is the humour of a Scholler. ¶ They perfect *Nature*, and are perfected by experience. ¶ Craftie men continue[1] them, simple men admire them, wise men vse them: For they teach not their owne vse, but that is a wisedome without them: and aboue them wonne by observation. ¶ Reade not to contradict, nor to belieue, but to waigh and consider. ¶ Some bookes are to bee tasted, others to bee swallowed, and some few to bee chewed and disgested: That is, some bookes are to be read only in partes; others to be read, but cursorily, and some few to be read wholly and with diligence and attention. ¶ Reading maketh a full man, conference a readye man, and writing an exacte man. And therefore if a man write little, he had neede haue a great memorie, if he conferre little, he had neede haue a present wit, and if he reade little, hee had neede haue much cunning, to seeme to know that he doth not. ¶ Histories make men wise, Poets wittie: the Mathematickes subtle, naturall Phylosophie deepe: Morall graue, Logicke and Rhetoricke able to contend.

[1] So in the original: corrected with a pen into *contemne* in the British Museum copy.

Of discourse.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit in being able to holde all arguments, then of iudgement in discerning what is true, as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what shoulde be thought. Some haue certaine Common places and Theames wherein they are good, and want varietie, which kinde of pouertie is for the most part tedious, and nowe and then ridiculous. ¶ The honourablest part of talke is to guide the occasion, and againe to moderate and passe to somewhat else. ¶ It is good to varie and mixe speech of the present occasion with argument, tales with reasons, asking of questions, with telling of opinions, and iest with earnest. ¶ But some thinges are priuiledged from iest, namely Religion, matters of state, great persons, any mans present businesse of importance, and any case that deserueth pittie. ¶ He that questioneth much shall learn much, and content much, specially if hee applie his questions to the skill of the person of whome he asketh, for he shal giue them occasion to please themselues in speaking, and himselfe shall continually gather knowledge. ¶ If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to knowe, you shall bee thought another time to know that you know not. ¶ Speech of a mans selfe is not good often, and there is but one case, wherin a man may commend himselfe with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially if it be such a vertue, as whereunto himselfe pretendeth. ¶ Discretion of speech is more then eloquence, and to speake agreably to him, with whome we deale is more thē to speake in good wordes or in good order. ¶ A good continued speech without a good speech of interlocution sheweth slownesse: and a good reply or second speech without a good set speech sheweth shallownesse and weaknes, as wee see in beastes that those that are weakest in the course are yet nimblest in the turne. ¶ To vse too many circumstances ere one come to the matter is wearisome, to use none at all is blunt.

Of Ceremonies and Respectes.

He that is onely reall had need haue exceeding great parts of vertue, as the stone had neede be rich that is set without foyle. ¶ But commonly it is in praise as it is in gaine. For as the prouerbe is true, *That light gaines make heauie Purses*: Because they come thicke, wheras great come but now and then, so it is as true that smal matters winne great commendation: because they are continually in vse and in note, whereas the occasion of any great vertue commeth but on holy-daies. ¶ To attaine good formes, it sufficeth not to despise them, for so shal a man observe them in others, and let him trust himselfe with the rest: for if he care to expresse them hee shall leese their grace, which is to be naturall and vnaffected. Some mens behauiour is like a verse wherein euery sillable is measured. How can a man comprehend great matters that breaketh his minde too much to small obseruations? ¶ Not to vse Ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to vse them againe, and so diminish his respect; especially they be not to bee omitted to straungers and strange natures. ¶ Among a mans Peires a man shall be sure of familiaritie, and therefore it is a good title[1] to keepe state; amongst a mans inferiours one shall be sure of reuerence, and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. ¶ Hee that is too much in any thing, so that he give another occasion of satietie, maketh himselfe cheape. ¶ To applie ones selfe to others is good, so it be with demonstration that a man doth it upon regard, and not vpon facilitie. ¶ It is a good precept generally in seconding another: yet to adde somewhat of ones owne; as if you will graunt his opinion, let it be with some distinction, if you wil follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsell, let it be with alleadging further reason.

Of followers and friends.

Costly followers are not to be liked, least while a man maketh his traine longer, hee make his wings shorter, I reckon to be costly not them alone which charge the purse, but which are

[1] So in the original: a mistake for "it is good a little."

wearysome and importune in sutes. Ordinary following ought to challenge no higher conditions then countenance, recommendation and protection from wrong.

¶ Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not vpon affection to him with whome they raunge themselues, but vpon discontentment conceiued against some other, wherevpon commonly insueth that ill intelligence that wee many times see between great personages. ¶ The following by certaine States answereable to that which a great person himselfe professeth, as of Souldiers to him that hath beene imployed in the warres, and the like hath euer beene a thing ciuile, and well taken euen in Monarchies, so it bee without too much pompe or popularitie. ¶ But the most honorable kind of following is to bee followed, as one that apprehendeth to aduance vertue and desert in all sortes of persons, and yet where there is no eminent oddes in sufficiencie, it is better to take with the more passable, then with the more able. In gouernment it is good to vse men of one rancke equally, for, to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolente, and the rest discontent, because they may claime a due. But in fauours to vse men with much difference and election is good, for it maketh the persons preferred more thankefull, and the rest more officious, because all is of fauour. ¶ It is good not to make too much of any man at first, because one cannot holde out that proportion. ¶ To be gouerned by one is not good, and to be distracted with many is worse; but to take aduise of friends is ever honorable: *For lookers on many times see more then gamesters, And the vale best discouereth the hill.* ¶There is little friendship in the worlde, and least of all betweene equals; which was wont to bee magnified. That that is, is betweene superiour and inferiour, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

Of Sutes.

Manie ill matters are vndertaken, and many good matters with ill mindes. Some embrace Sutes which neuer meane to deale effectually in them. But if they see there may be life in the matter by some other meane, they will be content to

winne a thanke or take a second reward. Some take holde of Sutes onely for an occasion to crosse some other, or to make an information wherof they could not otherwise have an apt precept[1], without care what become of the Sute, when that turne is serued. Nay some vndertake Sutes with a full purpose to let them fall, to the ende to gratifie the adverse partie or competitor. ¶ Surely there is in sorte a right in euerie Sute, either a right of equitie, if it be a Sute of controuersie; or a right of desert, if it bee a Sute of petition. If affection leade a man to fauor the wrong side in iustice, let him rather vse his countenance to compound the matter then to carrie it. If affection lead a man to fauour the lesse worthy in desert, let him doe it, without deprauing or disabling the better deseruer. ¶ In Sutes a man doth not wel vnderstand, it is good to referre them to some friend of trust and iudgement, that may reporte whether he may deale in them with honor. ¶ Suters are so distasted with delaies and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in Sutes at first, and reporting the successe barely, and in challendging no more thankes then one hath deserued, is growen not only honourable but also gracious. ¶ In Sutes of fauor the first comming ought to take little place, so far forth consideration may bee had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter coulde not otherwise haue beene had but by him, aduantage be not taken of the note. ¶ To be ignorant of the value of a Sute is simplicitie, as wel as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience. ¶ Secrecie in Sutes is a great meane of obtaining, for voicing them to bee in forwardnes may discourage some kinde of suters, but doth quicken and awake others. ¶ But tyming of the Sutes is the principall, tyming I saye not onely in respect of the person that shoulde graunt it, but in respect of those which are like to crosse it. ¶ Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great person as his letter, and yet if it bee not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation.

[1] So in the original: a mistake, no doubt, for *pretext*.

Of Expence.

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinarie Expence must bee limited by the worth of the ocasion; for voluntarie vndoing may bee as well for a mans countrie as for the kingdome of heauen. But ordinarie expence ought to bee limited by a mans estate, and gouerned with such regard, as it be within his compasse, and not subiect to deceite and abuse of seruants, and ordered to the best shew, that the Bils maye be lesse then the estimation abroad. ¶ It is no basenes for the greatest to descend and looke into their owne estate. Some forbeare it not vpon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselues into Melancholy in respect they shall finde it broken. But *woundes cannot bee cured without searching.* ¶ He that cannot looke into his owne estate, had neede both choose well those whom he imployeth, yea and change them after.[1] For new are more timerous and lesse subtle. ¶ In clearing of a mans estate hee may as well hurt himselfe in being too suddaine, as in letting it runne on too long, for hastie selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. ¶ He that hath a state to repaire may not despise small things; and commonly it is lesse dishonourable to abridge pettie charges then to stoupe to pettie gettings. ¶ A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begunne must continue. But in matters that returne not, he may be more magnificent.

Of Regiment of Health.

There is a wisdome in this beyond the rules of Phisicke. A mans owne obseruation what hee finds good of, and what he findes hurt of, is the best Physicke to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, This agreeth well with me, therefore I will continue it[2], then this I finde no offence, of this therefore I may vse it. For strength of nature in youth

[1] So in the original: a mistake for *often*.
[2] So in the original: it should be *not well*, and *not continue*.

passeth ouer many excesses, which are owing a man till his age. ¶Discerne of the comming on of yeares, and thinke not to doe the same things still. ¶ Beware of any suddain change in any great point of diet, and if necessitie inforce it, fit the rest to it. ¶ To be free minded and chearefully disposed at howers of meate, and of sleepe, and of exercise, is the best precept of long lasting. ¶ If you flie Physicke in health altogether, it will be too strange to your body when you shall need it, if you make it too familiar, it will worke no extraordinarie effect when sicknesse commeth. ¶ Despise no new accident in the body, but aske opinion of it. ¶ In sicknesse respect health principally, and in health action. For those that put their bodies to indure in health, may in most sickenesses which are not very sharpe, be cured onelye with diet and tendring.

¶ Physitians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humours of the patient, as they presse not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to Arte for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not bee found in one man, compound two of both sorts, and forget not to cal as wel the best aquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his facultie.

Of Honour and reputation.

The winning of Honour is but the reuealing of a mans vertue and worth without disadvantage, for some in their actions doe affect Honour and reputation, which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired: and some darken their vertue in the shew of it, so as they be vnder-valewed in opinion. ¶ If a man performe that which hath not beene attempted before, or attempted and giuen ouer, or hath been atchieued, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more Honour, then by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or vertue, wherein he is but a follower. ¶ If a man so temper his actions as in some one of them hee doe content euerie faction or combination of people, the Musicke will be the fuller. ¶ A man is an ill husband of his Honour that entereth into any

action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more then the carrying of it through can Honour him. ¶ Discreete followers helpe much to reputation. ¶ Enuie which is the canker of Honour, is best extinguished by declaring a mans selfe in his ends, rather to seeke merite then fame, and by attributing a mans successes rather to diuine prouidence and felicitie then to his vertue or pollicie.

¶ The true Marshalling of the degrees of Soueraigne honour are these. In the first place are *Conditores*, founders of states. In the second place are *Legislatores* Law-giuers, which are also called second founders, or *Perpetui principes*, because they gouerne by their ordinances after they are gone. In the third place are *Liberatores*, such as compound the long miseries of ciuill warres, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants. In the fourth place are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores imperii*, such as in honourable warres enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against Inuaders. And in the last place are *Patres patriæ*, which raigne justly and make the times good wherein they liue. Degrees of honour in subiects are first *Participes curarum*, those upon whome Princes doe discharge the greatest waight of their affaires, their *Right handes* (as we call them.) The next are *Duces belli*, great leaders, such as are Princes, Lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars. The third are *Gratiosi*, fauorites, such as exceede not this scantling to bee sollace to the Soueraigne, and harmelesse to the people. And the fourth *Negotiis pares*, such as have great place vnder Princes, and execute their places with sufficiencie.

Of Faction.

Manie have a newe wisedome, indeed, a fond opinion; That for a Prince to gouerne his estate, or for a great person to governe his proceedings according to the respects of Factions, is the principal part of pollicie. Whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisedome is either in ordering those things which are generall, and wherein men of severall Factions doe neuerthelesse agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons one by one. But I say not that the consideration of Factions is to be neglected.

¶ Meane men must adheare, but great men that haue strength in themselues were better to maintaine themselues indifferent and neutrall; yet euen in beginners to adheare so moderatly, as he be a man of the one Faction, which is passablest with the other, commonly giveth best way. ¶ The lower and weaker Faction is the firmer in conjunction. ¶ When one of the Factions is extinguished, the remaining subdiuideth which is good for a second Faction. It is commonly seene that men once placed, take in with the contrarie faction to that by which they enter. ¶ The traitor in Factions lightly goeth away with it, for when matters have stucke long in ballancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and hee getteth al the thankes.

Of Negociating.

It is generally better to deale by speech then by letter, and by the mediation of a thirde then by a mans selfe. Letters are good when a man woulde drawe an answere by letter backe againe, or when it may serue for a mans iustification afterwards to produce his owne letter. To deale in person is good when a mans face breedes regard, as commonly with inferiours. ¶ In choyce of instruments it is better to choose men of a plainer sorte that are like to doe that that is committed to them; and to reporte backe againe faithfully the successe, then those that are cunning to contriue out of other mens businesse somewhat to grace themselues, and will helpe the matter in reporte for satisfactions sake.

¶ It is better to sound a person with whome one deales a farre off, then to fal vppon the pointe at first, except you meane to surprise him by some shorte question. ¶ It is better dealing with men in appetite then those which are where they would be. ¶ If a man deale with another vppon conditions, the starte or first performance is all, which a man can not reasonably demaunde, except either the nature of the thing be such which must goe before, or else a man can perswade the other partie that he shall still neede him in some other thing, or else that he bee counted the honester man. ¶ All practise is to discouer or to worke: men discouer themselues in trust, in passion, at vnwares and of necessitie, when they would haue somewhat

donne, and cannot finde an apt precept.[1] If you would worke any man, you must either know his nature and fashions and so leade him, or his ends, and so winne him, or his weaknesses or disaduantages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him and so gouerne him. ¶ In dealing with cunning persons we must euer consider their endes to interpret their speeches, and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least looke for.

FINIS.

[1] So in the original: the second time the same mistake occurs. It should, of course, be *pretext*.

Edition of 1612.

It is a fact very creditable to the reading public of those days, that a volume which offers no entertainment except solid observation, packed as close as possible and stripped of all ornament, was thrice reprinted within nine years after its first appearance, viz. in 1598, in 1604, and in 1606. It is doubtful however whether Bacon himself had anything to do with any of these editions; which are said to have been merely reprints, without addition or alteration, except some changes in the spelling, and the substitution of an English translation of the *Meditationes sacræ* for the original Latin.

The earliest evidence of additions and alterations which I have met with, is contained in a volume preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 5106.; a volume undoubtedly authentic; for it contains interlineations in Bacon's own hand; and transcribed some time between 1607, when Bacon became Solicitor-general, and 1612, when he brought out a new edition of the Essays with further additions and alterations. It is unluckily not quite perfect; one leaf at least, if not more, having been lost at the beginning; though otherwise in excellent preservation.

The titlepage, which remains, bears the following inscription, very handsomely written in the old English character, with flourished capitals: *The writings of Sr Francis Bacon Knt. the Kinge's Sollicitor Generall: in Moralitie, Policie, and Historie.*

It contains nothing but Essays; which stand in the following order: —

1. Of Friendship (the beginning wanting).
2. Of Wisdom for a Man's Self.
3. Of Nobility.
4. Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature.
5. Of Beauty.
6. Of Seeming Wise.
7. Of Regiment of Health.
8. Of Expences.
9. Of Ambition.
10. Of Ceremonies and Respects
11. Of Studies.
12. Of Discourse.

13. Of Riches.
14. Of Followers and Friends.
15. Of Suitors.
16. Of Negociating.
17. Of Despatch.
18. Of Deformity.
19. Of Young Men and Age.
20. Of Faction.
21. Of Honour and Reputation.
22. Of Marriage and Single Life.
23. Of Parents and Children.
24. Of Great Place.
25. Of Empire.
26. Of Counsel.
27. Of Atheism.
28. Of Superstition.
29. Of Praise.
30. Of Nature in Men.
31. Of Custom and Education.
32. Of Fortune.
33. Of Death.
34. Of Seditions and Troubles.

Of these, two only are not to be found in the edition of 1612; viz. the twenty-first (which is included in the edition both of 1597 and 1625) and the thirty-fourth, which was not published till 1625, though an Italian translation of it had been given in Sir Tobie Matthew's *Saggi Morali*, in 1618. As this stands last in the volume, and the rest of the leaves are left blank, it is impossible to say whether it was transcribed at the same time with the rest, or added at a later period. But I cannot detect any difference in the handwriting, the colour of the ink, or the general appearance of it.

This last I have added at the end. The others I have compared with the copies in the edition of 1612; and although I have not thought it worth while to make an exact and perfect collation, I have marked all the more considerable variations between the two; so that by means of the table of contents which I have just given, and the foot-notes which follow, a full and particular account of the contents of the manuscript volume may be obtained.

The reprint of the edition of 1612, which I now subjoin, preserving (except in the case of mere misprints) the original orthography and punctuation, has been compared with two copies in my own possession, both of which have been corrected here and there with a pen, apparently by the same hand. The corrections being the same in both and made in the same way, I presume that they were inserted by Bacon's own direction: see note p. 574.

THE

ESSAIES

OF

SIR FRANCIS BACON KNIGHT

THE KINGS SOLLICITER GENERALL.

Imprinted at *London* by IOHN BEALE,

1612.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

To my Loving Brother, Sir IOHN CONSTABLE Knight.

MY last Essaies I dedicated to my deare brother Master Anthony Bacon, *who is with God. Looking amongst my papers this vacation, I found others of the same Nature: which if I my selfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the World will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, I found you next; in respect of bond both of neare alliance, and of straight friendship and societie, and particularly of communication in studies. Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For as my businesse found rest in my contemplations; so my contemplations euer found rest in your louing conference and iudgement. So wishing you all good, I remaine*

Your louing brother and friend,

FRA. BACON.

THE TABLE.

1. Of Religion.
2. Of Death.
3. Of Goodnes and goodnes of nature.
4. Of Cunning.
5. Of Marriage and single life.
6. Of Parents and Children.
7. Of Nobilitie.
8. Of Great place.
9. Of Empire.
10. Of Counsell.
11. Of Dispatch.
12. Of Loue.
13. Of Friendshippe.
14. Of Atheisme.
15. Of Superstition.
16. Of Wisdome for a Mans selfe.
17. Of Regiment of Health.
18. Of Expences.
19. Of Discourse.
20. Of Seeming wise.
21. Of Riches.
22. Of Ambition.
23. Of Young men and age.
24. Of Beautie.
25. Of Deformitie.
26. Of nature in Men.
27. Of Custome and Education.
28. Of Fortune.
29. Of Studies.
30. Of Ceremonies and respects
31. Of Sutors.
32. Of Followers.
33. Of Negociating.
34. Of Faction.
35. Of Praise.
36. Of Iudicature.
37. Of vaine glory.
38. Of greatnes of Kingdomes.
39. Of the publike.
40. Of Warre and peace.

ESSAIES.

1. Of Religion.

The quarrels, and diuisions for *Religion*, were euils vnknowne to the Heathen: and no maruell; for it is the true God that is the iealous God; and the gods of the Heathen were good fellowes. But yet the bonds of religious vnity, are so to be strengthened, as the bonds of humane society be not dissolued. *Lucretius* the Poet, when hee beheld the act of *Agamemnon*, induring and assisting at the sacrifice of his daughter, concludes with this verse;

Tantũ relligio potuit suadere malorum.

But what would hee haue done, if he had knowne the massacre of *France*, or the powder treason of *England?* Certainly he would haue beene seuen times more Epicure and Atheist then he was. Nay, hee would rather haue chosen to be one of the Madmen of *Munster*, then to haue beene a partaker of those Counsels. For it is better that Religion should deface mens vnderstanding, then their piety and charitie; retaining reason onely but as an *Engine*, and *Charriot driuer* of cruelty, and malice. It was a great blasphemie, when the Diuell said; *I will ascend, and be like the highest:* but it is a greater blasphemie, if they make God to say; *I will descend, and be like the Prince of Darknesse:* and it is no better, when they make the cause of *Religion* descend, to the execrable accions of murthering of Princes, butchery of people, and firing of States. Neither is there such a sinne against the person of the holy Ghost, (if one should take it literally) as in stead of the likenes of a *Doue*, to bring him downe in the likenesse of a *Vulture*, or *Rauen;* nor such a scandall to their Church, as out of the Barke of Saint

Peter, to set forth the flagge of a Barke of *Pirats* and *Assassins*. Therefore since these things are the common enemies of humane society; *Princes* by their power; *Churches* by their Decrees; and all learning, Christian, morall, of what soeuer sect, or opinion, by their *Mercurie* rod; ought to ioyne in the damning to Hell for euer, these facts, and their supports: and in all Counsels concerning Religion, that Counsell of the Apostle, would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet iustitiam Dei.*

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2. Of Death.

Men feare death, as Children feare to goe in the darke: and as that naturall feare in Children is encreased with tales; so is the other. Certainely the feare of death in contemplation of the cause of it, and the issue of it, is religious: but the feare of it, for it selfe, is weake. Yet in religious meditations there is mixture of vanitie, and of superstition. You shall reade in some of the *Friers* Bookes of Mortification, that a man should thinke with himselfe, what the paine is, if he haue but his fingers end pressed, or tortured; and thereby imagine what the paines of Death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolued: when many times, Death passeth with lesse paine, then the torture of a limme. For the most vitall parts are not the quickest of sence. And to speake as a *Philosopher* or naturall man, it was well said, *Pompa mortis magis terret, quàm mors ipsa.* Grones, and Conuulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and Blackes and obsequies, and the like, shew death terrible. It is worthie the obseruing, that there is no passion in the minde of man so weake, but masters the feare of death; and therefore death is no such enemy, when a man hath so many followers about him, that can winne the combat of him. *Reuenge* triumphes ouer death, *Loue* esteems it not, *Honour* aspireth to it, deliuery from *Ignominy* chuseth it, *Griefe* flieth to it, *Feare* preocupateth it: nay we see after *Otho* had slain himselfe, pitty (which is the tendrest of affections) prouoked many to die. *Seneca* speaketh of nicenesse: *Cogita quàm diù eadem feceris; Mori velle non tantùm fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.* It is no lesse worthy to obserue how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death

make: but they are the same till the last. *Augustus Cæsar* died in a complement, *Tiberius* in dissimulation, *Vespasian* in a iest, *Galba* with a sentence, *Septimus Seuerus* in dispatch[1]; and the like. Certainely the *Stoikes* bestowed too much cost vpon death, and by their great preparations made it appeare more fearefull. Better saith he, *Qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat naturæ.* It is as naturall to die, as to bee borne; and to a little Infant perhaps, the one as painefull, as the other.

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3. Of Goodnesse, and goodnes of Nature.

I take *goodnesse* in this sence, the affecting of the *Weale* of men, which is, that the *Græcians* call *Philanthropia;* for the word *humanitie* (as it is vsed) it is a little too light, to expresse it. *Goodnesse* I call the habite; and *goodnesse of Nature*, the inclination. This of all vertues, is the greatest: being the character of the *Deitie;* and without it, man is a busie, mischeuous, wretched thing: no better then a kind of vermine. *Goodnesse* answers to the *Theologicall* vertue *Charity*, and admits not excesse, but error. The *Italians*, haue an vngracious prouerbe, *Tanto buon, che val niente; So good, that he is good for nothing.* And one of the Doctors of *Italie, Nicholas Machiauel* had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plaine termes; *That the Christian faith had giuen vp good men in prey, to those that are tyrannicall and vniust;* which hee spake, because indeed there was neuer law, or sect, or opinion, did so much magnifie goodnes, as the *Christian religion* doth. Therefore to auoid the scandall, and the danger both; it is good to take knowledge of the errors of an habite so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bōdage to their faces or fancies: for that is but facility, and softnesse; which taketh an honest minde prisoner. Neither giue thou *Æsops* Cocke a *gem*, who would be better pleased and happier, if he had had a Barly corn. The example of God teacheth the lessō truly. He sendeth his raine, and maketh his sunne to shine vpon the iust, and vniust; but hee doth not raine wealth, nor shine honour[2] and vertues vpon men equally. Common benefits are to bee

[1] The last clause is omitted in the MS.

[2] *honors* in MS.

communicate with all, but peculiar benefits with choise. And beware how in making the portraiture, thou breakest the patterne. For *Diuinitie* maketh the loue of our selues the patterne, the loue of our neighbours but the *Portraiture. Sell all thou hast and giue it to the poore, and follow me;* but sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me; that is, except thou haue a vocation, wherein thou maiest doe as much good with little meanes, as with great: For otherwise in feeding the stremes, thou driest the fountaine. Neither is there onely a habite of goodnesse, directed by right reason: but there is in some men, euen in *nature*, a disposition towards it: as on the other side, there is a naturall malignity. For there bee that in their nature doe not affect the good of others: the lighter sort of malignitie, turneth but to a crossenesse, or frowardnesse, or aptnesse to oppose, or difficilnesse, or the like: but the deeper sort, to enuie and meere mischief. There be many *Misanthropi*[1], that make it their practise to bring men to the bough, and yet haue neuer a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as *Timon* had.[1] Such dispositions are the very errors *of human nature:* and yet they are the fittest timber to make great Politiques of; like to knee-timber that is good for shippes that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses that shall stand firme.

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4. Of Cunning.

Wee take *Cunning* for a sinister or crooked *Wisdome:* and certainely there is a great difference betweene a cunning man, and a wise man: not onely in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards and yet cannot play well. So there are some, that are good in canuasses and factions, that are otherwise weake men. Againe, it is one thing to vnderstand persons, and another thing to vnderstand matters: for many are perfect in mens humors, that are not greatly capable of the reall part of businesse; which is the constitution of one, that hath studied men more then bookes. Such men are fitter for practise, then for counsell, and they are good but in their owne Alley; turne them to new men, and they haue lost their aime. So as the old rule to know a foole

[1] The MS. omits the words "*Misanthropi*," and "as Timon had."

from a wise man; *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos & videbis;* doth scarse hold for them. Euen in businesse there are some that know the resorts and fals of busines, that cannot sinke into the maine of it: like a house that hath conuenient staires and entries, but neuer a faire roome. Therefore you shall see them finde out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are no waies able to examine or debate matters: and yet commonly they take aduantage of their inability, & would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather vpon abusing others, and as wee now say, putting trickes vpon them, then vpon soundnesse of their owne proceedings. But *Salomon* saith, *Prudens aduertit ad gressus suos: stultus diuertit ad dolos.* Very many are the differences betweene cunning and wisdome: and it were a good deed to set them downe: for that nothing doth more hurte in state then that cunning men passe for wise.

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5. Of Marriage and single life

Hee that hath wife and children, hath giuen hostages to fortune. For they are impediments to great enterprises, either of vertue or mischief. Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the publike haue proceeded from the vnmarried, or childlesse men; which haue sought eternity in memory, and not in posterity; and which both in affection and means, haue married and endowed the publike. Yet some there are, that lead a single life whose thoughts doe ende with themselues, and doe account future times, impertinences. Nay there are some others, that esteeme wife & children, but as bils of charges. But the most ordinarie cause of a single life, is liberty; specially in certain self-pleasing & humorous minds, which are so sensible of euery restriction, as they wil go neere to thinke their girdles and garters to be bonds and shakles. Vnmarried men are best friends; best masters; best seruants; not alwaies best subiects; for they are light to run away; and almost all fugitiues are of that conditiō. A single life is proper for Churchmen. For charity wil hardly water the ground, where it must first fill a poole. It is indifferent for Iudges and Magistrates. For if they be facile & corrupt, you shall haue a seruant fiue times worse thē a wife. For Souldiers, I find the Generals commonly

in their hortatiues, put men in minde of their wiues, and children: and I thinke the despising of marriage, amongst the Turkes, maketh the vulgar Souldier more base. Certainely, wife and children are a kinde of discipline of humanity: and single men are more cruell and hard-hearted: good to make seuere inquisitors. Graue natures led by custome, and therefore con stant, are commonly louing husbands: as was said of *Ulisses; Vetulam prætulit immortalitati.* Chaste women are often proud and froward, as presuming vpon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity & obedience in the wife; if shee thinke her husband wise; which shee will neuer doe, if shee finde him ielous. Wiues are young mens mistresses; companions for middle age; and old mens nurses. So as a man may haue a quarrel to marry when hee will; but yet hee was reputed one of the wise men, that made answere to the question; *When a man should marrie?* A young man not yet, an elder man not at all.

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6. Of Parents and Children.

The ioyes of *Parents* are secret, and so are their griefs and feares: they cannot vtter the one, nor they will not vtter the other. Children sweeten labors, but they make misfortunes more bitter: they increase the cares of life, but they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuitie by generation, is common to beasts; but memorie, merit, & noble works are proper to men. They that are the first raisers of their house, are most indulgēt towards their children; beholding them, as the continuance, not only of their kind, but of their worke; and so both children and creatures. The difference of affection in parents towards their seuerall children, is many times vnequall; and sometimes vnworthy; specially in the mother; as *Salomon* saith; *A wise sonne reioiceth the Father, but an vngracious son shames the mother.* A man shall see where there is a house full of children, one, or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest made wantons; but in the middle, some that are as it were forgotten; who neuerthelesse prooue the best. The illiberality of Parents in allowance towards their children is an harmefull error: makes them base; acquaints thē with shifts, makes them sort with meane companie; and makes them surfet

more, when they come to plenty. And therefore the proofe is best, when men keepe their authority towards their children, but not their purse. Men haue a foolish manner, both Parents, Schoolemasters, and seruants, in creating and breeding an emulation betweene brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families. The *Italians* make little difference betweene children and nephewes, or neere kinsfolke: But so they be of the lumpe, they care not, though they passe not through their owne body: and to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter, in so much that wee see a nephewe sometimes resembleth an vncle, or a kinsman, more than his owne Parent, as the blood happens.

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7. Of Nobility.

It is a reuerend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay; or to see a faire timber tree sound & perfect: how much more to behold an ancient Noble familie, which hath stood against the waues and weathers of time. For new Nobility is but the act of power; but ancient Nobility is the act of time. The first raisers of *Fortunes* are commonly more vertuous, but lesse innocent, then their descendents. For there is rarely rising, but by a commixture of good and euil Arts. But it is reason the memorie of their vertues remain to their posterities, and their faults die with themselues. *Nobilitie* of Birth commonly abateth industrie: and hee that is not industrious, enuieth him that is: Besides noble persons, cannot goe much higher: And he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly auoid motions of enuie. On the other side Nobility extinguisheth the passiue enuie in others towards them; because they are in possession of *Honour:* and *Enuy* is as the sunne beames, that beate more vpon a rising ground, then vpon a leuell. A great *Nobilitie* addeth maiesty to a *Monarch*, but diminisheth power: and putteth life and spirit into the people; but presseth their fortunes. It is well when nobles are not too great for *Soueraigntie*, nor for *Iustice;* and yet maintained in that height, as the insollency of inferiours may be broken vpon them, before it come on too fast vpon the maiestie of *Kings*. Certainely *Kings* that haue able men of their Nobility, shal

find ease in imploying them; and a better slide in their businesse: For people naturally bend to them, as borne in some sort to command.

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8. Of great Place

Men in great place, are thrice seruāts; seruants of the Soueraigne, or state; seruants of fame, and seruants of businesse. So as they haue no freedome, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire to seeke power, and to lose liberty: or to seeke power ouer others, and to lose power ouer a mans selfe. The rising vnto place is laborious, and by paines men come to greater paines: and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities: the standing is slippery; and the regresse is either a downefall, or at least an *Ecclipse;* which is a malancholy thing. Nay, retire, men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason; but are impatient of priuatenesse, euen in age and sicknesse, which require the shadow. Certainely, great persons had need to borrow other mens opinions, to think themselues happy: for if they iudge by their owne feeling, they cannot find it; but they if thinke with themselues, what other men thinke of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when perhappes they finde the contrarie within; for they are the first that finde their owne griefes, though they bee the last that finde their own faults. Certainely men in great fortunes are strangers to themselues, and while they are in the pussle of busines they haue no time to tend their health, either of body or mind. *Illi mors grauis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* In place there is licence to do good and and euil: wherof the latter is a curse: for in euill the best condition is, not to wil; the second not to can. But power to doe good, is the true & lawfull end of aspiring. For good thoughts, (though God accept them) yet towards men are little better then good dreams: except they be put in Act; and that cannot be without power and place; as the vantage & commanding ground. Merit is the ende of mans motion; and conscience of merit is the accomplishment of mans rest. For if a man can in any measure be pertaker of *Gods*

Theater, he shall like wise be pertaker of *Gods rest. Et cõuersus Deus vt aspiceret opera quæ fecerũt manus suæ vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis*, and then the *Sabbath*. In the discharge of thy place, set before thee the best examples; for imitation is a globe of precepts. And after a time, set before thee thine owne example, and examine thy self strictly, whether thou diddest not best at first. Reforme without brauery or scandall of former times and persons, but yet set it downe to thy selfe, as well to create good presidents, as to follow them. Reduce things to the first institution, and obserue wherein and how they haue degenerate; but yet aske counsell of both times; of the ancient time what is best; and of the latter time what is fittest. Seeke to make thy course [1] reguler, that men may know before hand what they may expect; but be not too positiue, and expresse thy selfe well when thou digressest from thy rule. Preserue the rights of thy place, but stir not questions of Iurisdiction: and rather assume thy right in silence and *de facto*, then voice it with claimes, and challenges. Preserue likewise the rights of inferiour places; and thinke it more honour, to direct in chiefe, then to be busie in al. Imbrace and inuite helpes, and intelligence touching the execution of thy place; and doe not driue away such as bring thee information, as medlers, but accept of them in good part. The vices of authority are chiefly foure. *Delaies, Corruptions, Roughnesse*, and *Facility*. For Delaies, giue easie accesse; keepe times appointed; go through with that which is in hand, & interlace not busines, but of necessity. For Corruptiõ, do not only bind thine owne hands, or thy seruãts hands that may take; but bind the hands of them that should offer. For integrity vsed doth the one, but integrity professed & with a manifest detestation of bribery, doth the other. And auoid not only the fault, but the suspition. Whosoeuer is found variable and changeth manifestly, without manifest cause, giueth suspicion of corruption. A seruant or a fauourite if he be inward, and no other apparant cause of esteeme: is commonly thought but a by-way. For roughnes it is a needlesse cause of discontent. Seuerity breedeth feare, but roughnesse breedeth hate. Euen reproofes from authoritie, ought to bee graue and not taunting. As for facility, it is worse then bribery; for bribes come but now and then, but if impor-

[1] The MS. has *courses*.

tunitie, or idle respects leade a man, he shall neuer be without. As *Salomon* saith; *To respect persons is not good; for such a man will transgresse for a peece of bread.* It is most true that was anciently spoken; *A place sheweth the man:* and it sheweth some to the better, and some to the worse. *Omnium consensu capax imperij nisi imperasset,* saith *Tacitus* of *Galba;* but of *Vespasian* he saith, *Solus imperantium Vespasianus mutatus in melius:* Though the one was meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It is an assured signe of a worthy and generous spirit whom honor amends. For honour is or should be the place of *vertue;* and as in nature things moue violently to their place; and calmely in their place; so virtue in ambition is violent, in authority, setled and calme.[1]

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9. Of Empire.

It is a miserable state of minde, to haue few things to desire, and many things to feare: and yet, that commonly is the case of Kings; who being at the highest, want matter of desire; which makes their mindes the more languishing, and haue many representations of perilles and shadowes, which makes their minds the lesse cleere. And this is one reason also of that effect, which the Scripture speaketh of; *That the Kings heart is inscrutable.* For multitudes of iealousies, and lacke of some predominant desire, that should marshall and put in order all the rest, maketh any mans heart hard to finde, or sound. Hence commeth it likewise that Princes many times make themselues desires, and set their hearts vpon toies; sometimes vpon a building; sometimes vpon an order; sometimes vpon the aduancing of a person; sometimes vpon obtaining excellency in some Arte, or feate of the hand: & such like things, which seeme incredible to those that know not the principle; *That the minde of man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, then by standing at a stay in great.* Therefore great and fortunate Conquerours in their first yeeres, turne melancholy and superstitious in their latter, as did *Alexander* the great, & in our memory *Charles* the fifth, and many others. For he that is vsed to goe forward, and findeth a

[1] The two last words are not in the MS.

stoppe, falleth out of his owne fauour. A true temper of gouernment is a rare thing: For both temper and distemper consist of contraries. But it is one thing to mingle contraries, an other to interchange them. The answer of *Apolonius* to *Vespasian* is full of excellent instruction. *Vespasian* asked him *What was* Neroes *ouerthrow:* hee answered; *Nero could touch and tune the Harpe well; But in gouernment sometimes he vsed to winde the pinnes too hie, and sometimes to let them downe too lowe.* And certain it is, that nothing destroieth authority, so much as the vnequal and vntimely interchange of pressing power and relaxing power. The wisdome of all these latter times, in Princes affaires, is rather fine deliueries, and shiftings of dangers and mischiefes when they are neere, then solide and grounded courses to keep them aloofe But let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to bee prepared: for no man can forbid the sparke, nor tell whence it may come. The difficultnesse in Princes businesse are many times great, but the greatest difficulty is often in their owne minde. For it is common with Princes (saith *Tacitus*) to will contradictories. *Sunt plerunque Regum voluntates vehementes & inter se contrariæ.* For it is the Solœcisme of power, to thinke to command the ende, and yet not to endure the meane. *Princes* are like to the heauenly bodies, which cause good or euill times; and which haue much veneration, but no rest.[1] All precepts concerning Kings are in effect, comprehended in those two remembrances. *Memento quod es homo,* and *Memento quod es Deus,* or *Vice dei:* The one to bridle their power, and the other their will.

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10. Of Counsell.

The greatest trust betweene man[2], is the trust of giuing coũsell. For in other confidences men commit the partes of their life, their lands, their goods, their child, their credit; some particuler affaire. But to such as they make their counsellors, they commit the whole; by how much the more they are obliged to all faith, and integrity. The wisest Princes

[1] The rest is inserted in the margin of the MS. in Bacon's own hand: only that the words "or *vice Dei*" are omitted.

[2] The MS. has "between man and man."

need not thinke it any diminution to their greatnesse, or derogation to their suffiçiency, to rely vpon counsell. God himselfe is not without: but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, *The Counsellor. Salomon* hath pronounced, that *In Counsel is stabilitie.* Things will haue their first or second agitation; if they bee not tossed vpon the arguments of counsell, they will be tossed vpon the waues of *Fortune;* and be full of inconstancy, doing, and vndoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. *Salomons* sonne found the force of counsell, as his father saw the necessitie of it. For the beloued kingdome of God was first rent and broken by ill counsell; vpon which counsel there are set for our instruction, the two markes, whereby bad counsell is for euer best discerned, that it was young counsell for the persons, & violent counsell for the matter. The ancient times doe set forth in figure both the incorporation, and inseperable coniunction of counsell with *Kinges;* and the wise and politike vse of Counsell by *Kings:* the one, in that they say *Iupiter* did marrie *Metis* (which signifieth Counsell.) So as Soueraignty or authority is married to counsel. The other in that which followeth; which was thus, They say after *Iupiter* was married to *Metis,* shee conceiu'd by him, and was with childe, but *Iupiter* suffered her not to stay till shee brought fourth, but eate her vp; whereby hee became with child and was deliuered of *Pallas,* armed out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of *Empire:* How Kings are to make vse of their Counsell of state. That first they ought to referre matters to them, which is the first begetting, or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the wombe of their counsell and growe ripe, and ready to be brought fourth; that then they suffer not their counsel to go through, with the resolution and direction, as if it depended vpon thē; þut take the matter back into their own hand, & make it appeare to the world, that the decrees and final directions (which because they come forth with prudēce, and power, are resembled to *Pallas* armed) proceeded from themselues: and not onely from their authority, but (the more to adde reputation to themselues) from their head and deuice. The inconueniences that haue beene noted in calling and vsing counsell, are three. First, the reuealing of affaires, whereby they become lesse secret. Secondly, the weakning of the authority of Princes, as

if they were lesse of themselues. Thirdly, the danger of being vnfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel, then of him that is counselled. For which inconueniences, the doctrine of *Italy*, and practise of *France*, hath introduced *Cabanet* counsels, a remedy worse then the disease.[1] But for secrecy, Princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all Councellors, but may extract and select. Neither is it necessarie, that hee that consulteth what hee should doe; should declare what hee will doe. But let *Princes* beware that the vnsecreting of their affaires come not from themselues. And as for *Cabanet* Counsell, it may be their *Mot, Plenus rimarum sum.* One futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt, then manie that know it their dutie to conceale. For weakning of authority, the fable sheweth the remedy; neither was there euer Prince bereaved of his dependances by his Counsell, except where there hath been either an ouergreatnesse in one, or an ouerstrict combination in diuerse; for the last incõuenience that men will counsell with an eie to themselues. Certainlie, *Non inueniet fidem super terram* is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particuler persons. There bee that are in nature faithfull and sinceare, and plaine, and direct, not craftie and inuolued. Let Princes aboue all, draw to themselues such natures. Besides, counsels are not commonly so vnited, but that one keepeth Sentinell ouer an other. But the best remedie is, if *Princes* know their counsellors, as well as their Counsellors know them, *Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.* And of the other side Councellors should not be too speculatiue into their Soueraignes person. The true composition of a Councellor, is rather to be skilfull in their Masters businesse, then in his nature: For then he is like to aduise him, and not to feed his humor. It is of singuler vse to *Princes*, if they take the opinions of their Councell, both seperatly and together. For priuate opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reuerent. In priuate, men are more bold in their own humors; and in consort, men are more obnoxious to others humours. Therefore it is good to take both, and of

[1] The MS. proceeds thus: "which hath tourned *Metis* the wife to *Metis* the mistresse, that is Councells of State to which Princes are [solemly] marryed, to Councells of gracious persons recommended cheifly by [flattery and] affection."

The word "solemly" has a line drawn through it, and the words "flattery and" are inserted between the lines in Bacon's hand.

the inferiour sort rather in priuate to preserue freedome; of the greater rather in consort, to preserue respect.[1] It is in vain for *Princes* to take counsell concerning matters: if they take no counsell likewise concerning persons. For all matters are as dead images, and the life of the execution of affaires resteth in the good choise of persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning persons, *secundum genera*, as in an *Idea*, or mathematicall description, what kind of person should be; but in *indiuiduo:* For the greatest errors, and the greatest iudgement are shewed in the choice of *Indiuiduals.*[2] It was truly said, *Optimi Consiliarij mortui.* Bookes will speake plaine, when Councellors blanch. Therefore it is good to be conuersant in them, specially the books of such as themselues haue beene Actors vpon the Stage.

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11. Of Dispatch.

Affected dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to businesse that can bee. It is like that which the *Physitians* call pre-digestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill the bodie full of crudities and secret seedes of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the aduancement of the businesse. It is the care of some onely to come of speedily for the time, or to contriue some false periods of businesse, because they may seeme men of dispatch. But it is one thinge to make short by contracting; another by cutting off: and businesse so handled by peeces, is commonly protracted in the whole. I knew a wise man had it for a bie-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion; *Stay a little that wee may make an end the sooner.* On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing: For time is the measure of businesse, as money is of wares: and businesse is bought at a deare hand where there is small dispatch. Giue good hearing to those that giue the first information in businesse; and rather direct them in the beginning, then interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches: For he that is put out of his owne order, will goe forward, and backwards, and be more tedious by parcels, then he could haue bin at once. But

[1] The two clauses "to preserve freedom," and to "preserve respect," are not in the MS.

[2] The Essay ends here in the MS.

sometimes it is seene, that the *moderator* is more troublesome, then the *Actor*. Iterations are commonly losse of time; but there is no such gaine of time, as to iterate often the state of the question. For it chaseth away many a friuolous speech, as it is comming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch, as a Robe or Mantle with a long traine, is for race. Prefaces, and passages, and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time, and though they seeme to proceede of modesty, they are brauery. Yet beware of being too materiall, when there is any impediment, or obstruction in mens will.[1] For preoccupation euer requireth preface: like a fomentation to make the vnguent enter. Above all things, order and distribution is the life of dispatch: so as the distribution bee not too subtill: For he that doth not diuide, will neuer enter well into businesse; and he that diuideth too much will neuer come out of it clearely. To chuse time, is to saue time, and an vnseasonable motion is but beating the aire. There bee three parts of businesse; the preparation, the debate, or examination, and the perfection. Whereof if you looke for dispatch, let the midle onely be the worke of many, and the first and last the worke of few. The proceeding vpon somewhat conceiued in writing, doth for the most part facilitate dispatch. For though it should bee wholly reiected, yet that Negatiue is more pregnant of a direction, then an indefinite; as ashes are more generatiue than dust.

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12. Of Love.

Love is the argument alwaies of *Comedies*, and many times of *Tragedies*. Which sheweth well, that it is a passion generally light, and sometimes extreme. Extreame it may well bee, since the speaking in a perpetuall *Hyperbole*, is comely in nothing, but *Loue*. Neither is it meerely in the phrase. For whereas it hath beene well said, that the *Arch-flatterer* with whom all the petty-flatters haue intelligence, is a Mans selfe, certainely the louer is more. For there was neuer proud Man thought so absurdly well of himselfe, as the louer doth of the person loued: and therefore it was well said, that it is impossible to loue, and to bee wise.

[1] *wills* in MS.

Neither doth this weakenes appeare to others only, and not to the party loued, but to the loued most of all, except the loue bee reciproque. For it is a true rule, that loue is euer rewarded either with the reciproque, or with an inward and secret contempt. By how much the more, men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not onely other things, but it selfe. As for the other losses, the Poets relation doth wel figure them: That hee that preferred *Helena*, quitted the gifts of *Iuno* and *Pallas*. For whosoeuer esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdome. This passion hath his flouds in the verie times of weakenesse; which are great prosperity, and great aduersitie. (though this latter hath beene lesse obserued) Both which times kindle loue and make it more feruent, and therefore shew it to be the childe of folly. They doe best that make this affection keepe quarter, and seuer it wholly from their serious affaires and actions of their life. For if it checke once with businesse, it troubleth Mens fortunes, and maketh Men, that they can no waies be true to their own endes.

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13. Of Friendship.

There is no greater desert or wildernes then to bee without true friends. For without friendship, society is but meeting. And as it is certaine, that in bodies inanimate, vnion strengthneth any naturall motion, and weakeneth any violent motion; So amongst men, friendship multiplieth ioies, and diuideth griefes. Therefore whosoeuer wanteth fortitude, let him worshippe *Friendship*. For the yoke of *Friendship* maketh the yoke of *fortune* more light. There bee some whose liues are, as if they perpetually plaid vpon a stage, disguised to all others, open onely to themselues. But perpetuall dissimulation is painfull; and hee that is all *Fortune*, and no *Nature* is an exquisite *Hierling*. Liue not in continuall smother, but take some friends with whom to communicate. It will unfold thy vnderstanding; it will euaporate thy affections; it will prepare thy businesse. A man may keepe a corner of his minde from his friend, and it be but to witnesse to himselfe, that it is not vpon facility, but vpon true vse of friendship that hee imparteth himselfe. Want of true friends, as it is the

reward of perfidious natures; so is it an imposition vpon great fortunes. The one deserue it, the other cannot scape it. And therefore it is good to retaine sincerity, and to put it into the reckoning of *Ambition*, that the higher one goeth, the fewer true friends he shall haue. Perfection of friendship, is but a speculation. It is friendship, when a man can say to himselfe, I loue this man without respect of vtility. I am open hearted to him, I single him frō the generality of those with whom I liue; I make him a portion of my owne wishes.

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14. Of Atheisme.

I had rather beleeue all the fables in the *Legend*, and the *Alcaron*, then that this vniuersall frame is without a minde. And therefore God neuer wrought myracle to conuince Atheists, because his ordinary works conuince them. Certainely a little *Philosophie* inclineth mans minde[1] to *Atheisme*, but depth in *Philosophie* bringeth men about to Religion. For when the minde of man looketh vpon second causes scattered, sometimes it resteth in them; but when it beholdeth them confederat, and knit together, it flies to prouidence, and *Deitie*. Most of all, that schoole which is most acused of Atheisme doth demonstrate Religion. That is, the Schoole of *Leusippus*, and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is a thousand times more credible, that foure mutable Elements, and one immutable fifth essence, duely and eternally placed, neede no God: then that an Army of infinite small portions or seeds vnplaced, should haue produced this order, and beauty, without a diuine Marshall. The scripture saith, *The foole hath said in his heart, there is no God.* It is not said, *The foole hath thought in his heart.* So as he rather saith it by rote to himselfe, as that he would haue; then that hee can throughly beleeue it, or bee perswaded of it. For none denie there is a God, but those for whom it maketh, that there were no God. *Epicurus* is charged that he did but dissemble for his credits sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enioyed themselues, without hauing respect to the gouernment of the world. Wherein they say, he did temporize, though in secret, hee thought, there was no God. But certainly hee is tra-

[1] *man's minde* omitted in MS.

duced; for his words are noble and diuine. *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi opiniones Dijs applicare profanum.* *Plato* could haue said no more. And although he had the confidence to denie the administration; he had not the power to deny the nature. The *Indians* of the West, haue names for their particuler gods, though they haue no name for God: as if the heathens should haue had the names, *Iupiter, Apollo, Mars, &c.* but not the word *Deus:* which shews yet they haue the motion though not the full extent. So that against Atheists, the most barbarous Sauages, take part with the subtillest philosophers. They that deny a God destroy mans nobility. For certainely man is of kinne to the beasts by his body; and if he bee not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroies likewise magnanimity, and the raising of humane nature. For, take an example of a dog, and marke what a generosity and courage he will put on, when hee findes himselfe maintained by a man, which to him is instead of a god, or *Melior natura:* Which courage is manifestly such, as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature then his owne, could neuer attaine. So man when he resteth and assureth himselfe vpon Diuine protection and fauour; gathereth a force, and faith, which humane nature in it selfe could not obtaine. Therefore as *Atheisme* is in all respects hatefull: So in this, that it depriueth humane nature of the meanes to exalt it selfe aboue humane frailty. As it is in particuler persons; so it is in Nations. Neuer was there such a state for magnanimity as *Rome.* Of this state, heare what *Cicero* saith; *Quam volumus licet P. Cons. nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Pœnos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso huius gentis & terræ domestico, natiuoque sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac vnâ sapientiâ quod Deorum immortalium numine omnia regi gubernarique perspexinus, omnes gentes, Nationesque superauimus.*

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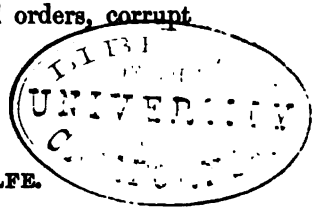
15. Of Superstition.

It were better to haue no opinion of God at all; then such an opinion as is vnworthy of him; For the one is vnbeliefe, the other is *Contumely;* and certainely superstition is the reproch

of Deitie.[1] *Atheisme* leaues a Man to sense, to Philosophy, to naturall piety, to lawes, to reputation, all which may bee guides vnto vertue, though Religion were not: but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Tyranny in the minde of men. Therefore *Atheisme* did neuer perturbe states; for it makes men wary of themselues, as looking no further: and we see the times inclined to *Atheisme*, as the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, and our owne times in some Countries, were, and are, ciuill times. But Superstition, hath beene the confusion and desolation of many states: and bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile* that rauisheth al the spheres of gouernment. The master of Superstition is the people: and in al superstition, wise men follow fooles; and arguments are fitted to practise, in a reuersed order. There is no such Atheist, as an Hipocrite, or Impostor: and it is not possible, but where the generality is superstitious, many of the leaders are Hipocrits. The causes of *Atheisme* are, diuisions in Religion; scandall of Priests; and learned times; specially if prosperous; though for diuisions, any one maine diuision addeth zeale to both sides, but many diuisions introduce *Atheisme*. The causes of Superstition are, the pleasing of Ceremonies; the excesse of outward holinesse; the reuerence of traditions; the stratagems of Prelats for their owne ambition and lucre, and barbarous times, specially with calamities, and disasters. Superstition without his vaile is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be so like a man; So the similitude of superstition to *Religion*, makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome meat corrupteth to little wormes; so good formes and orders, corrupt into a number of pettie obseruances.



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16. Wisdome for a mans selfe.

An *Ante* is a wise creature for it selfe: But it is a shrewd thing in an Orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great louers of themselues, waste the publike. Diuide with reason betweene selfe loue, and society: and bee so true to thy selfe, as thou be not false to others. It is a poore Centre of a mans actions, *himselfe*. It is right earth. For that only

[1] *of the Deytie*, MS.

stands fast vpon his owne centre: whereas all things that haue affinity with the heauens, moue vpon the centre of an other, which they benefit. The referring of all to a mans selfe, is more tollerable in a soueraigne Prince; because themselues are not themselues; but their good and euill is at the perill of the publike fortune. But it is a desperate euil in a seruant to a *Prince*, or a Citizen in a *Republike*. For whatsoeuer affaires passe such a mans hand, hee crooketh them to his owne ends: which must needs bee often *Eccentrike* to the ends of his master or state. Therefore let Princes or States, chuse such seruants, as haue not this marke; except they meane their seruice should bee made but the accessary. And that which maketh the effect more pernitious, is, that al proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough for the seruants good to be preferred before the masters: But yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servants, shall carrie things against a great good of the masters. And yet that is the case; for the good such seruants receiue; is after the modell of their owne fortune: but the hurt they sell for that good, is after the modell of their Masters *Fortune*. And certainely it is the nature of extreme selfe-louers, as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to rost their egges[1]; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters; because their study is but to please them, and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affaires.

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17. Of Regiment of health.

There is a wisdome in this, beyond the rules of *Phisicke*. A mans owne obseruation what he findes good of, and what hee findes hurt of, is the best *Physicke* to preserue health. But it is a safer conclusion to say; this agreeth not well with mee, therefore I will not continue it; then this, I finde no offence of this, therefore I may vse it: for strength of nature in youth, passeth ouer many excesses, which are owing a man till his age. Discerne of the comming on of yeeres: and thinke not to doe the same things still. Certainly most lusty old men catch their death by that aduenture; For age will not be

[1] *egge* in MS.

defied.[1] Beware of any sudden change in any great point of diet, and if necessitie enforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things then one.[2] To bee free minded and cherefullie disposed at houres of meat, and of sleepe, and of exercise, is the best precept of long lasting. If you fly Phisicke in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body, when you shall need it: if you make it too familiar, it will worke no extraor dinary effect, when sicknesse commeth. Despise no new accident in your body, but aske opinion of it. In sicknesse respect health principally, and in health action. For those that put their bodies to endure in health, may in most sicknesses, which are not very sharpe, be cured onely with diet and tendering.[3] *Celsus* could neuer haue spoken it as a Physitian had he not been a wise man withall: when he giueth it for one of the great precepts of health and lasting: That a man doe varie and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreame; vse fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleepe, but rather sleepe; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise, and the like. So shall nature bee cherished and yet taught masteries. Physitians are some of them so pleasing & conformable to the humors of the Patient, as they presse not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular, in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the Patient. Take one of a middle temper, or if it may not be found in one man, combine two of both sorts: and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your bodie, as the best reputed of, for his faculty.

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18. Of Expences.

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour & good actions. Therefore extraordinary expence must bee limited by the worth of the occasion, for voluntary vndoing may bee aswell for a mans Countrey, as for the kingdome of *Heauen*. But ordinarie expence, ought to be limitted by a mans estate and gouerned with such regard, as it be within his compasse, and

[1] This sentence is not in the MS.
[2] This sentence is not in the MS.
[3] The next three sentences, down to "masteries," are not in the MS.

not subiect to deceit, and abuse of seruants; and ordered to the best shew, that the bils may be lesse then the estimation abroad. It is no basenesse for the greatest to descend and looke into their owne estates. Some forbeare it not vpon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselues into malancholy in respect they shall find it broken. But wounds cannot bee cured without searching. Hee that cannot looke into his owne estate at all[1], had neede both choose well those whom he imploieth, and change them often: for new are more timorous, and less subtill. He that can looke into his estate but seldom, had need turne all to certainties.[2] In cleering of a mans estate, hee may aswell hurt himselfe in being too sudden, as in letting it run on to long. For hasty selling is commonly as disaduantageable as interest.[3] Besides, he that cleeres at once will relapse: For finding himself out of straights, he wil reuert to his customes. But hee that cleereth by degrees, induceth an habite of frugality, and gaineth aswell vpon his minde as vpon his estate. Certainly who hath a state to repaire may not despise small things; and commonly it is lesse dishonourable to abridge pettie charges, then to stoope to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges, which once begun must continue. But in matters that return not, he may bee more magnificent.

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19. Of Discourse.

Some in their discourse desire rather cōmendation of wit, in beeing able to holde all arguments, then of iudgement in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, & not what should be thought. Some haue certaine common places, & theames wherein they are good, and want variety: which kind of pouerty is for the most part tedious, and now and then ridiculous. The honorablest kind of talke, is to giue the occasion, and againe to moderate and passe to somewhat else. It is good to varie and mixe speech of the present occasion with argument: tales with reasons; asking of questions, with telling of opinions: and iest with earnest. But some things are priuiledged from iest, namely

[1] The words *at all* are not in the MS.
[2] This sentence is not in the MS.
[3] The next two sentences (down to "certainly") are not in the MS.

religion, matters of State, great persons, any mans present businesse of importance, and any case that deserueth pitty[1]; and generally men ought to finde the difference betweene saltnesse and bitternesse. Certainly he that hath a *Satyricall* vaine, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of others memory. He that questioneth much shall learne much, and content much: specially if he applie his questions to the skill of the persons of whom he asketh: For he shall giue them occasion to please themselues in speaking, and himselfe shal continually gather knowledge. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought an other time to know that you know not. Speech of a mās selfe is not good often, and there is but one case wherin a man may commend himselfe with good grace, and that is in commending vertue in another, especially if it bee such a vertue, as whereunto himselfe pretendeth. Speech of touch toward others, should bee sparingly vsed; for discourse ought to bee as a field, without comming home to any man.[2] Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speake agreeably to him with whom wee deale, is more then to speake in good words, or in good order. A good continued speech without a good speech of interlocution, sheweth slownesse: and a good reply, or second speech, without a good setled speech, sheweth shallownesse and weakenesse: as wee see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turne. To vse too many circumstances ere one come to the matter, is wearisome; to vse none at all, is blunt.

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20. Of Seeming wise.

It hath beene an opinion, that the *French* are wiser then they seeme, and the *Spaniards* seem wiser thē they are: But howsoeuer it be betweene Nations, certainely it is so between Man and Man. For as the Apostle saith of *godlinesse: Hauing a shew of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof;* So certainlie there are in point of wisdome and sufficiencie, that doe nothing or little verie solemnly; *Magno conatu nugas.* It is a ridicu-

[1] What follows, (down to "memory,") is not in the MS.
[2] This sentence is not in the MS.

lous thing, and fit for a *Satyre* to persons of iudgement, to see what shifts these formalists haue, and what perspectiues to make *Superficies* to seeme body, that hath depth and bulke. Some are so close, and reserued, as they will not shew their wares, but by a darke light; and seeme alwaies to keepe back somewhat; and when they know within themselues, they speake of that they doe not well know; would neuerthelesse seeme to others, to know of that which they may not well speake: Some helpe themselues with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signes, as *Cicero* saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his brows vp to his forehead, and bent the other downe to his chinne: *Respondes altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere.* Some thinke to bear it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory, and will goe on and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoeuer is beyond their reach, they will seeme to despise or make light of, as impertinent or curious; and so would haue their *Ignorance* seeme iudgement. Some are neuer without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter. Of whom *Gellius* saith; *Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutijs rerum frangit pondera.* Of which kinde also, *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus* in scorne, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally, such men in all deliberations, finde ease to be of the Negatiue side, and affect a credit to obiect and foretell difficulties. For when propositions are denied, there is an end of them, but if they bee allowed, it requireth a new worke; which false point of wisdome is the bane of businesse. To conclude, there is no decaying Marchant, or inward begger, hath so many tricks to vphold the credit of their wealth, as these emptie persons haue to maintaine the credit of their sufficiency.

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21. Of Riches.

I CANNOT call Riches better then the baggage of *Vertue;* the Romane word is better, *Impedimenta;* For as the baggage is to an Armie, so is riches to *vertue:* It cannot be spared, nor left behinde; but it hindreth the March, yea and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory. Of great *Riches*

there is no reall vse, except it bee in the distribution: the rest is but conceit. So saith *Salomon: Where much is, there are many to consume it, and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eies?* The personall fruition in any man cannot reach to feele great riches; there is a custody of them; or a power of *Dole* and donatiue of them; or a fame of them; but no solide vse to the owner. Doe you not see what fained prises are set upon little stones, and rarities, and what works of ostentation are vndertaken, because there might seeme to bee some vse of great riches? But then they may be of vse to buy men out of dangers or troubles: as *Salomon* saith; *Riches are as a strong hold in the imagination of the rich man.* But this is excellently expressed, that it is in *Imagination;* and not alwaies in fact. For certainly, great riches haue sold more men then they haue bought out. Seeke not proud Riches; but such as thou maiest get iustly; vse soberlie, distribute cheerefully, and leaue contentedly. Yet haue no abstract, nor frierly contempt of them. But distinguish, as *Cicero* saith well of *Rabirius Posthumus: In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat non auaritiæ prædam sed instrumentum bonitati quæri.* Neither trust thou much others, that seeme to despise them: For they despise them that dispaire of them, and none worse, when they come to them. Be not penny-wise; Riches haue wings; & sometimes they fly away of themselves; sometimes they must bee set flying, to bring in more. Men leaue their riches, either to their kindred, or to the publike: and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an heire, is as a lure to al the birds of prey round about, to seize on him, if he bee not the better stablished in yeeres & iudgement. Likewise glorious gifts, and foundations, are but the painted Sepulchres of *Almes,* which soone wil putrifie and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure not thy aduancements by quantity, but frame them by measure; and deferre not charities till death: for certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberall of another mans, then of his owne.

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22. Of Ambition.

Ambition is like choler; which is an humor that maketh men actiue, earnest, full of alacrity and stirring, if it be not stopped.

But if it be stopped, and cannot haue his way, it becometh adust, and thereby maligne and venemous. So ambitious men if they finde the way open for their rising, and still get forward; they are rather busie than dangerous: but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and looke vpon men, and matters with an euill eie, and are best pleased when things goe backward: which is the worst propertie that can be in a seruant of a *Prince*, or State. Therfore it is good for *Princes*, if they vse ambitious men to handle it so, as they be stil progressiue, and not retrograde: which because it cannot bee without inconuenience; it is good not to vse such natures at all. For if they rise not with their seruice, they will take order to make their seruice fal with them. Of Ambitions, it is the lesse harmefull, the Ambition to preuaile in great things; then that other to appeare in euery thing: For that breedes confusion, and marres businesse. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men, hath a great taske: but that is euer good for the publike. But he that plots to bee the onely figure amongst Ciphers, is the decay of an whole age. Honour hath three things in it; The vantage ground to doe good; The approach to Kings and principall persons; And the raising of a mans owne *Fortunes*. He that hath the best of these intentions when hee aspireth, is an honest man; and that Prince that can discerne of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States chuse such ministers, as are more sensible of duty, then of rising; and such as loue businesse rather vpon conscience, then vpon brauery: and let them discerne a busie nature, from a willing minde.

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23. Of Young men and Age.

A man that is young in yeeres, may bee old in houres; if he haue lost no time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second: For there is a youth in thoughts, aswell as in ages. Natures that haue much heat, and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action, till they haue passed the meridian of their yeeres: but reposed natures may doe well in youth: as on the otherside heate and viuacity in age is an excellent composition for businesse. *Young men* are fitter to

inuent then to iudge; fitter for execution then for Counsell; and fitter for new proiects, then for setled businesse. For the experience of age in things that fall within the compasse of it, directeth them: but in things meerly new abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruine of businesse: But the errours of aged men, amount but to this; that more might haue bin done, or sooner. Young men in the conduct and mannage of Actions, embrace more than they can hold, stirre more then they can quiet, flie to the end without consideration of the meanes, and degrees, pursue some fewe principles, which they haue chanced vpon absurdly, care not to innouate, which drawes vnknowne inconueniencies; vse extreme remedies at first: and that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge nor retract them; like an vnready horse, that wil neither stop nor turne. Men of age obiect too much, consulte too long, aduenture too little, repent too soone, & seldome driue businesse home to the full period; but content themselues with a mediocrity of successe. Certainly it is good to compound imploiments of both: for that will bee good for the present; because the vertues of either age may correct the defects of both: and good for succession, that young men may bee learners, while men in age are Actors: and lastly, in respect of externe accidents, because authority followeth old men, and fauour and popularity youth. But for the morall part: perhaps youth will haue the preheminence, as age hath for the politike. A certaine *Rabby* vpon the Text, *Your Young men shall see visions, and your Old men shall dreame Dreames:* inferreth, that young men are admitted neerer to God then old, because vision is a cleerer reuelation, then a dreame. And certainlie, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth; and age doth profit rather in the powers of vnderstanding, then in the vertues of the will and affections.

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24. Of Beauty.

Vertue is like a rich stone, best plain set: and surely vertue is best set in a body that is comely though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, then beauty of aspect. Neither is it almost seene, that verie beautiful persons are otherwise of great vertue; as if nature were rather busie

not to erre, then in labour to produce excellency. And therefore they proue accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behauiour then vertue. In *Beautie*, that of fauour is more then that of colour; and that of decent and gratious motion, more then that of fauour. That is the best part of beauty which a picture cannot expresse: no nor the first sight of the life: & there is no excellent beauty, that hath not some strangenesse in the proportions. A man cannot tell whether *Apelles* or *Albert Durere* were the more trifler. Whereof the one would make a personage by Geometrical proportions, the other by taking the best parts out of diuers faces, to make one excellent. Such personages I thinke would please no body, but the Painter that made them. Not but I thinke a Painter may make a better face than euer was: But hee must doe it by a kinde of felicity, (as a Musitian that maketh an excellēt aire in *Musick*) and not by rule. If it bee true that the principall part of beauty is in decent motion; certainely it is no maruell, though persons in yeeres seeme many times more amiable *Pulchrorum Autumnus pulcher*. For no youth can be comely, but by pardon, & considering[1] the youth, as to make vp the comelinesse. Beauty is as sommer fruits, which are easie to corrupt and cannot last: and for the most part, it makes a dissolute youth, & an age a little out of countenance: But yet certainly againe, if it light well, it maketh vertues shine, and vices blush.

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23. Of Deformity.

Deformed persons are commonly euen with nature: for as Nature hath done ill by them, so doe they by nature, being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) void of naturall affection; and so they haue their reuenge of nature. Certainlie, there is a consent betweene the body and the minde, and where Nature erreth in the one; she ventureth in the other. *Vbi peccat in vno periclitatur in altero.* But because there is in man an election touching the frame of his minde, and a necessitie in the frame of his body; the starres of naturall inclination, are sometimes obscured by the sunne of discipline and vertue. Therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a signe,

[1] "and by considering," in MS.

which is more deceiueable; but as a cause, which seldome faileth of the effect. Whosoeuer hath any thing fixed in his person, that doth induce contempt; hath also a perpetuall spurre in himselfe, to rescue and deliuer himself from scorne. Therefore all deformed persons are extreme bold: first, as in their owne defence, as being exposed to scorne; but in processe of time, by a generall habite. Also, it stirreth in them industrie, and specially of this kinde, to watch and obserue the weaknesse of others, that they may haue somewhat to repay. Againe in their superiours, it quencheth ielousie towards them, as persons that they thinke they may at pleasure despise; and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleepe: as neuer beleeuing they should bee in possibility of aduancement, till they see them in possession. So that vpon the whole matter, in a great wit, deformity is an aduantage to rising. *Kings* in ancient times, and at this present in some Countries were wont to put great trust in *Eunuches;* because they that are enuious towards all, are more obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their trust towards them, hath rather beene as to good spials, & good whisperers; then good Magistrates, and officers. And much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they bee of spirit, seeke to free themselues from scorne: which must bee either by vertue, or malice; and therefore they prooue either the best of men, or the worst, or strangely mixed.

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26. Of Nature in Men.

Nature is often hidden, sometimes ouercome; seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the returne: doctrine and discourse maketh nature lesse importune; but custome onely doth alter and subdue nature. Hee that seeketh victorie ouer his nature, let him not set himselfe to great, nor to small taskes. For the first will make him deiected by often failes; and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often preuailings. And at the first let him practise with helps as Swimmers doe with bladders, or rushes: but after a time let him practise with disaduantages, as dauncers do with thicke shooes. For it breeds great perfection, if the Practise bee harder than the vse. Where nature is mighty, and there-

fore the victorie hard; the degrees had need bee, first to stay and arrest nature in time: like to him that would say ouer the foure and twenty letters when he was angry, then to go lesse in quantitie; as if one should in forbearing wine come from drinking healthes, to a draught a meale[1]; and lastlie to discontinue altogether. But if a man haue the fortitude and resolution to infranchise himselfe at once that is the best;

Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.

Neither is the ancient rule amisse, to bend nature as a wand, to a contrary extreame, whereby to set it right; vnderstanding it, where the contrary extreme is no vice.[2] Let not a man force a habite vpon himselfe with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission. For both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and if a man that is not perfect be euer in practise, hee shall aswell practise his errors, as his abilities, and induce one habite of both: and there is no meanes to help this, but by sesonable intermissions. A mans nature is best perceiued in priuatnesse, for there is no affectation; in passion for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case, or experiment, for there custome leueth him. They are happy men, whose natures sort with their vocations, otherwise they may say, *Multum incola fuit anima mea*, when they conuerse in those things they doe not affect. In studies whatsoeuer a man commandeth vpon himselfe, let him set hours for it. But whatsoeuer is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times: For his thoughts will flye to it of themselues; so as the spases of other businesse or studies will suffice.

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27. Of Custome and Education.

Mens thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning, and infused opinions; But their deedes are after as they haue beene accustomed. And therefore as *Macciauel* wel noteth, (though in

[1] The words "like to . . . angry," and "as if . . . meale," are not in the MS.
[2] The MS. has "neither is it amisse to bend nature to a contrarye extreame, where it is noe vice."

an euil fauoured instance) there is no trusting to the force of Nature; nor to the brauery of words; except it be corroborate by custome. His instance is, that for the atchieuing of a desperate conspiracie a man should not rest vpon the fiercenes of any mans nature, or his resolute vndertakings, but take such a one as hath had his hand formerly in blood. But *Macciauel* knew not of a Frier *Clement*, nor a *Rauillac*, nor a *Iaurequy*, nor a *Baltazar Gerard*.[1] Yet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the ingagement of words are not so forcible as custome. Onelie Superstition is now so well aduanced, that men of the first blood, are as firme, as butchers by occupation: and votarie resolution is made equipollent to custome, euen in matter of blood. In other things the predominancy of custome is euery where visible; insomuch as a man would wonder, to heare men professe, protest, ingage, giue great words, and then doe iust, as they haue done before: as if they were dead Images & Engins moued only by the wheeles of custome. Therefore since custome is the principal Magistrate of mans life: let men by all meanes endeauour to obtaine good customes. Certainly custome is most perfect when it beginneth in young yeeres. This wee call *Education:* which is nothing but an early custome. For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the plie; except it be in some mindes, that haue not suffered themselues to fixe, but haue kept themselues open and prepared to receiue continuall amendment; which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custome simple, and separate be great; the force of custom copulate & conioind, and in troupe, is far greater. For thear example teacheth; companie comforteth; æmulation quickeneth; glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custome is in his exaltation. Certainelie the great multiplication of virtues upon humane nature, resteth vpon societies well ordained, and disciplined. For Common wealthes, and good gouernments, doe nourish vertue grown, but doe not mende the seeds. But the miserie is, that the most effectual meanes are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

[1] A blank is left for this name in the MS.

28. Of Fortune.

It cannot bee denied, but outward accidents conduce much to a Mans fortune. Fauour, Oportune death of others; occasion fitting vertue. But chiefely the mould of a Mans fortune is in himselfe. And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prospers so sodenly, as by others errors. *Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit Draco.* Ouert, and apparant vertues bring foorth praise, but there bee hidden and secret vertues that bring forth fortune. Certaine deliueries of a mans selfe which haue no name. The Spanish word *Desemboltura* partlie expresseth them, when there be no stonds nor restiuenesse in a mans nature. For so saith *Liuie* well, after he had described *Cato Maior* in these words, *In illo viro tantū robur corporis & animi fuit, vt quocunq; loco natus esset fortunā sibi facturus videretur:* He falleth vpon that, that he had *Versatile ingenium.* Therefore if a man looke sharpely and accentiuely, hee shall see fortune; for though shee be blinde, yet shee is not inuisible. The way of fortune is like the milken way in the skie, which is a meeting, or knot of a number of small starres; not seene asunder, but giuing light together. So are there a number of little and and scarse discerned vertues, or rather faculties and customes, that make men fortunate. The *Italians* note some of them, such as a man would little thinke; when they speake of one that cannot doe amisse, they will throw in into his other cōditions, that he hath *Poco di matto.*[1] And certainly, there bee not two more fortunate properties, then to haue a little of the foole, and not too much of the honest. Therefore extreme louers of their Countrey, or Masters, were never fortunate, neither can they bee. For when a man placeth his thoughts without himselfe, hee goeth not his owne way. An hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remouer; (the *French* hath it better *Enterprenāt*, or *Remuant*) but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to bee honoured and respected, and it be but for her

[1] This sentence stands thus in the MS.: "The Italians have found out one of them; *Poco di matto*, when they speak of one that cannot do amisse."

The word *note* in the text (which had been omitted in the printing) is inserted with a pen, in both my copies of this edition: evidently with the same hand and ink, and both old. Whence I infer that Bacon, instead of printing a list of *errata*, had the corrections made by hand before the copies were issued.

daughters, *Confidence* and *Reputation;* for those two felicity breedeth: the first, within a mans selfe; the later, in others towards him. All wise men to decline the Enuie of their owne vertues, vse to ascribe them to prouidence, and fortune. For so they may the better assume them. And besides, it is greatnesse in a man to bee the care of the higher powers.[1] And it hath been noted, that those that ascribe openly to much to their owne wisdome and policy, end infortunate. It is written, that *Timotheus* the *Athenian,* after hee had in the account he gaue to the state of his gouernment, often interlaced this speach: *And in this, fortune had no part;* neuer prospered in any thing he vndertooke afterwards.

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29. Of Studies.

Studies serue for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability; their cheife vse for delight,[2] is, in priuatnesse, and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse, and for abilitie, is in iudgement. For expert men can execute, but learned men are fittest to iudge or censure. To spend too much time in them, is *Sloth;* to vse them too much for ornament, is *affectation;* to make iudgement wholly by their rules, is the *humour of a Scholer.* They perfect *Nature,* and are perfected by Experience. Crafty men contemne them, simple men admire them, and wise men vse them. For they teach not their owne vse, but that is a wisdome without them, and aboue them, wonne by obseruation. Read not to contradict, nor to beleeue, but to weigh and consider. Some bookes are to bee tasted, others to bee swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested. That is, some bookes are to be read only in parts; other to bee read, but not curiously; and some few to bee read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Reading maketh a full man, Conference a ready man, and writing an exact man. And therefore if a man write little, hee had neede haue a great memory; if he confer little, hee had neede haue a present wit, and if he read little, hee had neede haue much cunning, to seeme to know

[1] The rest is not in the MS.

[2] The MS. has "Studies serve for Pastymes, for ornaments, and for abillityes: Theire cheife use for pastyme, is" &c.

that hee doth not. *Histories* make men wise, *Poets* wittie, the *Mathematickes* subtill, Naturall *Philosophie* deepe, *Morall* graue, *Logicke* and *Rethoricke* able to contend.[1] *Abeunt studia in mores.* Nay, thear is no stond or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may haue appropriate exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Raines; Shooting for the longs & breast; gentle walking for the stomacke; riding for the head: and the like. So if a mans wit be wandring, let him study the *Mathematiks;* if his wit be not apt to distinguish, or find difference, let him study the Schoolemen; if it bee not apt to beat ouer matters and to find out resemblances, let him study Lawyers cases. So euerie defect of the mind may haue a speciall receit.

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30. Of Ceremonies and Respects.

Hee that is onely reall, had need haue exceeding great parts of vertue: as the stone had neede to be rich that is set without foile. But commonly it is in praise, as it is in gaine: For as the prouerbe is true, *That light gaines make heauie purses,* because they come thicke, whereas great come, but now and then: so it is true, that small matters winne great commendation, because they are continually in vse, and in note. Whereas the occasion of any great vertue, commeth but on holie daies. To attaine good formes, it sufficeth not to despise them: for so shall a man obserue them in others: And let him trust himself with the rest. For if he care to expresse them, hee shall lose their grace, which is to be naturall and vnaffected. Some mens behauiour is like a verse wherein euery sillable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind to much to small obseruation? Not to vse Ceremonies at al, is to teach others not to vse them againe; & so diminisheth respect: especially they bee not to be omitted to strangers, & formall natures. Amongst a mans Peeres, a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state: amongst a mans inferiours one shal be sure of Reuerence; and therefore it is good a little to bee familiar. Hee that is too much in any thing, so that hee giueth another occa-

[1] In the MS. this Essay ends here.

sion of satietie, maketh himself cheap. To apply ones selfe to others is good; so it be with demonstration that a man doth it vpon regard, and not vpon facility. It is a good precept, generally in seconding another, yet to adde somewhat of ones owne; as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion; let it be with condition; if you allow his counsell, let it be with alleging further reason.[1] Men had neede beware how they be too perfit in complements. For be they neuer so sufficient otherwise, their enuiers will bee sure to giue them that attribute to the disaduantage of their greater vertue. It is losse also in businesse to be too full of respects, or to be to curious in obseruing times and oportunities. *Salomon* saith *He that considereth the wind shall not sowe, and hee that looketh to the clowdes, shall not reape.* A wise man will make more opportunities than he findes.

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31. Of Sutors.

Manie ill matters are vndertaken, & many good matters with ill mindes. Some embrace suits which neuer meane to deale effectually in them, but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other meane, they will be content to winne a thanke, or take a second reward, or at least to make vse in the meane time of the Sutors hopes.[2] Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to crosse some other, or to make an Information whereof they could not otherwise haue apt pretext, without care what become of the suite when that turne is serued. Nay, some vndertake suits with a full purpose to let them fall, to the end to gratifie the aduerse party or competitor. Surely there is in sort a right in euery suit; either a right of equity, if it be a suit of controuersie or a right of desart, if it be a suit of petition. If affection leade a man to fauour the wrong side in iustice, let him rather vse his countenance to compound the matter then to carry it. If affectiō leade a man to fauor the lesse worthy in desart, let him doe it without deprauing or disabling the better deseruer. In suits a man doth not wel vnderstand, it is good to referre them to some friend of trust and

[1] The Essay ends here in the MS.
[2] The words "or at least . . . . hopes" are not in the MS.

iudgement, that may report whether hee may deale in them with honour. Sutors are so distasted with delaies and abuses, that plaine dealing in denying to deale in suits at first, and reporting the successe barely, and in challenging no more thankes then one hath deserued, is growne not onlie honourable, but also gracious. In suits of fauour, the first comming ought to take little place: so farre forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise haue been had, but by him, aduantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other meanes.[1] To be ignorant of the value of a suit is simplicity, as well as to bee ignorant of the right therof, is want of conscience. Secresie in suites is a great meane of obtaining; For voicing them to bee in forwardnesse, may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others. But timing of the suits is the principall. Timing I say not onely in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to crosse it.[2] Let a man in the choise of his meane, rather chuse the fittest meane then the greatest meane, and rather them that deale in certaine things then those that are generall. The reparation of a deniall is sometimes equall to the first grant, if a man shew himselfe neither deiected, nor discontented. *Iniquum petas ut æquum feras,* is a good rule where a man hath strength of fauour; but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit; for hee that would haue ventured at first to haue lost the sutor, will not in the conclusion lose both the sutor and his owne former fauor. Nothing is thought so easie a request to a great person as his Letter; and yet if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation.

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32. Of Followers and friends.

Costly followers are not to bee liked, lest while a man maketh his traine longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to bee costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinarie followers ought to challenge no higher conditions then countenance, recommen-

[1] The last clause is not in the MS.
[2] What follows, down to "former favor," is not in the MS.

dation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to bee liked, which follow not vpon affection to him with whom they range themselues, but vpon discontentment conceiued against some other. Wherupon commonly ensueth, that ill intelligence, that wee many times see beetweene great personages. Likewise glorious followers are full of inconueniency; for they teint businesse through want of secrecy, and they export honor from a man and make him a returne in enuy.[1] The following by certaine States, answerable to that which a great person himselfe professeth, as of Souldiers to him that hath beene imploid in the warres, and the like, hath euer beene a thing ciuill, and well taken euen in Monarchies so it be without too much pompe or popularity. But the most honourable kind of following, is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth to aduance vertue and desart in all sort of persons. And yet where there is no eminent oddes in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, then with the more able. In gouernment it is good to vse men of one rancke equally: For to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claime a due. But in fauour to vse men with much difference and election, is good; For it maketh the persons preferred more thankfull, and the rest more officious; because all is of favour. It is good not to make to much of any man at the first, because one cannot hold out that proportion. To bee gouerned by one is not good, and to bee distracted with many, is worse; but to take aduise of some few friends, is euer honourable, *For lookers on, many times see more then gamesters, and the vale best discouereth the hill.* There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to bee magnified. That that is, is betweene *Superiour* and *Inferiour*, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

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33. Of Negociating.

It is generallie better to deale by speach, then by letter, and by the mediation of a third, then by a mans selfe. Letters are good when a man would draw an answer by letter backe againe,

[1] This sentence is not in the MS.

or when it may serue for a mans iustification afterwards to produce his owne letter, or where it may bee danger to bee interrupted or heard by peeces.[1] To deale in person is good when a mans face breeds regard, as commonly with inferiours, or in tender cases where a mans eie vpon the countenance of him with whom one speaketh, may giue him a direction how farre to goe, and generally where a man will reserue to himselfe libertie either to disaduowe or to expound. In choise of instruments it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to doe that, that is committed to them, and to report backe againe faithfully the successe, then those that are cunning to cõtriue out of other mens busines, somewhat to grace themselues, and will helpe the matter in report for satisfaction sake. It is better to sound a person with whom one deales a farre off, then to fall vpon the point at first, except you meane to suprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite, then with those which are where they would bee. If a man deale with an other vpon conditions, the start or first performance is all, which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such which must goe before, or else a man can perswade the other party, that hee shall still neede him in some other thing, or else that he be counted the honester man. All practise is to discouer or to worke. Men discouer themselues in trust, in passion, at vnawares, and of necessity, when they would haue somewhat done, and cannot finde an apt pretext. If you would worke any man, you must either know his nature, and fashions, and so leade him, or his endes, and so perswade him; or his weaknes or disaduantages, and so awe him, or those that haue interest in him, and so gouerne them. In dealing with cunning persons, we must euer consider their endes to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least looke for.

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34. Of Faction.

Many haue an opinion not wise; That for a Prince to gouerne his estate, or for a great person to gouerne his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is the principall part of pollicy:

[1] The last clause is not in the MS.

whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisdome is either in ordering those things which are generall, and wherein men of seuerall factions doe neuerthelesse agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particuler persons, one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Meane men must adhere, but great men that haue strength in themselues were better to maintaine themselues indifferent, and neutrall. Yet euen in beginners to adhere so moderatly, as he be a man of the one faction, which is passablest with the other, commonly giueth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in coniunction. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdiuideth: which is good for a second. It is cōmonly seene, that men once placed, take in with the contrary factiō to that, by which they enter. The Traitor in factions lightly goeth away with it: for when matters haue stucke long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them and he getteth all the thankes.[1] The euen carriage betweene two factions, proceedeth not alwaies of moderation, but of a truenesse to a mans selfe, with end to make vse of both. Certainely in *Italie* they hold it a little suspect in Popes, when they haue often in their mouth *Padre Commune*, & take it to a signe of one that meaneth to referre all to the greatnesse of his own house.

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35. Of Praise.

Praise is the reflection of vertue: but it is as the glasse, or bodie is, which giueth the reflection. If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught; and rather followeth vaine persons, then vertuous: for the common people vnderstand not many excellent vertues: the lowest vertues draw praise from them, the middle vertues worke in them astonishment, or admiration; but of the highest vertues they haue no sense or perceiuing at all. But shewes, and *Species virtutibus similes*, serue best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a Riuer that beareth vp things light, and swolne; and drownes things waighty and solid: But if persons of quality & iudgement concur, then it is as the Scripture saith, *Nomen*

[1] The Essay ends here in the MS.

bonum instar vnguenti fragrantis; It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the odors of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There bee so many false pointes of praise, that a man may iustly hold it suspect. Some praises proceeds meerely of flattery: and if he bee an ordinary flatterer, hee will haue certaine common attributes, which may serue euery man: if he bee a cunning flatterer hee will follow the Archflatterer, which is a mans selfe, & wherein a man thinketh best of himselfe, therein the flatterer will vphold him most: But if hee bee an impudent flatterer, looke wherein a man is conscient to himselfe, that he is most defectiue, and is most out of countenance in himselfe, that wil the flatterer entitle him to perforce; *Spreta conscientiâ.* Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a forme due in ciuility to *Kings* and great persons, *Laudando præcipere;* when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should bee. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stirre enuie and ielousie towards them; *Pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium.* Certainly moderate praise vsed with oportunity, and not vulgar, but appropriate, is that which doth the good. *Salomon* saith, *Hee that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall bee to him no better than a curse.* Too much magnifying of man or matter, doth irritate contradiction, and procure enuie and scorne.

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36. Of Iudicature.

Ivdges ought to remēber that their office is *Ius dicere,* and not *Jus dare;* to interprete law, and not to make law, or giue Law; Else will it be like the presumption of the Church of *Rome,* which vnder pretext of exposition of Scripture, vsurpeth and practiseth an authority to adde and alter; and to pronounce that which they doe not finde, and by colour of Antiquity to introduce nouelty. Iudges ought to be more learned then wittie; more reuerend then plausible, & more aduised then confident. Aboue all things integrity is their portion and proper vertue. *Cursed* (saith the Law) *is hee that remooueth the Land-marke.* The mislaier of a Meerestone is too blame. But it is the vniust Iudge that is the capitall remoouer of Land-markes, when hee defineth amisse of lands and pro-

perty. One foule sentence doth more hurt, then many foule examples; for they doe but corrupt the streame; the other corrupteth the fountaine. So saith *Salomon; Fons turbatus & vena corrupta est iustus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario;* The office of Iudges may haue reference vnto the parties that sue; vnto the Aduocates that pleade; vnto the Clerkes and Ministers of Iustice vnderneth them; and to the Soueraigne or State aboue them.

There be (saith the Scripture) *that turne iudgement into wormewood*; and surelie there be also that turne it into vinegar: For injustice maketh it bitter, and delaies make it sowre. The principall duty of a Iudge, is to suppresse force and fraude; whereof force is the more pernitious, the more open; and fraud the more close and disguised. Adde thereto contentious suites, which ought to be spewed out as the surfet of Courts. A Iudge ought to prepare his way to a iust sentence, as God vseth to prepare his way, by raising valleis and taking downe hils: So when their appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecution, cunning aduantages taken, combination, power, great counsell, then is the vertue of a Iudge seene, to make inequality equall; that he may plant his iudgement as vpon an euen ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem;* And where the winepresse is hard wrought, it yeelds a harsh wine that tastes of the grapestone. Iudges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences; for there is no worse torture then the torture of lawes: specially in case of Lawes penall; they ought to haue care that that which was meant for terrour, be not turned into rigour; and that they bring not vpon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh; *Pluet super eos laqueos:* For penall lawes pressed, are a showre of snares vpon the people. In causes of life and death, Iudges ought as farre (as the law permitteth) in iustice to remember mercy; and to cast a seuere eie vpon the example, but a mercifull eie vpon the person.

Patience and grauity of hearing is an essentiall part of iustice, and an ouerspeaking Iudge is no well tuned Cymball. It is no grace to a Iudge, first to finde that which hee might haue heard in due time from the Barre; or to shew quickenesse of conceit in cutting of counsell or euidence too short; or to preuent information by questions, though pertinent. The partes of a Iudge are foure; to direct the euidence; to mo-

derate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate the materiall points of that which hath beene said; and to giue the rule or sentence. Whatsoeuer is aboue these, is too much; and proceedeth either of glory and willingnesse to speake, or of impatience to heare, or of shortnesse of memory, or of want of a staid & equall attention. It is a strange thing to see, that the boldnesse of Aduocates should preuaile with Iudges; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seate they sit, who represseth the presumptuous, and giueth grace to the modest. But it is more strange, that the custome of the time doth warrant Iudges to haue noted fauourites, which cānot but cause multiplication of fees, & suspition of by-waies. There is due from the Iudge to the Aduocate, some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled & faire pleaded; speciallie towards the side which obtaineth not; For that vpholds in the Client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the publike a ciuill reprehension of Aduocates, where there appeareth cunning counsell, grosse neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an ouerbold defence.

The place of Iustice is an hallowed place; and therefore not onely the bench, but the footepace and precincts and purprise thereof ought to bee preserued without scandall and corruption. For certainely *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of thornes or thistles;* neither can Iustice yeeld her fruit with sweetnesse, amongst the briers & brambles of catching and poling Clearkes and Ministers. The attendance of Courts is subject to foure bad instruments; First, certaine persons that are sowers of suits, which make the Court swel, and the Countrey pine. The second sort is of those that ingage Courts in quarrels of Iurisdiction, and are not truly, *Amici Curiæ*, but *Parasiti Curiæ*, in puffing a Court vp beyond her bounds for their own scrappes and aduantage. The third sort is of those that may bee accounted the left hands of Courts, persons that are full of nimble and sinister trickes and shiftes, whereby they peruert the plaine and direct courses of Courts, and bring iustice into oblike lines and labirinthes. And the fourth is the Poler and exacter of fees, which iustifies the common resemblance of the Courts of Iustice, to the bush, wherunto while the sheepe flies for defence in weather, hee is sure

to lose part of his fleece. On the other side an ancient Clearke, skilfull in presidents, wary in proceeding, and vnderstanding in the businesse of the Court, is an excellent finger of a Court; and doth many times point the way to the Iudge himselfe.

Lastly, Iudges ought aboue al to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelue Tables; *Salus populi suprema lex*, and to know that Lawes, except they bee in order to that ende are but things captious, and Oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is an happy thing in a State, when Kings and States doe often consult with Iudges; and againe, when Iudges doe often consult with the King and State: the one, when there is matter of Law interuenient in businesse of State; the other, when there is some consideration of State interuenient in matter of Lawe. For many times the thing deduced to Iudgement, may be *meū & tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate; I call matter of estate not only the parts of Soueraignty, but whatsoeuer introduceth any great alteration or dangerous president or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people. And let no man weakely conceiue that iust lawes, and true pollicy, haue any antipathy. For they are like the spirits, and sinewes that one moues within the other. Neither ought Iudges to be so ignorant of their owne right, as to thinke there is not left to them as a principall part of their office, a wise use and application of Lawes. For they may remember what the Apostle saith of a greater Law then theirs, *Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis eâ vtatur legitime.*

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37. Of Vaine-glory.

It was pretily deuised of *Æsop, The Flie sate vpon the Axletree of the Chariot wheele, and said, What a dust doe I raise?* So are there some vaine persons, that whatsoeuer goeth alone, or moues vpon greater meanes, they thinke it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious; for all brauery stands vpon comparisons. They must needes be violent, to make good their owne vaunts. Neither can they bee secret, and therefore not effectuall; but according to the *French* proverb, *Beaucoup de bruit & peu de fruit*, Much bruit, little fruit. Yet certainely there is vse of this quality in ciuill af-

faires. Where there is an opinion and fame to bee created, either of *Vertue* or *Greatnesse:* these men are good Trumpeters. Again, as *Titus Liuius* noteth in the case of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians, There are sometimes greate effects of crosse lies;* as if a man that should interpose himselfe to negotiate between two, should to either of them seuerally pretend, more interest than he hath in the other. And in this and the like kind, it often fals out, that somewhat is produced of nothing. For lies are sufficiēt to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. But principally in cases of great enterprise, vpon charge and aduenture such composition of glorious natures doth put life into busines, and those that are of solid and sober natures haue more of the ballast, then of the saile. Certainely *Vaine-glory* helpeth to perpetuate a mans memory, and *Vertue* was neuer so beholding to humane nature, as it receiued his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of *Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus,* borne her age so well, if it had not beene ioined with some vanity in themselues; like vnto varnish, that makes seelings not onely shine, but last. But all this while, when I speake of *Vaine-glory,* I meane not of that property that *Tacitus* doth attribute to *Mucianus, Omnium quæ dixerat feceratque arte quadam ostentator:* For that proceeds not of vanity, but of a natural magnanimity and discretion; and in some persons is not onely comely, but gracious. For excusations, cessions, modesty it selfe well gouerned are but arts of ostentation: and amongst those Arts there is none better, then that which *Plinius Secundus* speaketh of, which is to be liberall of praise & cōmendation to others, in that wherein a mans selfe hath any perfection. For saith *Plinie* very wittily; *In commending another, you do your selfe right; for hee that you commend, is either superior to you in that you commend or inferiour. If he be inferiour if he be to be commended; you much more; if he be superiour if hee be not to be commended; you much lesse.*

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38. Of the greatnesse of Kingdomes.

The speech of *Themistocles,* which was arrogant in challenge, is profitable in censure. Desired at a banquet to touch a Lute, hee said, *Hee could not fiddle; but he could make a small Towne*

to become a great Citie. This speech at a time of solace, and not serious, was vnciuill, and at no time could be decent of a mans selfe. But it may haue a pretie application: For to speake truly of politikes & Statesmen, there are sometimes, though rarely, those that can make a small estate great, and cannot fiddell. And there bee many that can fiddell very cunningly, and yet the procedure of their Art is to make a flourishing estate ruinous & distressed. For certainly those degenerate Arts, whereby diuers politikes and Gouernors doe gaine both satisfactiō with their Masters, and admiration with the vulgar, deserue no better name than fidling; if they adde nothing to the safetie, strength, and amplitude of the States they gouerne. The greatnes of a State in bulke or territory, doth fall vnder measure; & the greatnes of finances & reuenew, doth fall vnder computation: the population may appeare by Musters, and the number of Cities & Towns by Carts and Mappes: but yet there is nothing among ciuill affaires more subiect to error, then the right valuacion and true iudgement cōcerning the greatnes of an estate. Certainly there is a kind of resemblance betweene the Kingdome of heauen, and the Kingdomes vpon the earth. The Kingdome of heauen is compared not to any great kernell, or nut; but to a graine of Musterd; which is one of the least of graines, but hath in it a propertie and spirit hastily to get vp & spread. So are there States that are great in Territory, and yet not apt to conquer or inlarge: and others that haue but a small dimention or stemme, and yet apt to be the foundatiō of great Monarchies. Walled Townes, stored Arcenals and Armories, goodly Stables, Elephants, (if you wil) Masse of treasure, Number in Armies, Ordinance, and Artillerie, they are all but a Sheep in a Lions skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be militarie.[1] The helpe is mercenary aides. But a Prince or State that resteth vpon waged Companies of forraine Armes, and not of his owne Natiues, may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soone after. The blessing of *Iudah* and *Issachar* will neuer meet, to be both the Lions whelpe, and the Asse laid betweene burthens: Neither will a people ouercharged with tributes, bee euer fit for Empire. Nobilitie & Gentlemen multiplying in too great a proportion,

[1] So in the original; and compare p. 591. l. 7.: whence it appears that I was wrong in stating (p. 27. note 1) that Bacon always wrote either *militar* or *militare*.

maketh the common subiect grow to bee a pesant and base swaine driuen out of heart, and but the Gentlemans laborer: like as it is in copices, where if you leaue your staddels too thick, you shall neuer haue cleane vnderwood, but shrubbes and bushes. And take away the middle people, & you take away the infantery, which is the nerue of an Armie: and you bring it to this, that not the hundreth pole will be fit for a helmet, and so great population and little strength. Certainely *Virgil* coupled Armes and the plough together well in the constitution of ancient *Italy;*

Terra potens armis atq; vbere glebæ.

For it is the Plough that yeeldeth the best soldier; but how? maintained in plentie and in the hand of owners, and not of meere laborers. Sedentary and within-doores Arts, and nice manufactures, that require rather the finger than the hand or arme, haue in their nature a contrariety to a disposition militar: and generally, all warlike people are a little idle, and loue danger better than pain: neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserued in vigor. No body can be healthfull without exercise, neither naturall body, nor politike; & to the politike body of a Kingdome or estate, a ciuill warre is as the heate of a feuer: but an honourable forraine warre is like the heate of exercise. At least, discoueries, nauigations, honourable succours of other States may keepe health: For in a slothfull peace, both courages will effeminate, and manners corrupt. States liberall of naturalization, are capable of greatnesse; and the iealous states that rest vpon the first tribe & stirpe, quickly want body to carrie the boughes and branches. Many are the ingredients into the receit of greatnesse. No man can by care taking adde a cubit to his stature, in the little modell of a mans body. But certainly in the great frame of Kingdomes and Commonwealths, it is in the power of Princes or Estates by ordinances and constitutions, and maners which they may introduce, to sowe greatness to their posteritie and succession. But these things are commonly left to chance.

FINIS.

Of Seditions and Troubles.[1]

Sheapards of people had neede knowe the Kalenders of Tempests in State; which are commonlye greatest when things growe to equalitie; as naturall Tempests are greatest about the *æquinoctia*. And as there are certaine hollowe blasts and secrett swellings of Seas before Tempests, so are there in States.

cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudesque, et operta tumescere bella.

Certainly, libells and licentious discourses are amongst the signes of troubles. *Virgile* givcinge the pedegree of fame, saieth shee was sister to the Gyants.

Illam terra parens ira irritata deorum
Extremam ut perhibent Cœo Enceladoque sororem
Progenuit.

As if fames and rumors were the reliques of seditions past; but they are no lesse the præludes of Seditions to come. But he notes it right, that seditious tumults, and seditious fames, differ noe more, but as masculine and fæminine. Also that kind of obedience (which *Tacitus* describeth in an Army) is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata Imperantium interpretari, quam exequi.* When mandats fall to be disputed and distinguished, and new sences given to them, it is the first Essay of disobeying. Also as Machavvell well notes, when Princes that ought to bee common fathers make themselves as a partie, and leane to a side in the Estate, it is as a boate that tilts aside before it overthrowes. Also when discordes, and quarrells, and factions are carryed openly and audaciously, it is a signe the reverence of governement is lost. And reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God, who threatneth the dissolving thereof, as one of his great judgements: *Solvam cingula regum.* So when anie of the fower pillars of governement are mainely shakened, or

[1] Harl. MS. 5106.

weakened, which are Religion, Justice, Councell, and Treasure, men had neede to pray for faier weather. But let us leave the part of predictions, and speake of the materialls, and the causes, and the remedyes. The matter of seditions is of two kindes; much povertye and much discontent. Certainely, so manie overthrowne estates, so manie votes for troubles. *Lucan* noteth well the state of the tymes before the civill warre:

> *Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus,*
> *Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.*

This same *Multis utile bellum* is an assured and infallible signe of a State disposed to troubles and seditions. For discontents, they are the verie humors in the politique body apt to gather a præternatural heate and to inflame. And let not Princes measure the danger of them by this whether they are just or unjust; for that were to imagine people to reasonable; nor yet by this, whether the greifes whereupon they arrise be in true proportion great, or smale; for they are the most dangerous kindes of discontents where the feare is greater then the feeling. The causes and motives of Sedition, are Religion, Taxes, alterations of Lawes and Customes, breakeing priviledges, generall oppression, Advauncement of unworthie persons, Straungers, Dearthes, and whatsoever in offending people joyneth them in a common cause. For the remedyes, there maie be some generall preservatives; the cure must aunsweare to the particuler disease. To give moderate libertye for greifes to evaporate, so it be without bravery or importunitye, is a safe way; for hee that tourneth the humours or makes the wound bleede inwardes endaungereth maligne ulcers and pernicious impostumations. Also the part of *Epimetheus* may become *Prometheus* in this case. Hee when greifes and evills flewe abroade yet kept hope in the bottome of the vessell. The politike and artificiall nourishing of some degree of hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poyson of discontents; and it is a certaine signe of a wise governement if it can hold by hope where it cannott by satisfaction. Also the foresight and prevention, that there be noe likely or fitt head whereunto discontents may resort, and under whom they maie joyne, is a knowne but an excellent pointe of caution. I understand a fitt head to be one that hath greatnesse and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented

partie, and upon whom they tourne theire eyes, and that is thought discontent in his particular. Also the deviding and breaking of anie combination that is adverse to the State is none of the worst remedies. For it is a desperate case if the true parte of the State be full of discord and faction, and the false, entyer and unyted. Lastlie lett Princes against all events not be without some great person of militarye valew neare unto them, for the repressing of seditions in theire beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in Courts upon the breaking out of troubles then were fitt, and the State runneth the daunger of that which *Tacitus* saieth; *Atque is habitus animorum fuit ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.* But lett such one be an assured one and not popular, and holding good correspondence with the gowne men; or els the remedy is worse then the disease.

III.

Essays attributed to Bacon without authority.

At the end of the *Resuscitatio* (published in 1657) Dr. Rawley gives what he entitles "A perfect list of his Lordship's true works both in English and Latin;" which he concludes with these words: "as for other pamphlets, whereof there are several, put forth under his Lordship's name, they are not to be owned for his."

Any work therefore (not contained in this list) which had appeared before 1657 in any publication which Dr. Rawley knew of, and had been there ascribed to Bacon, must be regarded as distinctly denied by him to be Bacon's.

Now in December 1642, in which year several of Bacon's smaller political pieces were published in separate pamphlets without any editor's name or any account of the source from which they were taken, there appeared among others a 4to of eight pages with the following title: *An Essay of a King, with an explanation what manner of persons those should be that are to execute the power or ordinance of the King's Prerogative. Written by the Right Honourable Francis, Lord Verulam Viscount Saint Alban. December* 2. *London, Printed for Richard Best*, 1642.

In 1648 appeared a 4to volume of 103 pages, entitled *The Remaines of the Right Honorable Francis, Lord Verulam, Viscount of St. Albanes, sometimes Lord Chancellour of England; being Essayes and severall letters to severall great Personages, and other pieces of various high concernment not heretofore published. A table whereof for the reader's more ease is adjoyned. — London, printed by B. Alsop for Laurence Chapman and are to be sold at his shop neer the Savoy in the Strand*, 1648.

Most of the pieces in the volume are genuine, and were afterwards published by Rawley from the originals. And it is probably to this collection that he alludes, when he alleges as a reason for publishing some things which Bacon himself did not design for publication, that "through the loose keeping of his Lordship's papers whilst he lived, divers surreptitious copies

have been taken; which have since employed the press with sundry corrupt and mangled editions; whereby nothing hath been more difficult than to find the Lord Saint Alban in the Lord Saint Alban; and which have presented (some of them) rather a fardle of nonsense, than any true expression of his Lordship's happy vein;" and that therefore he "thought himself in a sort tied to vindicate those injuries and wrongs done to his Lordship's pen; and at once, by setting forth the true and genuine writings themselves, to prevent the like invasions for the time to come." But whatever the publications may have been to which he alluded, it is hardly conceivable that the existence of this volume was unknown to him; and we must therefore regard all those pieces which it contains, and which are not directly or by implication contained in his own "perfect list," as included in his general repudiation. It does not, indeed, follow that none of them are genuine; because Rawley may have been mistaken; but that every such piece was *in his opinion* spurious, can hardly be disputed: and he had such very good means of judging, that his opinion is not to be set aside except upon very strong evidence.

Now the two first pieces in the "Remains" are the contents of the pamphlet of which I have quoted the title. Standing where they do, they could not have been overlooked: yet neither of them is to be found in any of the publications cited in Rawley's "perfect list." The inevitable inference is, that Rawley did not believe them to be the work of Bacon; and certainly in this case there is no evidence internal or external which can justify us in overruling his judgment. The *Essay of a King*, does indeed contain several sentences which are much in Bacon's manner, and which might have been written by him. But the total composition does not read like his; and even if the external evidences had been equally balanced (which is by no means the case; for the fact that *somebody* thought it was Bacon's cannot be taken as a counterpoise to the fact that *Rawley* thought it was not), I should myself have been inclined, upon consideration of the internal evidence alone, to reject it.

The other piece is still less like Bacon's work. Mr. Heath, finding it printed among his writings, and knowing nothing of its history, was at once led to doubt its genuineness, from a consideration of the matter and opinions as well as the style. Had I thought its pretensions more reasonable, I should have

reserved it for another place: for it has no affinity to the class of works with which we are at present dealing. But as my only business with it is to discredit its pretensions to be admitted among Bacon's works at all, I have thought it better not to separate it from its companion, but to print it here in connexion with the evidence on which the question of its authenticity rests.

Passing over for the present a little piece entitled *Short Notes for Civil Conversation* (the claims of which to a place among Bacon's writings have other evidence to support them, and will be explained hereafter), we come next to a very remarkable composition — *An Essay on Death.* This stands fourth in the volume, and being also too conspicuous to have been overlooked must be regarded as disclaimed by Dr. Rawley. I do not know whether it had been printed before. It is an eloquent and touching composition, very peculiar in style, and marked with a "humorous sadness" which reminds me of nobody so much as Sir Thomas Browne. Sir Thomas Browne was born in 1605, and therefore there is nothing in the date to preclude the supposition that he was the author of it. How far his never having claimed it is to be taken as an objection, or what other difficulties the supposition may involve, I am not well enough acquainted with his biography to judge. But whoever may have written it, I am fully convinced that Bacon did not. Nothing is less probable than that he would have written so grave a thing on so grave a subject merely as an exercise in imitating another man's style; and the style is so unlike his own, that if we suppose him the author of it we must suppose no less. And the only reason we have for imputing it to him is, that within twenty-four years after his death there was *somebody* or other who thought it was his; against which must be set the fact that Rawley thought it was not.

Of two other pieces commonly printed among Bacon's works, and ascribed to him solely, I believe, on the authority of this same volume (to which nobody stands sponsor),—the *Letter of Advice to Sir Edward Coke* on occasion of his being removed from the Chief Justiceship, and a little tract entitled *The Characters of a believing Christian, in Paradoxes and seeming Contradictions,*—I will speak more fully when they come before me in their proper places. That the letter to Coke was written by Bacon, no one can believe who knows what it is about; but

this will be most easily explained in connexion with the events to which it relates. And the pretensions of the Christian Paradoxes to a place among Bacon's writings, resting as they do entirely upon internal evidence of style, will be best estimated upon comparison with his other writings on kindred subjects.

An Essay of a King,

Written by Sir Francis Bacon.

1. A King is a mortal God on Earth, unto whom the living God hath lent his own name as a great honour: But withal told him he should die like a man, lest he should be proud and flatter himself, that God hath with his name imparted unto him his nature also.

2. Of all kinds of men, God is least beholding unto them, for he doth most for them, and they do ordinarily least for him.

3. A King that would not feele his Crown too heavy for him, must weare it every day, but if he think it too light, he knoweth not of what mettall it is made of.

4. He must make Religion the Rule of government, and not the Scale[1]; for he that casteth in Religion onely to make the scales even, his own weight is contained in these Characters, *Tekel uphrasin*, he is found too light, his Kingdom shall be taken from him.

5. And that King that holds not Religion the best reason of state, is void of all piety and justice, the Supporters of a King.

6. He must be able to give Counsell himself, but not to relye thereupon; for though happy events justifie their Counsells, yet it is better that the evill event of good advice be rather imputed to a Subject then a Sovereigne.

7. He is the Fountain of Honour, which should not run with a wast pipe, lest the Courtiers sell the waters, and then (as papists say of their holy Wels) to lose the vertue.

8. He is the life of the Law, not onely as he is *lex loquens* himself, but because he animateth the dead letter, making it active towards all his Subjects *præmio et pœna*.

9. A wise King must doe lesse in altering his Laws, than he

[1] not to Ballance the Scale. *Remains.*

may; for new government is ever dangerous, it being true in the body politique, as in the corporall, that *omnis subita mutatio est periculosa*, and though it be for the better, yet it is not without a fearfull apprehension; For he that changeth the fundamentall Laws of a Kingdome, thinketh there is no good title to a Crown but by conquest.

10. A King that setteth to sale Seats of Justice, oppresseth the People; for he teacheth his Judges to sell justice, and *pretio parata pretio venditur Justitia.*

11. Bounty and Magnificence are vertues *vere regiæ*, but a prodigall King is neerer a Tyrant then a parcimonious: for store at home draweth his contemplations abroad: but want supplieth itself of what is next, and many times the next way, and herein he must be wise, and know what he may justly doe.

12. That King which is not feared, is not loved, and he that is well seen in his craft, must as well study to be feared as loved, yet not loved for feare, but feared for love.

13. Therefore as hee must alwayes resemble him whose great name he beareth, and that in manifesting the sweet influence of his mercy on the severe stroke of his Justice sometimes, so in this not to suffer a man of death to live, for besides that the Land doth mourn, the restraint of Justice towards sin doth more retard the affection of love, than the extent of mercy doth inflame it, and sure where love is bestowed[1], feare is quite lost.

14. His greatest Enemies are his Flatterers, for though they ever speak on his side, yet their words still make against him.[2]

15. The love which a King oweth to the weal-publike, should not be restrained to any one particular, yet that his more speciall favour do reflect upon some worthy ones, is somwhat necessary, because there are so few of that capacity.

16. Hee must have a speciall care of five things, if hee would not have his Crown to be put upon him.[3]

First, that *simulata sanctitas*, be not in the Church, for that is *duplex iniquitas.*

Secondly, that *inutilis æquitas*, sit not in the Chancery, for that is *inepta misericordia.*

Thirdly, that *utilis iniquitas*, keep not the Exchequer, for that is *crudele latrocinium.*

[1] So in the original, and in the *Remains* also.

[2] So in the *Remains*. The original has "against them."

[3] So in the original. The *Remains* gives "to be put on him *In felix felicitatis.*" Modern editions substitute, correctly perhaps, "to be put to him *infelix felicitas.*"

Fourthly, that *fidelis temeritas* be not his Generall, for that will bring but *seram pœnitentiam.*

Fiftly, that *infidelis prudentia,* be not his Secretary, for that he is *Anguis sub viridi herba.*

To conclude, as hee is of the greatest power, so hee is subject to the greatest cares, made the servant of his people, or else he were without a calling at all.

He then that honoureth him not, is next an Atheist, wanting the feare of God in his heart.

An explanation what manner of persons those should be, that are to execute the power or Ordinance of the Kings Prerogative, written by the said Sir Francis Bacon, *late Lord Chancellour, and Lord St.* Albans.

THAT absolute Prerogative according to the Kings pleasure revealed by his Lawes, may be exercised and executed by any Subject, to whom power may be given by the King, in any place of Judgement or Commission, which the King by his Law hath ordained, in which the Judge-subordinate cannot wrong the people, the Law laying downe a measure by which every Judge should governe or execute; Against which Law if any Judge proceed, he is by the Law questionable and punishable for his transgression.

In this nature are all the Judges and Commissioners of the Land no otherwise then in their Courts, in which the King in person is supposed to sit, who cannot make[1] that trespasse, Felony or treason which the Law hath not made so to be, neither can punish the guilty by other punishment then the Law hath appointed.

This Prerogative or power as it is over all the Subjects, so being knowne by the Subjects, they are without excuse if they offend; and suffer no wrong, if they be punished. And by this prerogative the King governeth all sorts of people according unto knowne will.

The absolute prerogative which is in Kings according to their private will and judgement cannot be executed by any Subject, neither is it possible to give such power by Commis-

[1] So *Remains.* The original has "worke.'

sion, or fit to subject the people to the same. For the King in that he is the substitute of God, immediatly the Father of his people, and head of the Common wealth, hath[1] by participation with God and his subjects, Discretion, Iudgement, and feeling love towards those over whom he raigneth only proper to himselfe, or to his places and person, who seeing he cannot in any others diffuse his wisedome, power, or gifts, which God in respect of his place and charge hath enabled him withall, can neither subordinate any other Iudge to governe by that knowledge, which the King can no otherwise then by his knowne will participate unto him. And if any subordinate Iudge shall obtaine Commission according to the discretion[2] of such Iudge to govern the people, that Iudge is bound to think that to be his sound discretion, which[3] the law in which the Kings known will sheweth unto him[4] to be that Iustice which hee ought to administer: otherwise he might seeme to esteeme himselfe above the Kings law, who will not governe by him, or to have a power derived from other then from the King, which in the Kingdome will administer Iustice contrarie to the justice of the Land. Neither can such a Judge or Commissioner under the name of his high Authoritie shrowde his owne high affection, seeing the Conscience and discretion of every man is particular and private to himselfe; As the discretion of the Judge cannot be properly or possibly the discretion of the King, or conscience of the King; And if not his discretion, neither the Judgement that is ruled by another mans only. Therefore it may seeme they rather desire to bee Kings then to rule the people under the King, which will not administer Justice by law, but by their owne wills.

This Administration in a subject is derogative to the Kings Prerogative, for he administreth Justice out of a private direction, being not capable of a generall direction, how to use the Kings pleasure in Causes of particular respect, which if another then the King himselfe can doe, how can it be so, that any man should desire that which is unfit and impossible, but that it must proceed out of some exorbitant affection, the rather seeing such places to be full of trouble, and being altogether unneces-

[1] So *Remains*. The original omits "hath."
[2] So *Remains*. The words "to the discretion" are omitted in the original.
[3] So *Remains*. The original has "in which."
[4] So both copies. It should probably be "in which the king's known will is contained."

sary, no man will seeke to thrust himselfe into it, but for hope of gaine. Then is not any prerogative oppugned but maintained, though it be desired that every subordinate Magistrate may not be made supreame, whereby he may seale up the hearts of the people, take from the King the respect due unto him only, or to judge the people otherwise then the King doth himselfe.

And although the Prince be not bound to render any accompt to the Law, which in person administreth it selfe[1]: Yet every subordinate Judge must render an accompt to the King by his lawes how hee hath administred Justice in his place where he is set. But if he hath power to rule by private direction, for which there is no law, how can he be questioned by a law, if in his private censure he offendeth.

Therefore it seemeth that in giving such authority the King ordaineth not subordinate Magistrates, but absolute Kings; And what doth the King leave to himselfe, who giveth so much to others as he hath himself? neither is there a greater bond to tie the subject to his Prince in particular then when he shal have recourse unto him in his person or in his power for releif of the wrongs which from private men be offered, or for reformation of the oppressions which any subordinate Magistrate shall impose upon the people: there can be no offence in the Judge, who hath power to execute according to his discretion, when the discretion of any Judge shall be thought fit to be unlimited[2]; And therefore there can be therein no reformation, whereby the King in this useth no prerogative to gaine his Subjects right. Then the subject is bound to suffer helplesse wrong, and the discontent of the people is cast upon the King, the lawes being neglected, which with their equitie in all other Causes and Judgements, saving this, interpose themselves and yeeld remedy.

And to conclude, Custome cannot confirme that which is any wayes unreasonable of it selfe; Wisedome will not allow that which is many wayes dangerous, and no wayes profitable; Justice will not approve that government, where it cannot be but wrong must be committed. Neither can there be any rule by which to try it, nor meanes for reformation of it.

Therefore whosoever desireth Government, must seeke such as he is capable of, not such as seemeth to himselfe most easie

[1] So both copies. It should probably be "himself."
[2] So the original. The *Remains* has "limited."

to execute; For it appeareth that it is easie to him that knoweth not law nor justice to rule as he listeth, his will never wanting a power to it selfe: but it is safe and blamelesse both for the Judge and People, and honour to the King, that Judges bee appointed who know the Law, and that they bee limited to governe according to the Law.

An Essay on Death,

By the Lord Chancellor Bacon.[1]

I have often thought upon death, and find it the least of all evils. All that which is past is as a dream; and he that hopes or depends upon time coming, dreams waking. So much of our life as we have discovered is already dead; and all those hours which we share, even from the breasts of our mother, until we return to our grand-mother the earth, are part of our dying days; whereof even this is one, and those that succeed are of the same nature; for we die daily; and as others have given place to us, so we must in the end give way to others.

Physicians, in the name of death include all sorrow, anguish, disease, calamity, or whatsoever can fall in the life of man, either grievous or unwelcome: but these things are familiar unto us, and we suffer them every hour; therefore we die daily, and I am older since I affirmed it.

I know many wise men that fear to die; for the change is bitter, and flesh would refuse to prove it: besides, the expectation brings terror, and that exceeds the evil. But I do not believe that any man fears to be dead, but only the stroke of death: and such are my hopes, that if heaven be pleased, and nature renew but my lease for twenty-one years more, without asking longer days, I shall be strong enough to acknowledge without mourning that I was begotten mortal. Virtue walks not in the highway, though she go *per alta;* this is strength and the blood to virtue, to contemn things that be desired, and to neglect that which is feared.

Why should man be in love with his fetters, though of gold? Art thou drowned in security? Then I say thou art

[1] *Remains*, p. 7.

perfectly dead. For though thou movest, yet thy soul is buried within thee, and thy good angel either forsakes his guard or sleeps. There is nothing under heaven, saving a true friend, who cannot be counted within the number of moveables, unto which my heart doth lean. And this dear freedom hath begotten me this peace, that I mourn not for that end which must be, nor spend one wish to have one minute added to the incertain date of my years. It was no mean apprehension of Lucian, who says of Menippus, that in his travels through hell he knew not the kings of the earth from other men, but only by their louder cryings and tears: which was fostered in them through the remorseful memory of the good days they had seen, and the fruitful havings which they so unwillingly left behind them: he that was well seated, looked back at his portion, and was loth to forsake his farm; and others either minding marriages, pleasures, profit, or preferment, desired to be excused from death's banquet: they had made an appointment with earth, looking at the blessings, not the hand that enlarged them, forgetting how unclothedly they came hither, or with what naked ornaments they were arrayed.

But were we servants of the precept given, and observers of the heathens rule *memento mori*, and not become benighted with this seeming felicity, we should enjoy them as men prepared to lose, and not wind up our thoughts upon so perishing a fortune; he that is not slackly strong (as the servants of pleasure), how can he be found unready to quit the veil and false visage of his perfection? The soul having shaken off her flesh, doth then set up for herself, and contemning things that are under, shews what finger hath enforced her; for the souls of idiots are of the same piece with those of statesmen, but now and then nature is at a fault, and this good guest of ours takes soil in an unperfect body, and so is slackened from shewing her wonders; like an excellent musician, which cannot utter himself upon a defective instrument.

But see how I am swarved, and lose my course, touching at the soul, that doth least hold action with death, who hath the surest property in this frail act; his stile is the end of all flesh, and the beginning of incorruption.

This Ruler of Monuments leads men for the most part out of this world with their heels forward, in token that he is contrary to life; which being obtained, sends men headlong into

this wretched theatre, where being arrived, their first language is that of mourning. Nor in my own thoughts can I compare men more fitly to any thing, than to the Indian fig-tree, which being ripened to his full height, is said to decline his branches down to the earth; whereof she conceives again, and they become roots in their own stock.

So man having derived his being from the earth, first lives the life of a tree, drawing his nourishment as a plant; and made ripe for death he tends downwards, and is sowed again in his mother the earth, where he perisheth not, but expects a quickening.

So we see death exempts not a man from being, but only presents an alteration; yet there are some men, I think, that stand otherwise persuaded. Death finds not a worse friend than an alderman, to whose door I never knew him welcome; but he is an importunate guest, and will not be said nay.

And though they themselves shall affirm that they are not within, yet the answer will not be taken; and that which heightens their fear is, that they know they are in danger to forfeit their flesh, but are not wise of the payment day: which sickly uncertainty is the occasion that (for the most part) they step out of this world unfurnished for their general account, and being all unprovided, desire yet to hold their gravity, preparing their souls to answer in scarlet.

Thus I gather that death is unagreeable to most citizens, because they commonly die intestate: this being a rule, that when their will is made, they think themselves nearer a grave than before: now they, out of the wisdom of thousands, think to scare destiny, from which there is no appeal, by not making a will, or to live longer by protestation of their unwillingness to die. They are for the most part well made in this world, (accounting their treasure by legions, as men do devils,) their fortune looks toward them, and they are willing to anchor at it, and desire (if it be possible) to put the evil day far off from them, and to adjourn their ungrateful and killing period.

No, these are not the men which have bespoken death, or whose looks are assured to entertain a thought of him.

Death arrives gracious only to such as sit in darkness, or lie heavy burdened with grief and irons; to the poor Christian, that sits bound in the galley; to despairful widows, pensive prisoners, and deposed kings: to them whose fortune runs

back, and whose spirit mutinies; unto such death is a redeemer, and the grave a place for retiredness and rest.

These wait upon the shore of death, and waft unto him to draw near, wishing above all others, to see his star, that they might be led to his place, wooing the remorseless sisters to wind down the watch of their life, and to break them off before the hour.

But death is a doleful messenger to an usurer, and fate untimely cuts their thread: for it is never mentioned by him, but when rumours of war and civil tumults put him in mind thereof.

And when many hands are armed, and the peace of a city in disorder, and the foot of the common soldiers sounds an alarm on his stairs, then perhaps such a one, (broken in thoughts of his moneys abroad, and cursing the monuments of coin which are in his house), can be content to think of death, and (being hasty of perdition) will perhaps hang himself, lest his throat should be cut; provided that he may do it in his study, surrounded with wealth, to which his eye sends a faint and languishing salute, even upon the turning off; remembering always, that he have time and liberty, by writing, to depute himself as his own heir.

For that is a great peace to his end, and reconciles him wonderfully upon the point.

Herein we all dally with ourselves, and are without proof of necessity.[1] I am not of those that dare promise to pine away myself in vain-glory, and I hold such to be but feat boldness, and them that dare commit it to be vain. Yet for my part, I think nature should do me great wrong, if I should be so long in dying, as I was in being born.[2]

To speak truth, no man knows the lists of his own patience; nor can divine how able he shall be in his sufferings, till the storm come, (the perfectest virtue being tried in action,) but I would (out of a care to do the best business well) ever keep a guard, and stand upon keeping faith and a good conscience.

And if wishes might find place, I would die together, and not my mind often, and my body once; that is, I would pre-

[1] So the original. Modern editions read "till necessity:" probably a conjectural correction; and (I suspect) not the true reading.

[2] *them* in the last sentence, and *yet* in this, are omitted in the original.

pare for the messengers of death, sickness and affliction, and not wait long, or be attempted by the violence of pain.

Herein I do not profess myself a Stoic, to hold grief no evil, but opinion, and a thing indifferent.

But I consent with Cæsar, that the suddenest passage is easiest, and there is nothing more awakens our resolve and readiness to die, than the quieted conscience, strengthened with opinion that we shall be well spoken of upon earth by those that are just, and of the family of virtue; the opposite whereof is a fury to man, and makes even life unsweet.

Therefore, what is more heavy than evil fame deserved? Or, likewise, who can see worse days, than he that yet living doth follow at the funerals of his own reputation?

I have laid up many hopes, that I am privileged from that kind of mourning, and could wish the like peace to all those with whom I wage love.

I might say much of the commodities that death can sell a man; but briefly, death is a friend of ours, and he that is not ready to entertain him, is not at home. Whilst I am, my ambition is not to fore-flow the tide; I have but so to make my interest of it, as I may account for it; I would wish nothing but what might better my days, nor desire any greater place than the front of good opinion. I make not love to the continuance of days, but to the goodness of them; nor wish to die, but refer myself to my hour, which the great dispenser of all things hath appointed me; yet as I am frail, and suffered for the first fault, were it given me to choose, I should not be earnest to see the evening of my age; that extremity of itself being a disease, and a mere return into infancy: so that if perpetuity of life might be given me, I should think what the Greek poet said, *Such an age is a mortal evil.* And since I must needs be dead, I require it may not be done before mine enemies, that I be not stript before I be cold; but before my friends. The night was even now; but that name is lost; it is not now late, but early. Mine eyes begin to discharge their watch, and compound with this fleshly weakness for a time of perpetual rest; and I shall presently be as happy for a few hours, as I had died the first hour I was born.

DE SAPIENTIA VETERUM.

PREFACE.

THE treatise *De Sapientia Veterum* was first published in 1609, in a small duodecimo volume, carefully and beautifully printed in the elegant italic type then in use. It appears to have become speedily popular, and was once or twice reprinted during Bacon's life, and translated both into English and Italian. In 1623, he introduced three of the fables, revised and considerably enlarged, into the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, as a specimen of one of the *Desiderata*. Two others he had designed for the foundation of an elaborate discussion of the philosophy of Democritus, Parmenides, and Telesius; of which a considerable fragment has been preserved. See Vol. III. p. 65. A year or two before his death he designed to include the whole volume among the *Opera Moralia et Civilia*, of which he was then preparing a collection, and in which it was afterwards published by Dr. Rawley, along with the Latin translations of the History of Henry VII., the Essays, the New Atlantis, and the Dialogue of a Holy War. There can be no doubt therefore that it was a work which he thought well of, and meant to live.

Of the history of it all I know further is, that four of the fables,—namely, *Metis sive Consilium*, *Soror Gigantum sive Fama*, *Cœlum sive Origines*, and *Proteus sive Materia*,—are found in the same form in the fragment which I have entitled *Cogitationes de Scientiâ Humanâ*, and which I suppose to have been written before 1605. See Vol. III. p. 171.

The object of the work was probably to obtain a more favourable hearing for certain philosophical doctrines of Bacon's own; for it seems certain that the fables themselves could never have suggested the ideas, however a man to whom the ideas had suggested themselves might find or fancy he found them in the fables. But the theory on which his interpretation

rests, namely that a period of high intellectual cultivation had existed upon the earth and passed out of memory long before the days of Homer, was, I suppose, seriously entertained by him; nor was it a thing so difficult to believe then as it seems now. When a new continent was first discovered, in which the savage inhabitants were found laden with golden ornaments, it was easy to believe in the rumours of El Dorado; and when the buried fragments of Greek and Roman civilisation were first brought up for the examination of a new age, they might easily suggest to the imagination a world of wonders still unrecovered. But when voyage after voyage returned from America, bringing no confirmation of the first rumours, they ceased to be credible; and now that men have been employed for centuries in diligently collecting and discussing the monuments of antiquity, and yet no further evidence of that period of primeval wisdom has been discovered, the balance of probability turns against the speculation. Comparative philology, coupled with comparative mythology, teaches us to seek for an explanation of the ancient mythes in a new direction; and from these sciences Bacon, though I think he would have accepted them as the best guides in the inquiry, could have no help; for they could hardly be said to exist at all in his time. Regarded therefore as attempts to explain the true historical origin of these fables, his interpretations, however elegant and ingenious, may be set aside, as having lost their serious interest for us. And though they would furnish an editor possessed of the requisite learning, and so minded, with an opportunity of displaying a vast deal of erudition, it would, I think, be wasted in this place. In so far as the question could be settled by the light of common sense with such knowledge as Bacon had, little could be added probably on either side to what he has himself said in his prefatory disquisition. In so far as it depends upon the knowledge which has since been acquired concerning the ancient languages and literature of the East, it should be discussed without reference to Bacon, who had no such knowledge, and would in all probability, if it had been revealed to him, have given up his own conjecture as untenable.

The interest which the book still possesses for us (and it has always been a great favourite with me) is of quite another kind; nor has either change of times or increase of knowledge at all abated its freshness. It is an interest precisely of the same

kind with that which in the Essays shows no symptoms of becoming obsolete. The interpretation of each fable is in fact an "essay or counsel," civil, moral, or philosophical; embodying the results of Bacon's own thought and observation upon the nature of men and things, and replete with good sense of the best quality.

The great popularity of this book during the first half of the seventeenth century may have been partly due to the reputation which it then had among scholars as a work of learning and authority; and if so, the decline of its popularity may be accounted for by the abatement of that reputation. Students of Greek naturally neglect it, because it passes no longer for an orthodox exposition of the meaning of the Greek fables. Students of nature and the business of modern life naturally pass it by, not expecting to find under such a title and in a dead language the sort of entertainment they are in search of. But I see no other reason why it should not be as great a favourite with modern readers and be found as amusing and instructive as the Essays are; the matter being of as good quality, and the form not less attractive.

Upon this view of its character, and having a due regard to my own qualifications, I have thought it best to leave points of learning to those who are more competent to handle them (for the most I could do in that way would be to report conclusions which I am not in a condition to verify), and content myself with endeavouring by means of a new translation to bring the book within reach of the less learned. For though three English translations of it have been published, one of which was once very popular, and all are extant and accessible, I do not find any of them much quoted or referred to now, as if they had obtained any real currency among English readers. Whether my attempt will fare better, remains to be seen; but if I have succeeded in putting into the translation so much of the life of the original, that those who are fond of the Essays may read it with something of the same feeling, I shall not regret the pains I have taken in the matter.

With regard to the enigma which these ancient mythes present us with, I have said that the researches of modern science teach us to look for the true solution of it in a direction quite different from that which Bacon took. And without

affecting to offer anything that can be called an opinion on the subject for myself, I am fortunately able to illustrate my meaning by an example of a modern solution, derived from one whose information includes probably everything that is known with reference to the question at issue, up to the latest dates. I allude to Professor Max Müller's paper on Comparative Mythology in the *Oxford Essays* of 1856.

The difficulty to be explained, as stated by him, is substantially the same as that which Bacon puts forward most prominently among his reasons for concluding that these old fables involved an allegorical meaning. "Let us think," says Professor Müller, "of the times which could bear a Lykurgos and a Solon, — which could found an Areopagos and the Olympic Games, and how can we imagine that, a few generations before that time, the highest notions of the Godhead among the Greeks were adequately expressed by the story of Uranos maimed by Kronos, — of Kronos eating his children, swallowing a stone, and vomiting out alive his whole progeny? . . . . The difficulty is, how at first the human mind was led to such imaginings, — how the names and the tales arose; and unless this question can be answered, our belief in a regular and consistent progress of the human intellect, through all ages and in all countries, must be given up as a false theory."[1] "A fable that is probable," says Bacon, "may be thought to have been composed merely for pleasure, in imitation of history. But when a story is told which could never have entered into any man's head either to conceive or relate on its own account, we must presume that it had some further reach. What a fiction (for instance) is that of Jupiter and Metis! Jupiter took Metis to wife: as soon as he saw that she was with child, he ate her up: whereupon he grew to be with child himself, and so brought forth out of his head Pallas in armour! Surely I think no man had ever a dream so monstrous, and extravagant, and out of all natural ways of thinking."[2] Both agree likewise in concluding that the original story must have involved another meaning; that the names and incidents must have survived after that meaning had been forgotten; and that they have suffered in the hands of poets a variety of alterations, applications, and corruptions. So far the two speculations go

[1] *Essay on Comparative Mythology*, pp. 8. 11.
[2] *De Sap. Vet. Præfatio*, p. 627. of this volume.

together; but at this point they part, and part in opposite directions. Bacon, having only the Greek language and mythology to interpret the Greek fables by, conceived it possible that a generation of wise men had once flourished upon the earth, who taught the mysteries of nature in parables; that they died and their wisdom with them; the parables remaining in memory, merely as tales without meaning. Professor Müller, furnished with materials for a wider induction in the languages and mythologies of all the Eastern nations and races, and finding similar traditions flourishing among them all,—"stories identical in form and in character, whether we find them on Indian, Persian, Greek, Italian, Slavonic, or Teutonic soil,"—and being able likewise to trace the names which figure in many of these stories through their Greek corruptions to their original meaning in the language from which they came,—able, for instance, by help of the *Veda* to identify Daphne with the Dawn (see p. 57)—is led, through a course of reasoning too long for quotation and yet too close for abridgement, to a conclusion much more in accordance with all we know of the progress and vicissitudes of human things; yet one which, if accepted, will be held, I think, to justify me in treating the ideas which Bacon finds in these fables as valuable only for the truth and sense they contain, and not as illustrating antiquity. He traces the origin of these mythes to a time when abstract nouns had not been invented; when men had not learnt to express by single words collective or abstract ideas; when therefore everything was spoken of as a person, with a name and a sex. He conceives that they were in fact merely descriptions of the great phenomena of nature; conveying to those who first uttered them the ideas of morning and evening, summer and winter, dawn, twilight, darkness, &c.; indicating the relations between them by words expressing human relations, human feelings and passions; and thus making every metaphor a story; which, passing into another language in which the original name no longer suggested the original image, lost its metaphorical signification, came to be received and repeated as a story simply, and so grew into what we call a *mythe*. It would not be difficult to suggest analogies even from our own experience, by which it would be seen that the process is a natural one; but I should do injustice to Professor Müller's argument if I attempted to give an idea of the evidence which

he brings to support his view. I have said enough, however, to enable the reader to enter into his exposition of the fable of Endymion, which will sufficiently illustrate his theory; and which, as we have Bacon's exposition to contrast it with, will serve better than anything else to exhibit the difference between the rival methods of interpretation.

"We can best enter," says he, "into the original meaning of a Greek mythe, when some of the persons who act in it have preserved names intelligible in Greek. When we find the names of Eos, Selene, Helios, or Herse, we have words which tell their own story, and we have a *ποῦ στῶ* for the rest of the mythe. Let us take the beautiful mythe of Selene and Endymion. Endymion is the son of Zeus and Kalyke, but he is also the son of Aethlios, a king of Elis, who is himself called a son of Zeus, and whom Endymion is said to have succeeded as King of Elis. This localises our mythe, and shows, at least, that Elis is its birth place, and that, according to Greek custom, the reigning race of Elis derived its origin from Zeus. The same custom prevailed in India, and gave rise to the two great royal families of ancient India—the so-called Solar and the Lunar races; and Purûravas, of whom more by and by, says of himself,—

> The great king of day,
> And monarch of the night are my progenitors;
> Their grandson I . . . .

There may, then, have been a King of Elis, Aethlios, and he may have had a son, Endymion; but what the mythe tells of Endymion could not have happened to the King of Elis. The mythe transfers Endymion into Karia, to Mount Latmos, because it was in the Latmian cave that Selene saw the beautiful sleeper, loved him and lost him. Now about the meaning of Selene, there can be no doubt; but even if tradition had only preserved her other name, Asterodia, we should have had to translate this synonyme, as Moon, as 'Wanderer among the stars.' But who is Endymion? It is one of the many names of the sun, but with special reference to the setting or dying sun. It is derived from *ἐν-δύω*, a verb which, in classical Greek, is never used for setting, because the simple verb *δύω* had become the technical term for sunset. *Δυσμαὶ ἡλίου*, the setting of the Sun, is opposed to *ἀνατόλαι*, the rising. Now,

δύω meant, originally, to dive into; and expressions like ἠέλιος δ' ἄρ' ἔδυ, the sun dived, presupposes an earlier conception of ἔδυ πόντον, he dived into the sea. Thus Thetis addresses her companions, *Il.* xviii. 140.

> Ὑμεῖς μὲν νῦν δῦτε θαλάσσης εὐρέα κόλπον,
>
> You may now dive into the broad bosom of the sea.

Other dialects, particularly of maritime nations, have the same expression. In Lat. we find 'Cur *mergat* seras æquore flammas.' In Old Norse, 'Sôl gengr i aegi.' Slavonic nations represent the sun as a woman stepping into her bath in the evening, and rising refreshed and purified in the morning; or they speak of the Sea as the mother of the Sun, and of the Sun as sinking into her mother's arms at night. We may suppose, therefore, that in some Greek dialect ἐνδύω was used in the same sense; and that from ἐνδύω, ἐνδύμα was formed to express sunset. From this was formed ἐνδυμίων, like οὐρανίων from οὐρανός, and like most of the names of the Greek months. If ἐνδύμα had become a common name for sunset, the mythe of Endymion could never have arisen. But the original meaning of Endymion being once forgotten, what was told originally of the setting sun was now told of a name, which, in order to have any meaning, had to be changed into a god or a hero. The setting sun *once* slept in the Latmian cave, or cave of night,—Latmos being derived from the same root as Leto, Latona, the night;—but *now* he sleeps on Mount Latmos, in Karia. Endymion, sinking into eternal sleep after a life of but one day, was *once* the setting sun, the son of Zeus—the brilliant Sky, and Kalyke—the covering night (from καλύπτω); or, according to another saying, of Zeus and Protogoneia, the first-born goddess, or the Dawn, who is always represented, either as the mother, the sister, or the forsaken wife of the Sun. *Now* he is the son of a King of Elis, probably for no other reason except that it was usual for kings to take names of good omen, connected with the sun, or the moon, or the stars,—in which case a mythe, connected with a solar name, would naturally be transferred to its human namesake. In the ancient poetical and proverbial language of Elis, people said 'Selene loves and watches Endymion,' instead of 'it is getting late;' 'Selene embraces Endymion,' instead of 'the sun is setting and the moon is rising;' 'Selene kisses

Endymion into sleep,' instead of 'it is night.' These expressions remained long after their meaning had ceased to be understood; and as the human mind is generally as anxious for a reason as ready to invent one, a story arose by common consent, and without any personal effort, that Endymion must have been a young lad loved by a young lady, Selene; and if children were anxious to know still more, there would always be a grandmother happy to tell them that this young Endymion was the son of the Protogeneia,—she half meaning and half not meaning by that name the Dawn, who gave birth to the sun; or of Kalyke, the dark and covering night. This name, once touched, would set many chords vibrating; three or four different reasons might be given (as they really were given by ancient poets) why Endymion fell into this everlasting sleep, and if any of these was alluded to by a popular poet, it became a mythological fact, repeated by later poets; so that Endymion grew at last almost into a type, no longer of the setting sun, but of a handsome boy beloved of a chaste maiden, and therefore a most likely name for a young prince. Many mythes have thus been transferred to real persons, by a mere similarity of name, though it must be admitted that there is no historical evidence whatsoever that there ever was a Prince of Elis, called by the name of Endymion.

"Such is the growth of a legend, originally a mere word, a *μύθος*, probably one of those many words which have but a local currency, and lose their value if they are taken to distant places,—words useless for the daily intercourse of thought,—spurious coins in the hands of the many,—yet not thrown away, but preserved as curiosities and ornaments, and deciphered at last, after many centuries, by the antiquarian."[1]

I give this specimen merely to explain and illustrate the modern theory. For the argument in support of it I must refer to the Essay itself; though even there it suffers much for want of room. But that the process described is possible and natural, may be shown meanwhile without going out of our own literature or our own times.

The poetry of earth is never dead:

and even within the last ten years an instance has occurred of

[1] Oxford Essays, 1856, p. 49.

the simple language of poetic passion being translated out of poetry into mythology. Alfred Tennyson speaks in *In Memoriam* of returning home in the evening

> Before the crimson-circled star
> Had fallen into her father's grave:

not thinking at all of any traditional pedigree, (no more than when he speaks of

> Sad Hesper, o'er the buried Sun,
> And ready thou to die with him,)

but expressing, by such an image as the ancient Elian might have resorted to, his sympathy with the pathetic aspect of the dying day. Critics however asked for explanations: what star, whose daughter, what grave? And it turns out curiously enough that all these questions can be answered out of Greek mythology quite satisfactorily. "The planet Venus (says a Belgravian correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, 1851, iii. 506), when she is to the east of the sun, is our *evening star* (and as such used to be termed Hesperus by the ancients). The evening star in a summer twilight is seen surrounded with the glow of sunset, crimson-circled. . . . . Venus sinking into the sea, which in setting she would appear to do, falls into the grave of *Uranus*, — her father according to the theory of Hesiod (190). The part cast into the sea from which Aphrodite sprung, is here taken by a becoming licence (which softens the grossness of the old tradition) for the whole; so that the ocean, beneath the horizon of which the evening star sinks, may be well described by the poet as '*her* father's grave.'"

I would not indeed have any one remember this explanation when he is reading the poem, for it is fatal to the poetic effect; but the coincidence of the expression with the mythic tradition is curious; and might almost make one think that Tennyson, while merely following the eternal and universal instincts of the human imagination and feeling, had unconsciously reproduced the very image out of which the tradition originally grew.

In Dr. Rawley's list of works composed by Bacon during the last five years of his life, he mentions "his revising of his book *De Sapientia Veterum*." And as he professes to give

them in the order in which they were written, and this comes near the end, I suppose he does not allude merely to the three fables introduced into the second book of the *De Augmentis*, which was published in 1623; but to some further revision of the whole previous to the reprinting of the work among the *Opera Moralia et Civilia*. I have therefore treated that posthumous edition (which varies in a few, though very few, passages from the original of 1609), as the latest authority for the text. But as it is not so carefully printed as the other, I have collated the two throughout, and noticed the variations. I have also kept the title-page of the original edition; and I have followed modern editors in making the interpretation of each fable commence a new paragraph.

FRANCISCI BACONI

EQUITIS AURATI,

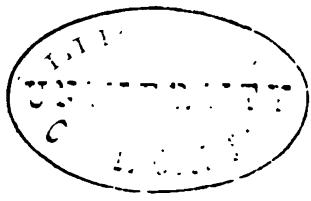
PROCURATORIS SECUNDI JACOBI REGIS MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ,

DE SAPIENTIA VETERUM

LIBER,

AD INCLYTAM ACADEMIAM CANTABRIGIENSEM.

LONDINI,
Excudebat ROBERTUS BAKERUS, Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis Typographus.
ANNO 1609.



ILLUSTRISSIMO VIRO

COMITI SARISBURIENSI,

SUMMO THESAURARIO ANGLIÆ, ET CANCELLARIO ACADEMIÆ CANTABRIGIENSIS.

Quæ Academiæ Cantabrigiensi dicantur, tibi jure Cancellarii accrescunt: quæ autem a me proficisci possunt omnia, tibi nomine proprio debentur. Illud magis videndum, num ista, ut tibi debita, ita etiam te digna sint. Atque quod in illis minimum est (ingenium authoris) id, propter tuum propensum in me animum, nihil officiet; cætera dedecori non erunt. Nam si tempus spectetur; antiquitas primæva summam venerationem habet: Si docendi forma; Parabola veluti arca quædam est, in qua pretiosissima quæque scientiarum reponi consueverunt: Si operis materia; ea philosophia est, vitæ scilicet atque animæ humanæ decus secundum. Fas sit enim dixisse, quamvis philosophia, seculo nostro veluti per senium repuerascens, adolescentibus et fere pueris relinquatur; eam tamen omnium rerum, post religionem, gravissimam atque natura humana maxime dignam esse plane censeo. Etiam politica, in qua te mirabilem præbes, et facultate et meritis et sapientissimi regis judicio, ab eodem fonte emanat, ejusque pars magna est. Quod si cui ista quæ affero vulgata esse videantur; certe quid effecerim, judicium meum non est; id tamen secutus sum, ut manifesta, et obsoleta, et locos communes prætervectus, aliquid etiam ad vitæ ardua et scientiarum arcana conferam. Erunt itaque captui vulgari vulgaria: altiorem autem intellectum fortasse non deserent, sed potius (ut spero)

deducent. Verum dum huic operi dignitatem nonnullam adstruere conor, quod ad te dicatum sit; periculum est, ne modestiæ fines transeam, cum a me sit susceptum. Tu vero illud tanquam pignus affectus erga te mei, et observantiæ, et animi maxime devoti accipies, eique præsidium nominis tui imperties. Quare cum tot et tanta sustineas, tempora tua diutius non morabor; sed finem faciam, tibi felicia omnia comprecatus, et perpetuo futurus

Tibi, et studio suo, et beneficiis tuis devinctissimus,

FRA. BACONUS

ALMÆ MATRI,

INCLYTÆ ACADEMIÆ CANTABRIGIENSI.

Cum sine philosophia me certe nec vivere juvet, merito vos in magno honore habeo, a quibus mihi ista vitæ præsidia et solatia fluxerint. Itaque hoc nomine et me et mea vobis debere profiteor, quo minus mirum sit, si vos vestris remunerem; ut motu naturali redeant a quo traxerint originem. Et tamen, nescio quomodo, rara videntur *vestigia vos retrorsum spectantia;* cum infinita a vobis profecta sint. Nec nimium mihi sumam (ut opinor), si sperem, propter rerum usum mediocrem, quod nostrum vitæ genus et institutum necessario traxit, nonnullam ad hominum doctorum inventa, per hæc nostra, factam esse accessionem. Equidem in ea opinione sum, contemplationes, in vitam activam translatas, nonnihil novi decoris et vigoris acquirere; et suppetente uberiore materia, et[1] magis altas fortasse radices agere, aut certe magis proceras et frondosas evadere. Neque vos (ut arbitror) ipsi nostis, quam late pateant vestra, quamque ad multa pertineant. Æquum est tamen omnia vobis attribui, atque in vestrum honorem cedere, cum accessiones quæque principiis magna ex parte debeantur. Neque vero ab homine occupato aliquid exquisitum, aut otii miracula et prærogativas requiretis; sed et hoc amori meo summo erga vos et vestra tribuetis, quod intra rerum civilium spinas hæc non prorsus perierint, sed vobis vestra servata sint. Valete.

Alumnus vester amantissimus,

FRA. BACONUS.

[1] So in both editions. But I think the second *et* should have been struck out.

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PRÆFATIO.

ANTIQUITATEM primævam (exceptis quæ in sacris literis habemus) oblivio et silentium involvit: silentia antiquitatis fabulæ poëtarum exceperunt: fabulis tandem successere scripta quæ habemus; adeo ut antiquitatis penetralia et recessus a sequentium sæculorum memoria et evidentia, tanquam velo fabularum, discreta et separata sint; quod se interposuit et objecit medium, inter ea quæ perierunt, et ea quæ extant. Equidem existimo plerosque in ea opinione fore, me delicias ac ludos facere; atque similem fere licentiam in transferendis fabulis usurpare, ac ipsi poëtæ sibi sumpserint in fingendis; quod pro meo jure sane facere possem, ut contemplationibus magis arduis hæc ad voluptatem, sive meditationis propriæ sive lectionis alienæ, aspergerem. Neque me latet quam versatilis materia sit fabula, ut huc illuc trahi, imo et duci possit; quantumque ingenii commoditas et discursus valeat, ut quæ nunquam cogitata sint belle tamen attribuantur. Etiam illa cogitatio animum subit, usum hujusce rei jampridem contaminatum esse: multi enim, ut inventis et placitis suis antiquitatis venerationem acquirerent, poëtarum fabulas ad ea traducere conati sunt. Atque vetus illa vanitas et frequens, nec nuper nata, aut raro usurpata est. Nam et olim Chrysippus Stoicorum opiniones vetustissimis poëtis, veluti somniorum aliquis interpres, ascribere solebat; et magis insulse Chymici ludos et delicias poëtarum in corporum transformationibus ad fornacis experimenta transtulerunt. Hæc (inquam) cuncta nobis satis et explorata et expensa sunt; omnemque ingeniorum circa allegorias levitatem et indulgentiam perspeximus et notavimus, neque propterea omnino de sententia decedimus. Primo enim, absit ut paucorum ineptiæ et licentia parabolarum honori in genere detrahant. Hoc enim prophanum quiddam sonat et audax, cum hujusmodi velis et umbris religio gaudeat, ut qui eas tollat commercia divinorum et humanorum fere

interdicat. Verum de humana sapientia videamus. Fateor certe ingenue et libenter, me in hanc sententiam propendere, ut non paucis antiquorum poëtarum fabulis mysterium et allegoriam jam ab origine subesse putem; sive captus veneratione prisci sæculi, sive quod in nonnullis fabulis reperio tantam et tam evidentem cum significato similitudinem et conjunctionem, tum in textura ipsa fabulæ, tum in proprietate nominum quibus personæ sive actores fabulæ insigniti et veluti inscripti prodeunt; ut sensum illum ab initio præceptum et cogitatum fuisse, et de industria adumbratum, nemo constanter negaverit. Quis enim ita durus est et ad aperta cæcutiens, ut cum audiat Famam, Gigantibus exstinctis, tanquam sororem posthumam progenitam esse, non illud ad murmura partium et famas seditiosas, quæ sopitis rebellionibus ad tempus vagari solent, referat? Aut cum audiat Typhonem gigantem nervos Jovis secuisse et abstulisse, ac Mercurium eos suffuratum esse, et Jovi reddidisse, non statim advertat hoc had rebelliones prævalidas pertinere, quæ regibus nervos et pecuniarum et authoritatis incidunt, ita tamen ut per sermonum comitatem et prudentia edicta animi subditorum non ita multo post quasi furtim reconcilientur, et vires regibus restituantur? Aut cum audiat, in illa memorabili Deorum contra gigantes expeditione, asinum Sileni cum ruderet maximi momenti ad profligandos gigantes fuisse; non liquido cogitet hoc de vastis rebellium conatibus, qui plerumque per inanes rumores et terrores vanos dissipantur, confictum fuisse? Etiam nominum conformitas et indicium cui tandem hominum obscurum esse potest? cum Metis uxor Jovis plane consilium sonet; Typhon tumorem; Pan universum; Nemesis vindictam: et similia. Neque illud quenquam moveat, si aliquid interdum historiæ subsit, aut si nonnulla ornamenti gratia addita sint, aut si tempora confundantur, aut si ex una fabula quippiam transferatur in aliam, et nova allegoria inducatur. Necesse enim fuit hæc fieri, cum inventa virorum fuerint qui et ætate disjuncti et instituto diversi erant; cum alii antiquiores, alii recentiores fuerint, alii rursus naturam rerum, alii res civiles sibi proponerent. Habemus etiam et aliud sensus occulti et involuti signum non parvum, quod nonnullæ ex fabulis tam absurdæ narratione ipsa et insulsæ inveniantur, ut parabolam etiam ex longinquo ostentent, et veluti clament. Quæ enim probabilis est fabula, etiam ad voluptatem et historiæ similitudinem conficta existimari potest;

quod autem nulli in mentem venisset cogitare aut narrare, id in alios usus quæsitum videtur. Quale enim figmentum illud? Jovem Metin in uxorem accepisse, eamque statim ut gravidam sensisset comedisse, unde ipse gravidus fieri cœpit, et Palladem armatam ex capite peperit? Equidem existimo nulli mortalium obvenire vel somnium tam extra cogitationis vias situm et monstrosum. Ante omnia illud apud nos maxime valuit, et plurimum ponderis habuit, quod ex fabulis complures nullo modo nobis videntur ab eis inventæ, a quibus recitantur et celebrantur, Homero, Hesiodo, reliquis; si enim liquido nobis constitisset eas ab illa ætate atque illis authoribus manasse a quibus commemorantur et ad nos devenerunt, nil magni certe aut excelsi ab hujusmodi origine nobis (ut nostra fert conjectura) expectare aut suspicari in mentem venisset. Verum si quis attentius rem consideret, apparebit illas tradi et referri tanquam prius creditas et receptas, non tanquam tum primo excogitatas et oblatas. Quinetiam cum diversis modis a scriptoribus fere coævis referantur, facile cernas, quod commune habent, ex veteri memoria desumptum; in quo variant [1], ex singulorum ornatu additum. Atque hæc res existimationem earum apud nos auxit, ac si nec ætatis nec inventionis poetarum ipsorum essent; sed veluti reliquiæ sacræ et auræ tenues temporum meliorum; quæ ex traditionibus nationum magis antiquarum in Græcorum tubas et fistulas incidissent. Quod si quis obstinato animo contendat, allegoriam in fabula semper subdititiam et impositam, nec omnino nativam et genuinam fuisse; ei molesti non erimus, sed gravitatem illam judicii quam affectat, licet hebetiorem et fere plumbeam, remittemus; atque illum (si modo dignus sit) alio modo tanquam de integro adoriemur. Duplex apud homines repertus est atque increbuit parabolarum usus, atque, quod magis mirum sit, ad contraria valet.[2] Faciunt enim parabolæ ad involucrum et velum; faciunt etiam ad lumen et illustrationem. Atque misso illo usu priore (potius quam lites suscipiamus), et receptis fabulis antiquis, tanquam rebus vagis et ad delectationem compositis; manet tamen proculdubio posterior iste usus, neque ulla ingenii violentia nobis extorqueri possit, neque impediet quisquam (qui sit mediocriter doctus) quin protinus recipiatur modus iste docendi [3], tanquam

[1] *quod varium.* Ed. 1609. [2] *adhibetur.* Ed. 1609.
[3] The words *modus iste docendi* are omitted in Ed. 1609.

res gravis et sobria, atque omnis vanitatis expers, et scientiis apprime utilis, imo et quandoque [1] necessaria; nimirum ut in inventis novis et ab opinionibus vulgaribus remotis et penitus abstrusis, aditus ad intellectum humanum magis facilis et benignus per parabolas quæratur. Itaque antiquis sæculis, cum rationis humanæ inventa et conclusiones, etiam eæ quæ nunc tritæ et vulgatæ sunt, tunc temporis novæ et insuetæ essent, omnia fabularum omnigenum, et ænigmatum, et parabolarum, et similitudinum plena erant: atque per hæc docendi ratio, non occultandi artificium, quæsitum est; rudibus scilicet tunc temporis hominum ingeniis, et subtilitatis, nisi quæ sub sensum cadebat, impatientibus et fere incapacibus. Nam ut hieroglyphica literis, ita parabolæ argumentis erant antiquiores. Atque etiam nunc, si quis novam in aliquibus lucem humanis mentibus affundere velit, idque non incommode et aspere, prorsus eadem via insistendum est, et ad similitudinum auxilia confugiendum. Quare quæ dicta sunt ita claudemus. Sapientia prisci sæculi, aut magna aut felix fuit: magna, si de industria excogitata est figura sive tropus: felix, si homines aliud agentes materiam et occasionem tantæ contemplationum dignitati præbuere. Operam autem nostram (si quid in ea sit quod juvet) in neutra re male collocatam censebimus. Aut enim antiquitatem illustrabimus, aut res ipsas. Neque nescius esse possum [2] hanc rem ab aliis tentatam esse: sed tamen, ut quod sentiam eloquar, idque non fastidiose, sed libere, ejus [3] decus et virtus ex hujusmodi laboribus, licet magnis et operosis, fere periit; dum homines, rerum imperiti et non ultra locos certos communes docti, parabolarum sensus ad vulgaria quædam et generalia applicaverunt, atque earundem vim veram, et proprietatem genuinam, ac indagationem altiorem, non attigerunt. Nos autem erimus (ni fallimur) in rebus vulgatis novi, et aperta et plana a tergo relinquentes, ad ulteriora et nobiliora tendemus.

[1] *atque adeo.* Ed. 1609.
[2] *neque possum ignorare.* Ed. 1609.
[3] *rei.* Ed. 1609.

DE SAPIENTIA VETERUM.

I.

CASSANDRA,

SIVE PARRHESIA.

NARRANT Cassandram ab Apolline adamatam fuisse, atque variis artificiis ejus desideria elusisse, spes nihilominus fovisse, quousque donum divinationis ab eo extorsisset; tum vero, nactam quod ab initio dissimulatione sua quæsivisset, preces ejus aperte rejecisse: illum, cum quod temere largitus erat nullo modo revocare posset, et tamen vindicta arderet, nec fœminæ callidæ ludibrio esse vellet, muneri suo pœnam addidisse; ut illa quidem vera semper prædiceret, sed nemo ei crederet: itaque vaticiniis ejus veritas affuit[1]; fides defuit: quod illa perpetuo experta est etiam in excidio patriæ suæ, de qua sæpius monuerat, nemine auscultante aut credente.

Fabula de intempestiva et inutili libertate consiliorum et monitorum conficta videtur: qui enim ingenio sunt pervicaci et aspero, nec se Apollini, id est, Deo Harmoniæ, submittere volunt, ut rerum modos et mensuras, sermonumque veluti tonos acutos et graves, aurium etiam magis peritarum et magis vulgarium differentias, tempora denique tum loquendi tum silendi, ediscant et observent; licet sint prudentes et liberi, et consilia afferant sana et bona, nunquam tamen fere suasu et impetu suo proficiunt, neque ad res tractandas efficaces sunt; sed potius exitium eis apud quos se ingerunt maturant, et tum demum post calamitatem et eventum, ut vates et in longum prospicientes celebrantur. Atque hujus rei exemplum eminet in M. Catone Uticensi. Ille enim interitum patriæ, et tyrannidem primo ex conspiratione deinde ex contentione Cæsaris cum Pompeio secutam, diu ante tanquam e specula prævidit, et tanquam ex

[1] *mansit.* Ed. 1609.

oraculo prædixit: sed nil profecit interim, verum obfuit potius, et mala patriæ acceleravit. Id quod prudenter advertit, et eleganter describit M. Cicero, cum ad amicum ita scribat: *Cato optime sentit, sed nocet interdum reipublicæ: loquitur enim tanquam in republica Platonis, non tanquam in fœce Romuli.*

II.

TYPHON,

SIVE REBELLIS.

NARRANT poëtæ Junonem, indignatam quod Jupiter Palladem ex sese sine ea peperisset, omnes deos atque deas precibus fatigasse, ut ipsa etiam sine Jove partum ederet. Et postquam violentiæ et importunitati ejus annuissent, terram illa concussit, ex quo motu Typhon natus est, monstrum ingens et horrendum. Ille serpenti veluti nutritio datus est, ut ab eo aleretur. Nec mora, postquam adolevisset, quin bellum Jovi moveret. In eo conflictu Jupiter in potestatem gigantis venit, qui illum in humeros sublatum in regionem remotam et obscuram transportavit, et concisis nervis et manuum et pedum, et secum abreptis, mancum et mutilatum reliquit. Mercurius autem nervos Jovis Typhoni suffuratus est, atque eos Jovi restituit. Jupiter confirmatus belluam rursus impetiit; ac primum fulmine vulneravit, ex cujus sanguine serpentes nati sunt. Tum demum ruentem et fugientem (Ætnam super eum jaculatus) mole montis oppressit.

Fabula de fortuna regum varia et rebellionibus quæ in monarchiis quandoque evenire consueverunt conficta est. Reges enim regnis suis, ut Jupiter Junoni, veluti matrimonii vinculo juncti recte censentur: sed accidit nonnunquam ut imperandi consuetudine depravati et in tyrannidem vergentes, omnia ad se trahant, et contempto ordinum et senatus sui consensu, ex sese pariant: id est, ex arbitrio proprio et imperio mero cuncta administrent. Id populi ægre ferentes, et ipsi moliuntur caput aliquod rerum ex sese creare et extollere. Ea res ex occulta sollicitatione nobilium et procerum fere initia sumit, quibus conniventibus, tum populi suscitatio tentatur; ex qua tumor quidam rerum (per Typhonis infantiam significatus) sequitur.

Atque iste rerum status ab insita plebis pravitate et natura maligna (serpente regibus infestissimo) nutricatur. Defectione autem viribus coalita, postremo res in apertam rebellionem erumpit; quæ, quia infinita mala et regibus et populis infligit, sub dira illa Typhonis effigie repræsentatur, in qua centum capita ob divisas potestates, ora flammantia ob incendia, anguium cingula ob pestilentias (præsertim in obsidionibus), manus ferreæ ob cædes, ungues aquilini ob rapinas, corpus plumis contectum ob perpetuos rumores et nuncios et trepidationes, et hujusmodi. Atque interdum rebelliones istæ tam prævalidæ sunt, ut reges cogantur, tanquam a rebellibus transportati, relictis regni sedibus et urbibus primariis, vires contrahere, et in remotam aliquam et obscuram provinciam ditionis suæ se recipere, nervis et pecuniarum et majestatis accisis: sed tamen non ita multo post, fortunam prudenter tolerantes, virtute et industria Mercurii nervos recipiunt; hoc est, affabiles facti, et per edicta prudentia et sermones benignos reconciliatis subditorum animis et voluntatibus, tandem alacritatem ad impensas conferendas, et novum auctoritatis vigorem excitant. Nihilominus, prudentes et cauti, aleam fortunæ tentare plerunque nolunt, et a pugna abstinent, sed tamen operam dant ut aliquo facinore memorabili existimationem rebellium frangant. Quod si ex voto succedat, illi, vulneris accepti conscii, et rerum suarum trepidi, primo ad fractas et inanes minas, veluti serpentum sibilos, se vertunt. Deinde, rebus desperatis, fugam capessunt. Atque tum demum, postquam ruere incipiant, tutum est et tempestivum regibus, copiis et universa mole regni, tanquam Ætnæ monte, eos persequi et opprimere.

III.

CYCLOPES,

SIVE MINISTRI TERRORIS.

NARRANT Cyclopes ob feritatem et immanitatem primo a Jove in Tartarum detrusos, et perpetuo carceri adjudicatos fuisse: verum postea Tellus Jovi persuasit, ei non abs re fore, si eos vinclis liberaret, et eorum opera ad fulmina fabricanda uteretur. Quod et factum est, atque illi officiosi et industrii fulmina atque

alia terroris instrumenta assiduo opere et minaci strepitu fecerunt. Tempore autem labente evenit ut Jupiter Æsculapio Apollinis filio succenseret, ob hominem medicina a morte excitatum; iram autem tegens (quia parum justa indignandi causa suberat ob facinus pium et celebre) Cyclopes in eum secreto instigavit, qui nihil cunctati fulmine eum interemere: in cujus rei vindictam, Apollo Jove non prohibente sagittis eos confecit.

Fabula ad regum facta pertinere videtur. Illi enim ministros sævos et sanguinarios et exactores primo suppliciis afficiunt, et a rebus summovent. Postea ex consilio Telluris, id est, ignobili et parum honorifico, prævalente utilitate eos rursus adhibent, sicubi aut executionum severitate aut exactionum acerbitate opus est. Illi natura truces, et ex priore fortuna exasperati, et satis sentientes quid ab illis expectetur, miram diligentiam in hujusmodi rebus præstant; sed parum cauti, et ad gratiam ineundam et aucupandam præcipites, aliquando ex secretis principum nutibus et incertis mandatis invidiosam aliquam executionem peragunt. Principes autem invidiam declinantes, et satis gnari hujusmodi instrumenta nunquam sibi defutura, eos destituunt: et propinquis et amicis eorum qui pœnas subierunt atque horum delationibus et vindictæ et odio populari eos relinquunt, unde magno plausu, et [1] prosperis in reges votis et acclamationibus, sero magis quam immerito pereunt.

IV.

NARCISSUS,

SIVE PHILAUTIA.

Narcissus fuisse traditur forma et venustate mirabilis, sed suberat superbia ingens, et fastidium intolerandum. Itaque cum sibi placeret, alios despiceret, vitam egit solitariam in sylvis et venationibus, cum paucis comitibus, quibus ipse omnia erat. Assectabatur etiam eum ubique nympha Echo. In hoc vitæ instituto fatale ei erat ad fontem quendam limpidum venire, et juxta eum sub æstum mediæ diei decumbere. Cum autem in aqua imaginem propriam aspexisset, in contemplationem sui, ac deinde in admirationem effusus et raptus, nullo modo ab

[1] *ex.* Ed. 1609.

hujusmodi spectro et simulacro distrahi poterat; sed perpetuo defixus obtorpuit; ac tandem in florem nominis sui conversus est; qui flos ineunte vere se ostendit, et diis inferis, Plutoni, Proserpinæ, et Eumenidibus sacer est.

Fabula illorum et ingenia et fortunas repræsentare videtur, qui sive ob formam sive ob aliqua salias dotes quibus ab ipsa natura, nulla accedente industria propria, ornati et insigniti sunt, effuse seipsos amant, et quasi depereunt. Cum hoc enim animi statu conjunctum fere est, ut non multum in publico, aut in rebus civilibus versentur; cum in eo vitæ genere necesse sit occurrere multos neglectus et vilipendia, quæ animos eorum dejicere et turbare possint. Itaque vitam plerunque degunt solitariam et privatam et umbratilem, cum perpauco comitum delectu, eoque ex iis qui illos magnopere colere et admirari videntur, quique illis veluti echo in omnibus dictis suis assentantur, et verborum obsequia præstant. Ex hac consuetudine depravatos et inflatos, et tandem admiratione sui ipsius attonitos, mira occupat desidia et inertia, ut prorsus torpeant, et omni vigore et alacritate destituantur. Eleganter autem sumitur flos vernus ad hujusmodi ingeniorum similitudinem, cum illa ingenia sub initia sua floreant et celebrentur, sed ætate confirmata expectationem de iis conceptam destituant et frustrentur. Eodem pertinet, quod flos ille diis inferis sacer sit; quia homines talis indolis ad omnia inutiles prorsus evadunt. Quicquid autem nullum ex se fructum edit, sed (veluti via navis in mari) transit et labitur, id apud antiquos umbris et diis inferis consecrari solebat.

V.

STYX,

SIVE FŒDERA.

Pervulgata est narratio, et in compluribus fabulis interponitur, de unico illo juramento, quo dii superi se obstringere solebant, cum pœnitentiæ locum sibi nullo modo relinqui volebant. Illud juramentum nullam majestatem cœlestem, nullum attributum divinum advocabat et testabatur; sed Stygem, fluvium quendam apud inferos, qui atria Ditis, multis spiris interfusus, cingebat. Hæc enim formula sacramenti sola, neque præter

eam alia quæpiam, firma habita est et inviolabilis: scilicet incumbebat pœna perjurii, diis imprimis metuenda, ut qui fefellisset ad deorum convivia per certa annorum spatia non accederet.

Fabula de fœderibus et pactis principum conficta videtur: in quibus illud nimio plus quam oporteret verum est, fœdera quacunque solennitate et religione juramenti munita parum firma esse; adeo ut fere ad existimationem quandam et famam et ceremoniam, magis quam ad fidem et securitatem et effectum adhibeantur. Quin si accesserint etiam affinitatis vincla, veluti Sacramenta Naturæ, si merita mutua, tamen omnia infra ambitionem et utilitatem et dominationis licentiam esse apud plerosque reperiuntur. Tanto magis, quod principibus facile sit per prætextus varios et speciosos cupiditates suas et fidem minus sinceram (nemine rerum arbitro, cui ratio sit reddenda) tueri et velare. Itaque unum assumitur verum et proprium fidei firmamentum, neque illud divinitas aliqua cœlestis: ea est Necessitas (magnum potentibus numen), et periculum status, et communicatio utilitatis. Necessitas autem per Stygem eleganter repræsentatur, flumen fatale et irremeabile. Atque hoc numen advocavit ad fœdera Iphicrates Atheniensis, qui quoniam inventus est qui ea aperte loqueretur quæ plerique tacite animo volvunt, non abs re sit ipsius verba referre. Is cum Lacedæmonios varias cautiones et sanctiones et fœderum firmamenta et vincula excogitare et proponere animadverteret, interfatus: *Unum* (inquit) *Lacedæmonii, nobis vobiscum vinculum et securitatis ratio esse possit, si plane demonstretis, vos ea nobis concessisse et inter manus posuisse, ut vobis facultas lædendi nos, si maxime velletis, minime suppetere possit.* Itaque si facultas lædendi sublata sit, aut si ex fœdere rupto periculum ingruat perditionis aut diminutionis status, aut vectigalium, tum demum fœdera rata et sancta et tanquam juramento Stygis confirmata censeri possint: cum metus subsit interdicti illius et suspensionis a conviviis deorum; sub quo nomine imperii jura et prærogativæ et affluentia et felicitas antiquis significantur.

VI.

PAN,

SIVE NATURA.

ANTIQUI universam naturam sub persona Panis diligentissime descripserunt. Hujus generationem in dubio relinquunt. Alii enim asserunt eum a Mercurio genitum; alii longe aliam generationis formam ei tribuunt; aiunt enim procos universos cum Penelope rem habuisse, ex quo promiscuo concubitu Pana communem filium ortum esse. Atque in hac posteriore narratione, proculdubio, aliqui ex recentioribus veteri fabulæ nomen Penelopes imposuere, quod et frequenter faciunt, cum narrationes antiquiores ad personas et nomina juniora traducunt, idque quandoque absurde et insulse; ut hic cernere est; cum Pan ex antiquissimis diis, et longe ante tempora Ulyssis fuerit, atque insuper Penelope ob matronalem castitatem antiquitati venerabilis haberetur. Neque prætermittenda est tertia illa generationis explicatio: quidam enim prodiderunt eum Jovis et Hybreos, id est, Contumeliæ, filium fuisse. Utcunque orto, Parcæ illi sorores fuisse perhibentur. Effigies autem Panis talis ab antiquitate describitur: cornutus, cornibus usque ad cœlum fastigiatis, corpore todo hispidus et villosus, barba imprimis promissa. Figura biformis, humana quoad superiora, sed semifera, et in capræ pedes desinens. Gestabat autem insignia potestatis, sinistra fistulam, ex septem calamis compactam; dextra pedum, sive lignum superius curvum et inflexum; induebatur autem chlamyde ex pelle pardalis. Potestates ei et munera hujusmodi attribuuntur, ut sit deus venatorum, etiam pastorum, et in universum ruricolarum; præses item montium: erat etiam proximus Mercurio nuncius deorum. Habebatur insuper dux et imperator nympharum, quæ circa eum perpetuo choreas ducere et tripudiare solebant; comitabantur et Satyri, et his seniores Sileni. Habebat etiam potestatem terrores immittendi, præsertim inanes et superstitiosos, qui et Panici vocati sunt. Res gestæ autem ejus non multæ memorantur: illud præcipuum, quod Cupidinem provocavit ad luctam, a quo etiam in certamine victus est. Etiam Typhonem gigantem retibus implicavit et cohibuit; atque narrant insuper,

Fabula hæc invenitur, in libro secundo De Augmentis Scientiarum, aucta et locupletata.

cum Ceres mœsta et ob raptam Proserpinam indignata se abscondisset, atque dii omnes ad eam investigandam magnopere incubuissent, et se per varias vias dispertiti essent; Pani solummodo ex felicitate quadam contigisse, ut inter venandum eam inveniret et indicaret. Ausus est quoque cum Apolline de victoria musices decertare, atque etiam Mida judice prælatus est: ob quod judicium Midas asininas aures tulit, sed clam et secreto. Amores Panis nulli referuntur, aut saltem admodum rari, quod mirum inter turbam deorum prorsus tam profuse amatoriam videri possit. Illud solummodo ei datur, quod Echo adamaret, quæ etiam uxor ejus habita est, atque unam etiam nympham, Syringam nomine, in quam propter iram et vindictam Cupidinis (quem ad luctam provocare non reveritus esset) incensus est. Neque etiam prolem ullam suscepit (quod similiter mirum est, cum dii præsertim masculi prolifici admodum essent) nisi quod ei tribuatur tanquam filia, muliercula quædam ancilla Iambe nomine, quæ ridiculis narratiunculis oblectare hospites solebat, ejusque proles ex conjuge Echo esse a nonnullis existimabatur:

Fabula nobilis, si quæ alia, atque naturæ arcanis et mysteriis gravida, et quasi distenta.

Pan (ut et nomen ipsum etiam sonat) Universitatem Rerum, sive Naturam, repræsentat et proponit. De hujus origine duplex omnino sententia est; atque adeo esse potest: aut enim a Mercurio est, verbo scilicet divino (quod et sacræ literæ extra controversiam ponunt, et philosophis iis qui magis divini habiti sunt visum est), aut ex confusis rerum seminibus. Qui enim unum rerum principium posuerunt, aut ad Deum illud retulerunt; aut si materiatum principium volunt, illud tamen potentia varium asseruerunt: adeo ut omnis hujusmodi controversia ad illam distributionem reducatur, ut mundus sit vel a Mercurio vel a procis omnibus.

> Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta
> Semina terrarumque animæque marisque fuissent
> Et liquidi simul ignis, et his exordia primis
> Omnia, et ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis.

Tertia autem generatio Panis ejusmodi est, ut videantur Græci aliquid de Hebræorum mysteriis, vel per Ægyptios internuncios vel utcunque inaudivisse; pertinet enim ad statum mundi non in meris natalibus suis, sed post lapsum Adami, morti et corruptioni expositum et obnoxium factum.

Ille enim status Dei et peccati proles fuit, ac manet. Itaque triplex ista narratio de generatione Panis etiam vera videri possit, si rite et rebus et temporibus distinguatur: nam iste Pan, quem intuemur et contemplamur, ac nimio plus quam oportet colimus, ex verbo divino, mediante confusa materia (quæ et ipsa a Deo creata erat)[1], et subintrante prævaricatione et corruptione, ortum habet. Naturæ rerum, Fata rerum sorores vere perhibentur et ponuntur; naturalium siquidem causarum catenæ ortus rerum, et durationes, et interitus, et depressiones, et eminentias, et labores, et felicitates, et fata denique omnia quæ rebus accidere possunt, trahunt. Cornua autem mundo attribuuntur. Quod vero cornua hujusmodi ab imo latiora, ad verticem acuta sint; id eo spectat, quod omnis rerum natura instar pyramidis acuta sit[2]: individua enim infinita sunt; ea colliguntur in species et ipsas multiplices; species rursus insurgunt in genera; atque hæc quoque ascendendo in magis generalia contrahuntur, ut tandem natura tanquam in unum coire videatur. Neque mirum est Panis cornua etiam cœlum ferire; cum summitates naturæ sive ideæ universales etiam ad divina quodammodo pertingant. Paratus enim et propinquus est transitus a metaphysica ad theologiam naturalem. Corpus autem naturæ elegantissime et verissime depingitur hirsutum, propter rerum radios; radii enim sunt tanquam naturæ crines, sive villi, atque omnia fere vel magis vel minus radiosa sunt; quod in facultate visus manifestissimum est, nec minus in omni virtute et operatione ad distans; quicquid enim operatur ad distans, id etiam radios emittere recte dici potest; sed maxime omnium prominet barba Panis, quia radii corporum cœlestium maxime ex longinquo operantur et penetrant. Quin et sol, quando parte superiore ejus nube obvoluta radii inferius erumpunt, ad aspectum barbatus cernitur. Etiam corpus naturæ rectissime describitur biforme, ob differentiam corporum superiorum et inferiorum. Illa enim ob pulchritudinem et motus æquabilitatem et constantiam, necnon imperium in terram et terrestria, merito sub humana figura repræsentantur: hæc autem ob perturbationem et motus incompositos, et quod a cœlestibus regantur, bruti animalis figura

[1] The words within the parenthesis are not in Ed. 1609.

[2] In Ed. 1609 this sentence stood thus: *Cornua autem Mundo attribuuntur; quod Cornua hujusmodi ab imo latiora, ad verticem acuta sint: Omnis enim rerum natura instar Pyramidis acuta est.*

contenta esse possunt. Eadem corporis descriptio pertinet ad participationem specierum. Nulla enim natura simplex videri potest, sed tanquam ex duobus participans et concreta. Habet enim homo nonnihil ex bruto, brutum nonnihil ex planta, planta nonnihil ex corpore inanimato, omniaque revera biformia sunt, et ex specie superiore et inferiore compacta. Acutissima autem est allegoria de pedibus capræ, propter motum ascensionis corporum terrestrium versus regiones aëris et cœli: capra enim animal scansorium est, eaque e rupibus pendere atque in præcipitiis hærere amat; quod etiam res licet inferiori globo destinatæ miris modis faciunt, ut in nubibus et meteoris manifestissimum est. Insignia autem in manibus Panis duplicia. Alterum harmoniæ, alterum imperii. Fistula enim ex septem calamis concentum rerum et harmoniam, sive concordiam cum discordia mistam, quæ ex septem stellarum errantium motu conficitur, evidenter ostendit. Pedum autem illud etiam nobilis translatio est; propter vias naturæ partim rectas, partim obliquas. Præcipue autem lignum, sive virga, versus superiorem partem curva est: quia omnia providentiæ divinæ opera in mundo fere per ambages et circuitus fiunt; ut aliud agi videri possit, aliud interim revera agatur; ut Josephi venditio in Ægyptum, et similia. Quinetiam in regimine humano omni prudentiore, qui ad gubernacula sedent, populo convenientia per prætextus et vias obliquas felicius quæ volunt, quam ex directo, superinducunt et insinuant; adeo ut omnis imperii virga sive bacillum vere superius inflexum sit. Vestis Panis et amiculum ingeniose admodum ex pelle pardalis fuisse fingitur; propter maculas ubique sparsas; cœlum enim stellis, maria insulis, tellus floribus consperguntur; atque etiam res particulares fere variegatæ esse solent circa superficiem, quæ veluti rei chlamys est. Officium autem Panis nulla alia re tam ad vivum proponi atque explicari potuerit, quam ut Deus venatorum sit. Omnis enim naturalis actio, atque adeo motus et processus, nihil aliud quam venatio est. Nam et scientiæ et artes opera sua venantur, et concilia humana fines suos, atque res naturales omnes vel alimenta sua tanquam prædam, vel voluptates suas tanquam solatium, venantur, idque modis peritis et sagacibus.

> Torva leæna lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam,
> Florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella.

Etiam ruricolarum in genere Pan deus est, quia hujusmodi homines magis secundum naturam vivant, cum in urbibus et

aulis natura a cultu nimio corrumpatur; ut illud poëtæ amatorium verum sit;

Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

Montium autem imprimis præses dicitur Pan, quia in montibus et locis editis natura rerum panditur, atque oculis et contemplationi magis subjicitur. Quod alter a Mercurio deorum nuncius sit Pan, ea allegoria plane divina est, cum proxime post verbum Dei, ipsa mundi imago divinæ potentiæ et sapientiæ præconium sit. Quod et poëta divinus cecinit: *Cœli enarrant gloriam Dei, atque opera manuum ejus indicat firmamentum.* Pana autem oblectant nymphæ; animæ scilicet; deliciæ enim mundi, animæ viventium sunt: ille autem merito earum imperator, cum illæ naturam quæque suam veluti ducem sequantur, et circa eam cum infinita varietate, veluti singulæ more patrio, saltent et choreas ducant, motu neutiquam cessante: una perpetuo comitantur Satyri et Sileni; senectus scilicet et juventus; omnium enim rerum est ætas quædam hilaris et saltatrix; atque rursus ætas tarda et bibula: utriusque autem ætatis studia vere contemplanti (tanquam Democrito) fortasse ridicula et deformia videntur, instar Satyri alicujus aut Sileni. De Panicis autem terroribus prudentissima doctrina proponitur: natura enim rerum omnibus viventibus indidit metum ac formidinem, vitæ atque essentiæ suæ conservatricem, ac mala ingruentia vitantem et depellentem: veruntamen eadem natura modum tenere nescia est; sed timoribus salutaribus semper vanos et inanes admiscet, adeo ut omnia (si intus conspici darentur) Panicis terroribus plenissima sint; presertim humana, quæ superstitione (quæ vere nihil aliud quam Panicus terror est) in immensum laborant; maxime temporibus duris et trepidis et adversis. Quod vero attinet ad audaciam Panis, et pugnam per provocationem cum Cupidine; id eo spectat, quia materia non caret inclinatione et appetitu ad dissolutionem mundi et redicivationem in illud Chaos antiquum, nisi prævalida rerum concordia (per Amorem sive Cupidinem significata) malitia et impetus ejus cohiberetur et in ordinem compelleretur: itaque bono admodum hominum et rerum fato fit, ut illud certamen Pan adversum experiatur, et victus abscedat. Eodem prorsus pertinet et illud de Typhone in retibus implicato; quia utcunque aliquando vasti et insoliti rerum tumores sint (id quod Typhon sonat) sive intumescant maria, sive intumescant nubes, sive intumesca

terra, sive alia, tamen Rerum Natura hujusmodi corporum exuperantias atque insolentias reti inextricabili implicat et coërcet, et veluti catena adamantina devincit. Quod autem inventio Cereris huic deo attribuitur, idque inter venationem; reliquis diis negatur, licet sedulo quærentibus et illud ipsum agentibus; monitum habet verum admodum et prudens; hoc est, ne rerum utilium ad vitam et cultum inventio, qualis fuit segetum [1], a philosophiis abstractis, tanquam diis majoribus, expectetur, licet totis viribus in illud ipsum incumbant; sed tantummodo a Pane, id est, experientia sagaci et rerum mundi notitia universali, quæ etiam casu quodam ac veluti inter venandum in hujusmodi inventa incidere solet. Illud autem musices certamen, ejusque eventus, salutarem exhibet doctrinam, atque eam quæ rationi et judicio humano gestienti et se efferenti sobrietatis vincula injicere possit. Duplex enim videtur esse Harmonia et quasi musica: altera providentiæ divinæ, altera rationis humanæ. Judicio enim humano, ac veluti auribus mortalium, administratio mundi et rerum, et judicia divina secretiora, sonant aliquid durum et quasi absonum: quæ inscitia licet asininis auribus merito insigniatur, tamen et ipsæ illæ aures secreto nec palam gestantur: neque enim hujusce rei deformitas a vulgo conspicitur aut notatur. Postremo, minime mirum est si nulli amores Pani attribuantur, præter conjugium Echus; mundus enim seipso [2], atque in se rebus omnibus fruitur: qui amat autem, frui vult, neque in copia desiderio locus est. Itaque mundi amores esse nulli possunt, nec potiendi cupido, cum seipso [3] contentus sit, nisi fortasse sermones: ii sunt nympha, Echo, aut si accuratiores sint, Syringa. Inter sermones autem, sive voces, excellenter ad conjugium mundi sumitur sola Echo; ea enim demum vera est philosophia, quæ mundi ipsius voces fidelissime reddit, et veluti dictante mundo conscripta est; et nihil aliud est quam ejusdem simulacrum et reflexio, neque addit quicquam de proprio, sed tantum iterat et resonat. Ad mundi etiam sufficientiam et perfectionem pertinet, quod prolem non edat. Ille enim per partes generat; per totum autem quomodo generare possit? cum corpus extra ipsum non sit. Nam de filia ejus putativa, muliercula illa, est sane ea adjectio quædam ad fabulam sapien-

[1] The words *quale fuit segetum* are not in Ed. 1609.
[2] *se ipso.* Ed. 1609.
[3] *seipso.* Ed. 1609.

tissima; per illam enim repræsentantur eæ quæ perpetuis temporibus passim vagantur, atque omnia implent, vaniloquæ de rerum natura doctrinæ, re ipsa infructuosæ, genere quasi subditiciæ, garrulitate vero interdum jucundæ, interdum molestæ et importunæ.

VII.

PERSEUS,

SIVE BELLUM.

Fabula hæc invenitur, in libro secundo De Augmentis Scientiarum, aucta et locupletata.

PERSEUS traditur fuisse a Pallade missus ad obtruncandam Medusam, quæ populis plurimis ad occidentem in extremis Hiberiæ partibus maximæ calamitati fuit. Monstrum enim hoc tam dirum atque horrendum fuit, ut aspectu solo homines in saxa verteret. Erat autem e Gorgonibus una ac sola mortalis Medusa; cum passivæ reliquæ non essent. Itaque Perseus ad tam nobile facinus se comparans, arma ac dona a tribus diis accepit: talares alas a Mercurio, a Plutone galeam, scutum a Pallade et speculum. Neque tamen, licet tanto apparatu instructus, ad Medusam recta perrexit; sed primum ad Græas divertit: eæ sorores ex altera parente Gorgonibus erant. Atque Grææ istæ canæ jam a nativitate erant, et tanquam vetulæ. Oculus autem iis tantummodo et dens erat omnibus unicus; quos prout exire foras quamque contigerat; vicissim gestare, reversæ autem iterum deponere solebant: hunc itaque oculum atque hunc dentem illæ Perseo commodarunt. Tum demum cum se abunde ad destinata perficienda instructum judicaret, ad Medusam properavit impiger et volans. Illam autem dormientem offendit. Neque tamen aspectui ejus (si evigilaret) se committere audebat; sed cervice reflexa, in speculum Palladis inspiciens, atque hoc modo ictus dirigens, caput ei abscidit. Ex sanguine autem Medusæ fuso, statim Pegasus alatus emicuit. Caput autem abscissum Perseus in scutum Palladis inseruit, cui etiamnum sua mansit vis, ut ad ejus intuitum omnes ceu attoniti aut siderati obrigerent.

Fabula de belligerandi ratione et prudentia conficta videtur. Atque in ipsa de bello suscipiendo et de genere belli eligendo deliberatione, tria proponit præcepta sana et gravia, tanquam

ex consilio Palladis. Primo, ut de subjugatione nationum finitimarum quis non admodum laboret. Neque enim eadem est patrimonii et imperii amplificandi ratio. Nam in possessionibus privatis, vicinitas prædiorum spectatur; sed in propagando imperio, occasio, et belli conficiendi facilitas et fructus, loco vicinitatis esse debent.[1] Certe Romani, quo tempore occidentem versus vix ultra Liguriam penetraverant, orientis provincias usque ad montem Taurum armis et imperio complexi sunt. Itaque Perseus, licet orientalis, tamen longinquam expeditionem usque ad extrema occidentis minime detrectavit. Secundo, curæ esse debet, ut justa et honorifica subsit belli causa; id enim et alacritatem tum militibus tum populis impensas conferentibus addit, et societates aperit et conciliat, et plurimas denique commoditates habet. Nulla autem belli causa magis pia sit, quam debellatio tyrannidis, sub qua populus succumbit et prosternitur sine animis et vigore, tanquam sub aspectu Medusæ. Tertio, prudenter additur, quod cum tres Gorgones fuerint (per quas bella repræsentantur), Perseus illam delegerit quæ fuerit mortalis; hoc est, bellum ejus conditionis quod confici et ad exitum perduci posset; nec vastas aut infinitas spes persecutus est. Instructio autem Persei ea est, quæ ad bellum unice confert, et fortunam fere trahit. Accepit enim celeritatem a Mercurio, occultationem consiliorum ab Orco, et providentiam a Pallade. Neque caret allegoria, eaque prudentissima, quod alæ illæ celeritatis talares, non axillares, fuerint, atque pedibus non humeris additæ: quia non tam in primis belli aggressibus, quam in eis quæ sequuntur et primis subsidio sunt, celeritas requiritur: nullus enim error in bellis magis frequens est, quam quod prosecutiones et subsidiarii impetus initorum alacritati non respondent. Etiam illa providentiæ divisio (nam de galea Plutonis, quæ homines invisibiles reddere solebat, parabola manifesta est) ingeniosa videtur, de scuto et speculo; neque enim ea providentia solum adhibenda est quæ cavet instar scuti, sed illa altera per quam hostium vires et motus et consilia cernuntur, instar speculi Palladis. Verum Perseo utcunque copiis aut animis instructo, restat aliud quiddam maximi per omnia momenti antequam incipiatur bellum, nimirum ut divertat ad Græas. Grææ autem proditiones sunt; bellorum scilicet sorores, non germanæ illæ quidem, sed

[1] *debet.* Ed. 1609.

generis nobilitate quasi impares. Bella enim generosa, proditiones degeneres et turpes. Earum descriptio elegans est; ut canæ a nativitate sint et tanquam vetulæ; propter perpetuas proditorum curas et trepidationes. Earum autem vis (antequam in manifestam defectionem erumpant) aut in oculo aut in dente est. Omnis enim factio a statu quopiam alienata, et speculatur et mordet. Atque hujusmodi oculus et dens tanquam communis est. Nam quæ didicerunt et noverunt, fere per manus factionis ab uno ad alterum transeunt et percurrunt. Et quod ad dentem attinet, uno fere ore mordent, et similem cantilenam canunt, ut si unum audias omnes audias. Itaque Perseo conciliandæ sunt istæ Grææ, ut oculum et dentem ei commodent: oculum ad indicia, dentem ad rumores serendos, et invidiam conflandam, et animos hominum sollicitandos. His itaque dispositis et præparatis, sequitur ipsa belli actio. In ea Medusam dormientem invenit. Prudens enim belli susceptor semper fere hostem assequitur imparatum et securitati propiorem. Atque nunc tandem speculo Palladis opus est; plurimi enim ante ipsa pericula res hostium acute et attente introspicere possunt; sed in ipso periculi articulo præcipuus est usus speculi, ut modus periculi cernatur, terror non offundatur: (quod per illum intuitum capite averso significatur). A bello perfecto sequuntur effecta duo: primum Pegasi illa generatio et exsuscitatio, quæ satis evidenter Famam denotat, quæ per omnia volat et victoriam celebrat: secundum, gestatio capitis Medusæ in scuto; siquidem nullum præsidii genus huic ob præstantiam comparari possit. Unicum enim facinus insigne et memorabile, feliciter gestum et perpetratum, omnes inimicorum motus cohibet, atque malevolentiam ipsam stupidam reddit.

VIII.

ENDYMION,

SIVE GRATIOSUS.

Pastor Endymion traditur a Luna fuisse adamatus: novum autem et singulare erat consuetudinis genus, siquidem ille decumbebat in nativa quadam specu, sub saxis Latmiis; Luna autem haud raro de cœlo perhibetur descendisse, et sopiti

oscula petiisse, ac rursus in cœlum se recepisse. Neque tamen otium istud et somnus in detrimentum fortunarum ejus cedebat. Sed Luna interim effecit, ut pecus ejus pinguesceret admodum, ac numero etiam felicissime auctum esset, ut nulli pastorum greges essent lætiores aut numerosiores.

Fabula ad ingenia et mores principum pertinere videtur. Illi enim cogitationum pleni et in suspiciones propensi, non facile ad consuetudinem vitæ interiorem recipiunt homines qui sunt perspicaces et curiosi, et quasi animo vigilantes, sive exsomnes; sed potius eos qui ingenio sunt quieto et morigero, et quod placitum est illis patiuntur et nil ultra inquirunt, sed se veluti ignaros et nil sentientes et quasi sopitos præbent; denique magis obsequium simplex quam observantiam callidam præstant. Etenim cum hujusmodi hominibus principes de majestate sua, veluti Luna de orbe superiore, descendere, et personam (quam perpetuo gerere instar oneris cujusdam sit) deponere, et familiariter versari, libenter consueverunt; idque se tuto facere posse putant. Id quod in Tiberio Cæsare, principe omnium maxime difficili, præcipue annotatum fuit: apud quem illi solummodo gratiosi erant, qui notitiam morum ejus revera habebant, sed pertinaciter et quasi stupide dissimulabant. Quod etiam Ludovico undecimo Francorum regi, principi cautissimo et callidissimo, in moribus erat. Neque ineleganter in fabula ponitur antrum illud Endymionis: quia fere usitatum est illis qui hujusmodi gratia apud principes florent, habere successus aliquos amœnos, quo illos invitent ad otium et animi remissionem, absque fortunæ suæ mole. Qui autem in hoc genere gratiosi sunt, plerumque rem suam bene agunt. Nam principes licet fortasse ad honores eos non evehant, tamen cum vero affectu nec propter utilitatem tantum illos diligant, munificentia sua eos ditare consueverunt.

IX.

SOROR GIGANTUM,

SIVE FAMA.[1]

MEMORANT[2] poëtæ, Gigantes e terra procreatos bellum Jovi et superis intulisse, et fulmine disjectos et devictos fuisse. Terram autem, deorum ira irritatam, in vindictam natorum suorum Famam progenuisse, extremam Gigantibus sororem.

> Illam Terra parens, ira irritata Deorum,
> Extremam (ut perhibent) Cœo Enceladoque sororem,
> Progenuit.[3]

Hujus fabulæ ea sententia videtur esse: per Terram, naturam vulgi significarunt, perpetuo tumidam et malignam versus imperantes, et res novas parturientem: hæc ipsa occasionem adepta rebelles parit et seditiosos, qui principes ausu nefario exturbare et dejicere machinantur; quibus oppressis, eadem plebis natura, deterioribus favens et tranquillitatis impatiens, rumores gignit, et susurros malignos, et famas querulas, et famosos libellos, et cætera id genus, ad invidiam eorum qui rebus præsunt: ut actiones rebellium et famæ seditiosæ genere et stirpe non differant, sed veluti sexu tantum; cum istæ muliebres videantur, illæ viriles.

X.

ACTÆON ET PENTHEUS,

SIVE CURIOSUS.

CURIOSITAS humana in secretis rimandis, et eorum notitia appetitu male sano concupiscenda et prensanda, duplici exemplo apud antiquos coërcetur: altero Actæonis, altero Penthei. Actæon cum Dianam imprudens et casu sine veste vidisset, in cervum versus, a canibus quos alebat dilaceratus

[1] This fable, with the few variations which I have noticed where they occur, forms *Cogitatio 6ta* in the MS. fragment. Brit. Mus. Addit. 4258. See Vol. III. p. 179.

[2] *finxere*, MS.

[3] The quotation is omitted in the MS.; as are also, in the next sentence, the words, *et res novas parturientem, ausu nefario*, and *et tranquillitatis impatiens*.

est. Pentheus cum sacrificiorum Bacchi occultorum, conscensa arbore, spectator esse voluisset, furore percitus est. Fuit autem Penthei dementia ejus generis, ut res congeminasse existimaret, et duo soles et rursus duæ Thebæ ei ob oculos versarentur; adeo ut cum Thebas properaret, statim alteris Thebis conspectis retraheretur: atque hoc modo perpetuo et irriquiete sursum et deorsum ferretur.

> Eumenidum demens qualis videt agmina Pentheus,
> Et solem geminum, et duplices se ostendere Thebas.

Fabularum prima, ad secreta principum; secunda, ad secreta divina pertinere videtur. Qui enim principibus non admissi, et præter eorum voluntatem, secretorum conscii sunt, odium certissimum apud eos consequuntur. Itaque gnari se peti et occasiones captari, vitam degunt cervorum more timidam et suspicionibus plenam. Quin et illud sæpius accidit, ut a servis et domesticis, in gratiam principum, accusentur et subvertantur. Ubi enim principis offensio manifesta est, quot servi, tot fere proditores esse consueverunt; ut Actæonis fatum illos maneat. Alia est Penthei calamitas. Qui enim ausu temerario, mortalitatis parum memores, per excelsa naturæ et philosophiæ fastigia (tanquam arbore conscensa) ad mysteria divina aspirant, his pœna proposita est perpetuæ inconstantiæ et judicii vacillantis et perplexi. Cum enim aliud sit lumen naturæ, aliud divinum; ita cum illis fit, ac si duos soles viderent. Cumque actiones vitæ et decreta voluntatis ab intellectu pendeant; sequitur etiam ut non minus voluntate quam opinione hæsitent, nec sibi omnino constent: itaque et duas Thebas similiter vident. Per Thebas enim actionum fines describuntur (cum Thebis Pentheo esset domus et perfugium). Hinc fit, ut nesciant quo se vertant, sed de summa rerum incerti et fluctuantes, tantum subitis mentis impulsibus in singulis circumagantur.

XI.

ORPHEUS,

SIVE PHILOSOPHIA.

Fabula de Orpheo vulgata, nec tamen interpretem fidum per omnia sortita, Philosophiæ universæ imaginem referre videtur. Persona enim Orphei, viri admirandi et plane divini, et omnis

harmoniæ periti, et modis suavibus cuncta vincentis et trahentis, ad Philosophiæ descriptionem facili transitu traducitur. Labores enim Orphei labores Herculis, quemadmodum opera sapientiæ opera fortitudinis, dignitate et potentia superant. Orpheus ob amorem uxoris morte immatura præreptæ, fretus lyra, ad inferos descendere sibi in animum induxit, ut Manes deprecaretur; neque spe sua decidit. Nam placatis Manibus et delinitis suavitate cantus et modulationibus, tantum apud eos potuit, ut ei uxorem secum[1] abducere indultum sit: ea tamen lege, ut illa eum a tergo sequeretur, ipse autem antequam ad luminis oras perventum esset, ne respiceret. Quod cum ille nihilominus amoris et curæ impatientia (postquam fere in tuto esset) fecisset, rupta sunt fœdera: atque illa ad inferos gradu præcipiti relapsa est. Ab illo tempore Orpheus mœstus et mulierum osor in solitudines profectus est, ubi eadem cantus et lyræ dulcedine, primo feras omnigenas ad se traxit, adeo ut naturam suam exuentes, nec irarum aut ferocitatis memores, nec libidinis stimulis et furoribus præcipites actæ, nec ingluviem satiare, aut prædæ inhiare amplius curantes, in morem theatri, illum circumstarent, benignæ et mansuetæ inter se factæ, et tantum lyræ concentui aures præbentes. Neque is finis, sed tanta musicæ vis et potentia fuit, ut etiam sylvas moveret et lapides ipsos, ut illa quoque se transferrent, et sedes suas circa eum ordine et modo decenti ponerent. Hæc ei cum ad tempus feliciter et magna cum admiratione cessissent, tandem Thraciæ mulieres, stimulis Bacchi percitæ, primo cornu raucum et immane sonans inflarunt: ex eo, propter strepitum, musicæ sonus amplius audiri non potuit: tum demum soluta virtute quæ ordinis et societatis istius erat vinculum, turbari cœptum est, et feræ singulæ ad naturam suam redierunt, et se invicem ut prius persecutæ sunt; neque lapides aut sylvæ suis mansere locis: Orpheus autem ipse tandem a mulieribus furentibus discerptus est, et sparsus per agros: ob cujus mortis mœrorem, Helicon (fluvius Musis sacer) aquas sub terram indignatus condidit, et per alia loca caput rursus extulit.

Sententia fabulæ ea videtur esse. Duplex est Orphei Cantio: altera ad placandos Manes; altera ad trahendas feras et sylvas. Prior ad naturalem philosophiam, posterior ad moralem et civilem aptissime refertur. Opus enim naturalis philosophiæ

[1] *et suavitate cantus et modulationis delinitis, tantum valuit, ut ei illam secum, &c.* Ed. 1609. [2] *acti.* Ed. 1609.

longe nobilissimum est ipsa restitutio et instauratio rerum corruptibilium, et (hujusce rei tanquam gradus minores) corporum in statu suo conservatio, et dissolutionis et putredinis retardatio. Hoc si omnino fieri detur, certe non aliter effici potest quam per debita et exquisita naturæ temperamenta, tanquam per harmoniam lyræ, et modos accuratos. Et tamen cum sit res omnium maxime ardua, effectu plerunque frustratur; idque (ut verisimile est) non magis aliam ob causam, quam per curiosam et intempestivam sedulitatem et impatientiam. Itaque Philosophia, tantæ rei fere impar, atque idcirco merito mœsta, vertit se ad res humanas, et in animos hominum suasu et eloquentia virtutis et æquitatis et pacis amorem insinuans, populorum cœtus in unum coïre facit, et juga legum accipere, et imperiis se submittere, et affectuum indomitorum obliviscì, dum præceptis et disciplinæ auscultant et obtemperant: unde paulo post ædificia extruuntur [1], oppida conduntur, agri et horti arboribus conseruntur; ut lapides et sylvas non abs re convocari et transferri dictum sit. Atque ista rerum civilium cura rite atque ordine ponitur post experimentum corporis mortalis restituendi sedulo tentatum, et ad extremum frustratum: quia mortis necessitas inevitabilis evidentius proposita, hominibus ad æternitatem meritis et nominis fama quærendam animos addit. Etiam prudenter in fabula additur, Orpheum a mulieribus et nuptiis alieno animo fuisse, quia nuptiarum delinimenta et liberorum charitates homines plerunque a magnis et excelsis erga respublicas meritis avertunt, dum immortalitatem propagine, non factis, assequi satis habent. Verum et ipsa sapientiæ opera, licet inter humana excellant, tamen et suis periodis clauduntur. Evenit enim ut postquam regna et respublicæ ad tempus floruerint, subinde perturbationes et seditiones et bella oriantur; inter quorum strepitus, primo leges conticescunt, et homines ad naturæ suæ depravationes redeunt; atque etiam in agris atque oppidis vastitas conspicitur. Neque ita multo post (si hujusmodi furores continuentur) literæ etiam et Philosophia certissime discerpitur: adeo ut fragmenta tantum ejus in paucis locis, tanquam naufragii tabulæ, inveniantur, et barbara tempora ingruant; Heliconis aquis sub terra mersis; donec debita rebus vicissitudine, non iisdem fortasse locis, sed apud alias nationes erumpant et emanent.

[1] *unde postea sequi ut ædificia extruantur, &c.* Ed. 1609.

XII.

CŒLUM,

SIVE ORIGINES.[1]

TRADUNT[2] poëtæ Cœlum antiquissimum deorum exstitisse. Hujus partes generationis a filio Saturno falce demessas fuisse. Saturnum autem sobolem numerosam generasse; sed filios continuo devorasse: tandem vero Jovem exitium effugisse, et adultum, patrem Saturnum in Tartarum detrusisse, et regnum accepisse; quinetiam patris genitalia eadem falce qua ille Cœlum execuerat abscidisse, atque in mare projecisse: inde Venerem natam esse. Postea vero Jovis regnum vix confirmatum duo memorabilia bella excepisse. Primum Titanum, in quibus debellandis Solis operam (qui solus ex Titanibus Jovis rebus favebat) egregiam fuisse; secundum Gigantum, qui et ipsi fulmine et Jovis armis disjecti sunt; quibus domitis, Jovem securum regnasse.

Fabula videtur ænigma de origine rerum, non multum discrepans ab ea philosophia, quam postea Democritus amplexus est.[3] Qui apertissime omnium æternitatem materiæ asseruit, æternitatem mundi negavit; in quo aliquanto propius ad veritatem verbi divini accessit, cujus narratio materiam informem ante opera dierum statuit. Sententia fabulæ hujusmodi est. Cœlum esse concavum illud, sive ambitum, quod materiam complectitur. Saturnum autem materiam ipsam, quæ omnem generandi vim parenti præscidit. Summam enim materiæ perpetuo eandem esse; neque ipsum quantum naturæ crescere aut minui. Agitationes autem et motus materiæ, primo imperfectas et male cohærentes rerum compages produxisse, et veluti tentamenta mundorum: dein ævi processu fabricam ortam esse, quæ formam suam tueri et conservare posset. Itaque priorem ævi distributionem per regnum Saturni significari, qui ob frequentes rerum dissolutiones et breves durationes, filiorum suorum devorator habitus est: secundam autem per regnum Jovis, qui continuas istas et transitorias mutationes in Tartarum detrusit; qui locus perturbationem significat. Is locus videtur esse spatium inter ima cœli et interiora terræ medium; quo intervallo

[1] This forms *Cogitatio* 7*a* in the MS. fragment. [2] *finxere.* MS.
[3] *excepit.* Ed. 1609.

perturbatio, et fragilitas, et mortalitas, sive corruptio, maxime versatur. Atque durante priore illa generatione rerum quæ sub regno Saturni tenuit, Venerem natam non fuisse. Donec enim in universitate materiæ discordia esset concordia potior et valentior, mutatio per totum necessario facta est, atque in ipsa fabrica integrali. Tales vero generationes rerum extiterunt, antequam [1] Saturnus exsectus esset. Hunc vero generationis modum cessantem alter ille modus continuo excepit [2], qui per Venerem fit; adulta et prævalida rerum concordia: ut mutatio tantum per partes procedat [3], integra et inconcussa fabrica universali. Saturnum tamen detrusum et deturbatum, non peremptum et extinctum narrant, quia mundum in antiquam confusionem et interregna relabi posse, opinio Democriti [4] erat; quod Lucretius ne suis temporibus eveniret deprecatus est:

> Quod procul a nobis flectat Fortuna gubernans,
> Et ratio potius, quam res persuadeat ipsa.

Postquam autem mundus mole et vi sua consisteret, tamen otium ab initio non fuisse. Nam secutos primum in cœlestibus regionibus motus notabiles, qui virtute solis in cœlestibus prædominante ita sopiti sunt, ut mundi status conservaretur: postea similiter in inferioribus, per inundationes, tempestates, ventos, terræ motus magis universales; quibus etiam oppressis et dissipatis, magis pacata ac durabilis rerum conspiratio et tranquillitas accrevit. Verum de ista fabula utrumque pronunciari potest, et fabulam philosophiam continere, et philosophiam rursus fabulam. Novimus enim (ex fide) hæc omnia nil aliud esse quam sensus jampridem cessantia et deficientia oracula: cum mundi et materia et fabrica ad Creatorem verissime referatur.

[1] *atque in ipsa fabrica; atque hujusmodi generationes rerum extitisse antequam &c.* Ed. 1609

[2] *excepisse.* Ed. 1609.

[3] This clause is not in the MS.

[4] Ed. 1609 omits *Democrìi.*

XIII.

PROTEUS,

SIVE MATERIA.[1]

NARRANT poëtæ Proteum Neptuno pastorem fuisse; eundemque senem et vatem; vatem scilicet præstantissimum et veluti ter-maximum. Noverat enim non futura solummodo, sed et præterita et præsentia, adeo ut præter divinationem, etiam omnis antiquitatis et omnium secretorum nuncius ac interpres esset. Morabatur autem sub ingenti specu. Ibi ei mos erat sub meridiem gregem suum phocarum numerare, atque deinde somno se dare. Qui autem opera ejus aliqua in re uti volebat, is non alio modo apud eum valere poterat, nisi eum manicis comprehensum vinculis constringeret. Ille contra, ut se liberaret, in omnes formas atque rerum miracula, ignem, lympham[2], feras, se vertere solebat; donec tandem in pristinam formam restitueretur.

Sensus fabulæ ad abdita naturæ et conditiones materiæ pertinere videtur. Sub Protei enim persona Materia significatur, omnium rerum post Deum antiquissima. Materia autem sub cœli concavo tanquam sub specu habitat. Neptuni autem mancipium est, quia omnis materiæ operatio et dispensatio in liquidis præcipue exercetur. Pecus autem, sive grex Protei, non aliud videtur esse, quam species ordinariæ animalium, plantarum, metallorum, in quibus Materia videtur se diffundere et quasi consumere; adeo ut postquam istas species effinxerit et absolverit (tanquam penso completo) dormire et quiescere videatur, nec alias amplius species moliri, tentare, aut parare. Atque hæc est Protei pecoris numeratio, et subinde somnus. Hoc autem sub meridiem, non auroram et vesperum, fieri dicitur; id est, cum tempus jam venerit quod speciebus ex materia debite præparata et prædisposita perficiendis et excludendis maturum sit et quasi legitimum, et inter rudimenta earum et declinationes medium; quod nos satis scimus ex historia sacra sub tempus ipsum creationis fuisse. Tum enim per virtutem illam divini verbi (*Producat*), Materia ad imperium Creatoris, non per ambages suas sed subito confluxit,

[1] This forms *Cogitatio* 8*a* in the MS. fragments. [2] *fluvium*. Ed. 1609.

et opus suum in actum affatim perduxit, ac species constituit. Atque hucusque fabula narrationem suam de Proteo libero et soluto cum pecore suo complet. Nam universitas rerum, cum structuris et fabricis specierum ordinariis, est materiæ non constrictæ aut devinctæ et gregis materiatorum facies. Nihilominus si quis peritus Naturæ Minister vim adhibeat materiæ, et materiam vexet atque urgeat, tanquam hoc ipso destinato et proposito, ut illam in nihilum redigat; illa contra (cum annihilatio aut interitus verus nisi per Dei omnipotentiam fieri non possit), in tali necessitate posita, in miras rerum transformationes et effigies se vertit[1]: adeo ut tandem veluti in orbem se mutet, et periodum impleat[2], et quasi se restituat, si vis continuetur. Ejus autem constrictionis seu alligationis ratio magis facilis erit et expedita, si materia per manicas comprehendatur, id est per extremitates. Quod autem additur in fabula, Proteum vatem fuisse, et trium temporum gnarum, id cum materiæ natura optime consentit. Necesse est enim, ut qui materiæ passiones et processus noverit, rerum summam et earum quæ factæ sunt, et quæ fiunt, et quæ insuper futuræ sunt, comprehendat, licet ad partes et singularia cognitio non extendatur.

XIV.

MEMNON,

SIVE PRÆMATURUS.

Memorant poëtæ Memnonem Auroræ filium fuisse. Ille armorum pulchritudine insignis, et aura populari celebris, ad bellum Trojanum venit, et ad summa ausu præcipiti festinans et anhelans, cum Achille, Græcorum fortissimo, certamen singulare iniit, atque ejus dextra occubuit. Hunc Jupiter miseratus aves lugubre quiddam et miserabile perpetuo quiritantes ad exequias ejus et funeris decus excitavit; ejusdem statua quoque solis orientis radiis percussa, sonum flebilem edere solita fuisse perhibetur.

Fabula ad adolescentum summæ spei calamitosos exitus pertinere videtur. Illi enim tanquam Auroræ filii sunt; atque inanium et externorum specie tumidi, majora fere viribus audent, atque heroës fortissimos lacessunt, et in cer-

[1] *volvit et vertit.* Ed. 1609. [2] *absolutam faciat.* MS.

tamen deposcunt, et impari congressu succumbentes extinguuntur. Horum autem mortem infinita commiseratio sequi solet; nil enim inter fata mortalium tam flebile est, tamque potens ad misericordiam commovendam, quam virtutis flos immaturo exitu præcisus. Neque enim prima ætas ad satietatem scilicet, aut ad individiam usque duravit, quæ mœstitiam in obitu lenire, aut misericordiam temperare possit; quinetiam lamentationes et planctus non solum tanquam aves illæ funebres circa rogos eorum volitant, sed et durat hujusmodi miseratio et producitur: maxime autem per occasiones et novos motus et initia magnarum rerum, veluti per solis radios matutinos, desideria eorum renovantur.

XV.

TITHONUS,

SIVE SATIAS.

Elegans fabula naratur de Tithono, eum ab Aurora adamatum fuisse, quæ perpetuam ejus consuetudinem exoptans, a Jove petiit ut Tithonus nunquam mori posset: verum incuria muliebri oblita est petitioni suæ et illud inserere, ut nec senectute gravaretur. Itaque moriendi conditio ei erepta est, senium autem secutum est mirum et miserandum, quale consentaneum est evenire ei, cui mors negatur, ætas perpetuo ingravescit. Adeo ut Jupiter, hujusmodi sortem miseratus, tandem eum in cicadam converterit.

Hæc fabula ingeniosa adumbratio et descriptio voluptatis esse videtur; quæ a principio, velut sub tempus auroræ, adeo grata est, ut homines vota faciant ut gaudia hujusmodi sibi perpetua et propria sint; obliti satietatem et tædium eorum, instar senii, ipsis non cogitantibus obventura. Adeo ut ad extremum, cum actiones voluptariæ homines deserant, cupido vero et affectus non moriantur[1], fieri soleat ut homines sermonibus tantum et commemorationibus earum rerum quæ eis integra ætate voluptati fuerunt se oblectent. Quod in libidinosis et viris militaribus fieri videmus, cum illi impudicos sermones, hi facinora sua retractent, cicadarum more, quarum vigor tantum in voce est.

[1] *moriatur.* Ed. 1609.

XVI.

PROCUS JUNONIS,

SIVE DEDECUS.

NARRANT poëtæ Jovem, ut amoribus suis potiretur, multas et varias formas sumpsisse, tauri, aquilæ, cycni, imbris aurei; cum autem Junonem sollicitaret, vertisse se in formam maxime ignobilem, atque contemptui et ludibrio expositam. Ea fuit miseri cuculi, imbre et tempestate madefacti et attoniti, tremebundi, et semimortui.

Prudens fabula est, et ex intimis moribus desumpta. Sensus vero talis: Ne homines nimium sibi placeant, existimantes virtutis suæ specimen eos apud omnes in pretio et gratia ponere posse. Id enim succedere pro natura et moribus eorum quos ambiunt et colunt; qui si homines sunt nullis ipsi dotibus et ornamentis insigniti, sed tantum ingenio sunt superbo et maligno (id quod sub figura Junonis repræsentatur), tum vero norint sibi exuendam prorsus esse omnem personam quæ vel minimum præ se ferat decoris et dignitatis: atque desipere se plane, si alia via insistant; neque satis esse si obsequii deformitatem præstant, nisi omnino se in personam abjectam et degenerem mutent.

XVII.

CUPIDO,

SIVE ATOMUS.[1]

QUÆ de Cupidine sive Amore dicta sunt a poëtis in eandem personam proprie convenire non possunt; ita tamen discrepant, ut confusio personarum rejiciatur, similitudo recipiatur. Narrant itaque Amorem omnium deorum fuisse antiquissimum, atque adeo omnium rerum; excepto Chao, quod ei coævum perhibetur; Chaos autem a priscis viris nunquam divino honore aut nomine Dei insignitur. Atque Amor ille prorsus sine parente introducitur; nisi quod a nonnullis ovum Noctis fuisse

[1] For the commencement of a larger exposition of this fable, with Mr. Ellis's preface and notes, see Vol. III. p. 65.

traditur. Ipse autem ex Chao et deos et res universas progenuit. Ejus autem attributa ponuntur numero quatuor, ut sit infans perpetuus, cæcus, nudus, sagittarius. Fuit et Amor quidam alter, deorum natu minimus, Veneris filius; in quem etiam antiquioris attributa transferuntur, et quodam modo competunt.

Fabula ad cunabula naturæ pertinet et penetrat. Amor iste videtur esse appetitus sive stimulus materiæ primæ, sive (ut explicatius loquamur) *motus naturalis Atomi.* Hæc enim est illa vis antiquissima et unica, quæ ex materia omnia constituit et effingit. Ea omnino sine parente est; id est, sine causa. Causa enim effectus veluti parens est: hujus autem virtutis causa nulla potest esse in natura (Deum enim semper excipimus). Nihil enim hac ipsa prius; itaque efficiens nulla: neque aliquid naturæ notius; ergo nec genus nec forma; quamobrem quæcunque ea tandem sit, positiva est et surda. Atque etiam si modus ejus et processus sciri daretur; tamen per causam sciri non potest; cum sit post Deum causa causarum, ipsa incausabilis. Neque fortasse modum ejus intra inquisitionem humanam sisti aut comprehendi posse sperandum est; itaque merito fingitur ovum a Nocte exclusum; certe sanctus philosophus ita pronuntiat: *Cuncta fecit pulchra tempestatibus suis, et mundum tradidit disputationibus eorum, ita tamen ut non inveniat homo opus quod operatus est Deus a principio usque ad finem.* Lex enim summaria Naturæ, sive virtus istius Cupidinis indita primis rerum particulis a Deo ad coitionem, ex cujus repetitione et multiplicatione omnis rerum varietas emergit et conflatur, cogitationem mortalium perstringere potest, subire vix potest. Philosophia autem Græcorum invenitur in rerum materiatis principiis investigandis magis acuta et solicita; in principiis autem motus (in quibus omnis operationis vigor consistit) negligens et languida. In hoc autem de quo agimus, prorsus cæcutire et balbutire videtur. Etenim Peripateticorum opinio, de *stimulo materiæ* per *privationem*, fere non ultra verba tendit, et rem potius sonat quam signat. Qui autem hoc ad Deum referunt, optime illi quidem, sed saltu, non gradu ascendunt. Est enim proculdubio unica et summaria lex in quam natura coit Deo substituta: ea ipsa, quæ in superiore textu illo verborum complexu demonstratur, *Opus, quod operatus est Deus a principio usque ad finem.* Democritus autem, qui altius rem perpendit, postquam Atomum dimensione nonnulla et figura instruxerat,

unicum Cupidinem sive motum primum ei attribuit simpliciter, et ex comparatione alterum. Omnia enim ad centrum mundi ferri putavit proprie: quod autem plus materiæ habet, cum celerius ad centrum feratur, illud quod minus habet percussione summovere et in contrarium pellere. Verum ista meditatio angusta fuit, et ad pauciora quam par erat respiciens. Neque enim aut corporum cælestium in orbem conversio, aut rerum contractiones et expansiones, ad hoc principium reduci aut accommodari posse videntur. Epicuri autem opinio de declinatione atomi et agitatione fortuita, ad nugas rursus et ignorationem rei lapsa est. Itaque nimio plus quam optaremus illud apparet, istum Cupidinem nocte involvi. Itaque de attributis videamus. Elegantissime describitur Cupido infans, pusillus et perpetuus; composita enim grandiora sunt et ætatem patiuntur; prima autem rerum semina, sive atomi, minuta sunt, et in perpetua infantia permanent. Etiam illud verissime, quod nudus; cum composita universa recte cogitanti personata et induta sint; nihilque proprie nudum sit præter primas rerum particulas. Illa autem de cæcitate Cupidinis sapientissima allegoria est. Iste enim Cupido (qualiscunque is sit) minimum videtur habere providentiæ; sed secundum illud quod proximum sentit, gressum et motum suum dirigere, ut cæci palpando solent; quo magis admirabilis est providentia illa summa divina, quia ex rebus providentia maxime vacuis et expertibus, et quasi cæcis, certa tamen et fatali lege istum ordinem et pulchritudinem rerum educit. Ultimum attributum ponitur, quod sagittarius sit, hoc est, quod ista virtus talis sit ut operetur ad distans. Quod enim ad distans operatur, tanquam sagittam emittere videtur: quisquis autem atomum asserit atque vacuum (licet istud vacuum intermistum ponat, non segregatum)[1], necessario virtutem atomi ad distans introducit; neque enim hac dempta, aliquis motus (propter vacuum interpositum) excitari posset, sed omnia torperent et immobilia manerent. Quod autem ad juniorem illum Cupidinem attinet, merito ut minimus deorum natu traditur, cum non ante species constitutas vigere potuisset. In illius autem descriptione allegoria ad mores deflectit et traducitur. Subest tamen quædam ejus cum illo antiquo conformitas. Venus enim generaliter affectum conjunctionis et procreationis excitat; Cupido ejus filius affectum ad individuum applicat. Itaque a Venere est generalis dispositio, a Cupidine

[1] The words within the parentheses are not in Ed. 1609.

magis exacta sympathia: atque illa a causis magis propinquis pendet; hæc autem a principiis magis altis et fatalibus, et tanquam ab antiquo illo Cupidine, a quo omnis exquisita sympathia pendet.

XVIII.

DIOMEDES,

SIVE ZELUS.

Diomedes cum magna et eximia gloria floreret, et Palladi percharus esset, exstimulatus ab ea est (et ipse promptior quam oportebat) ut si forte Veneri in pugna occurreret, illi neutiquam parceret; quod et ille audacter executus est, et Veneris dextram vulneravit. Hoc facinus ille ad tempus impune tulit, et rebus gestis clarus et inclytus in patriam rediit; ubi domestica mala expertus, ad exteros in Italiam profugit. Ibi quoque initia satis prospera habuit, et regis Dauni hospitio et donis cultus et ornatus est, et multæ illi statuæ per eam regionem exstructæ. Sed sub primam calamitatem, quæ populum ad quem diverterat afflixit, statim subiit Daunum cogitatio, se intra penates suos duxisse hominem impium et diis invisum et theomachum, qui deam, quam vel tangere religio erat, ferro invaserat et violaverat. Itaque ut patriam suam piaculo obstrictam liberaret, nihil hospitii jura reveritus, cum ei jus religionis videretur antiquius, Diomedem subito obtruncat; statuas et honores ejus prosterni et aboleri jubet. Neque hujusmodi gravem casum vel miserari tutum erat; sed et ipsi comites ejus, cum mortem ducis sui lugerent et questibus omnia implerent, in aves quasdam ex genere olorum mutati sunt, qui et ipsi sub mortem suam quiddam dulce et lugubre sonant.

Habet hæc fabula subjectum rarum, et fere singulare. Neque enim memoriæ proditum est in aliqua alia fabula, heroëm ullum, præter unum Diomedem, ferro violasse aliquem ex diis. Atque certe videtur fabula imaginem in illo depinxisse hominis et fortunæ ejus, qui ex professo hunc finem actionum suarum sibi proponit et destinat, ut cultum aliquem divinum, sive sectam religionis, licet vanam et levem, vi et ferro insectetur et debellet. Quamquam enim cruenta religionis dissidia veteribus

incognita essent (cum dii ethnici zelotypia, quod est Dei veri attributum, non tangerentur), tamen tanta et tam lata videtur fuisse prisci sæculi sapientia, ut quæ experiundo non nossent, tamen meditatione et simulachris comprehenderent. Qui itaque sectam aliquam religionis, licet vanam et corruptam et infamem (id quod sub persona Veneris significatur), non vi rationis et doctrinæ, et sanctitate vitæ, atque exemplorum et authoritatum pondere, corrigere et convincere; sed ferro et flamma et pœnarum acerbitate exscindere et exterminare nituntur; incenduntur fortasse ad hoc ipsum a Pallade; id est, prudentia quadam acri et judicii severitate, quarum vigore et efficacia hujusmodi errorum fallacias et commenta penitus introspiciunt; et ab odio pravitatis et zelo bono: et ad tempus fere magnam gloriam adipiscuntur, atque a vulgo (cui nihil moderatum gratum esse potest) ut unici veritatis et religionis vindices (cum cæteri tepidi videantur et meticulosi) celebrantur et fere adorantur. Attamen hæc gloria et felicitas raro ad exitum durat: sed omnis fere violentia, nisi morte celeri vicissitudines rerum effugiat, sub finem improspera est. Quod si eveniat ut rerum commutatio fiat, et secta illa proscripta et depressa vires acquirat et insurgat, tum vero hujusmodi hominum zeli et contentiones damnantur, et nomen ipsum odio est, et omnes honores eorum in opprobrium desinunt. Quod autem ab hospite interfectus est Diomedes; id eo spectat, quod religionis dissidium, etiam inter conjunctissimos, insidias et proditiones excitet. Illud vero de luctu ipso, et querimoniis minime toleratis, sed supplicio affectis, hujusmodi est, ut moneat, in omni fere scelere miserationi hominum locum esse, ut etiam qui crimina oderunt, personas tamen et calamitates reorum, humanitatis causa, commiserentur; extremum autem malorum esse, si misericordiæ commercia interdicantur. Atque tamen in causa religionis et impietatis, etiam miserationes hominum notari et suspectas esse. Contra vero, comitum Diomedis, id est, hominum qui ejusdem sunt sectæ et opinionis, querimoniæ et deplorationes argutæ admodum et canoræ esse solent, instar olorum, aut avium Diomedis; in quo etiam illa pars allegoriæ nobilis est et insignis; eorum qui propter causam religionis supplicia subeunt, voces sub tempus mortis, tanquam cycneas cantiones, animos hominum mirum in modum flectere, et in memoriis et sensibus eorum diutissime inhærere et permanere.

XIX.

DÆDALUS,

SIVE MECHANICUS.

SAPIENTIAM atque industriam Mechanicam, atque in illa artificia illicita et ad pravos usus detorta, antiqui adumbraverunt sub persona Dædali, viri ingeniosissimi, sed execrabilis. Hic ob condiscipulum et æmulum occisum exulaverat, gratus tamen in exilio regibus et civitatibus erat. Atque multa quidem et egregia opera tam in honorem deorum, quam ad exornationem et magnificentiam urbium et locorum publicorum exstruxerat et effinxerat; sed tamen nomen ejus maxime celebratur ob illicita. Fabricam enim libidini Pasiphaës subministravit, ut cum tauro misceretur; adeo ut ab hujus viri scelerata industria et ingenio pernicioso monstrum illud Minotaurus, pubem ingenuam devorans, ortum traxerit infelicem ac infamem. Atque ille, malum malo tegens et cumulans, ad securitatem hujus pestis Labyrinthum excogitavit et exstruxit: opus fine et destinatione nefarium, artificio insigne et præclarum: ac postea rursus, ne malis artibus tantum innotesceret, atque ut scelerum remedia (non solum instrumenta) ab eodem peterentur; etiam consilii ingeniosi author erat de filo, per quod errores labyrinthi retexerentur. Hunc Dædalum Minos magna cum severitate atque diligentia et inquisitione persecutus est; ille tamen semper et perfugia et effugia reperiebat. Postremo cum volandi peritiam filium Icarum edocuisset, ille novitius, et artem ostentans, a cœlo in aquam decidit.

Parabola videtur esse ejusmodi. In ipso introitu ejus, ea quæ apud excellentes artifices excubat et miris modis dominatur invidia notatur. Nullum enim genus hominum ex invidia, eaque acerba et tanquam interneciva, magis laborat. Accedit nota de genere pœnæ inflicto minus politice et provide: ut Dædalus exulet. Etenim opifices præclari id habent, ut apud omnes fere populos sint acceptissimi: adeo ut exilium præstanti artifici vix supplicii loco sit. Nam aliæ vitæ conditiones et genera extra patriam non facile florere possunt. Artificum autem admiratio propagatur et augetur apud exteros et peregrinos, cum insitum animis hominum sit illud, ut populares suos, quoad opificia mechanica, in minori pretio habeant. De

usu autem artium mechanicarum quæ sequuntur manifesta sunt; multum enim illis debet vita humana, cum plurima et ad religionis apparatum, et ad civilium decus, et ad universæ vitæ culturam, ex illarum thesauris collata sint. Veruntamen ex eodem fonte emanant instrumenta libidinis, atque etiam instrumenta mortis. Missa enim arte lenonum, venena quæsitissima, atque tormenta bellica, atque hujusmodi pestes (quæ mechanicis inventis debentur) probe novimus quantum Minotaurum ipsum sævitia et pernicie superarint. Pulcherrima autem allegoria est de labyrintho, qua natura generalis Mechanicæ adumbratur. Omnia enim mechanica, quæ magis sunt ingeniosa et accurata, instar labyrinthi censeri possint; propter subtilitatem et variam implicationem, et obviam similitudinem, quæ vix ullo judicio, sed tantum experientiæ filo, regi et discriminari possunt. Nec minus apte adjicitur, quod idem ille qui labyrinthi errores invenit, etiam fili commoditatem monstravit. Sunt enim artes mechanicæ veluti usus ambigui, atque faciunt et ad nocumentum et ad remedium, et fere virtus earum seipsam solvit et retexit. Artificia autem illicita, atque adeo artes ipsas, sæpius persequitur Minos; hoc est, leges, quæ illas damnant et earum usum populis interdicunt. Nihilominus illæ occultantur et retinentur, et ubique et latebras et receptum habent; quod et bene notatum est in re non multum dissimili a Tacito suis temporibus de Mathematicis et Genethliacis, *genus* (inquit) *hominum, quod in civitate nostra semper et retinebitur et vetabitur.* Et tamen artes illicitæ et curiosæ cujuscunque generis, tractu temporis, cum fere quæ polliceantur non præstant[1], (tanquam Icari de cœlo) de existimatione sua decidunt, et in contemptum veniunt, et nimia ipsa ostentatione pereunt. Et certe si verum omnino dicendum est, non tam feliciter legum frænis coërcentur, quam coarguuntur ex vanitate propria.

XX.

ERICHTHONIUS,

SIVE IMPOSTURA.

FABULANTUR poëtæ Vulcanum pudicitiam Minervæ sollicitasse, atque subinde cupidine incensum vim adhibuisse, atque in

[1] *præstent.* Ed. 1609.

ipsa lucta semen in terram effudisse, ex quo Erichthonium natum esse, qui (partes superiores) decora et grata erat corporis compage, femora autem et tibiæ suberant in anguillæ similitudinem, exilia et deformia: cujus deformitatis cum ipse sibi conscius esset, eum primum curruum usum invenisse, ut quod in corpore magnificum erat ostentaret, probrum autem tegeret.

Hujus fabulæ miræ et prodigiosæ ea sententia esse videtur. Artem (quæ sub persona Vulcani ob multiplicem ignis usum repræsentatur) quoties per corporum omnimodas vexationes naturæ vim facere, eamque vincere ac subigere contendat (natura autem sub persona Minervæ ob operum solertiam adumbratur), ad votum et finem destinatum raro pertingere; sed tamen multa machinatione et molitione (tanquam lucta) intercidere atque emitti generationes imperfectas, et opera quædam manca, aspectu speciosa, usu infirma et claudicantia; quæ tamen impostores multo et fallaci apparatu ostentant, et veluti triumphantes circumducunt. Qualia fere et inter productiones chymicas, et inter subtilitates et novitates mechanicas sæpius notare licet; præsertim cum homines potius propositum urgentes, quam ab erroribus suis se recipientes, cum natura colluctentur magis, quam debito obsequio et cultu ejus amplexus petant.

XXI.

DEUCALION,

SIVE RESTITUTIO.

Narrant poëtæ, extinctis prorsus prisci orbis incolis per diluvium universale, cum soli restarent Deucalion et Pyrrha, qui ardebant desiderio pio et inclyto instaurandi generis humani, eos hujusmodi oraculum excepisse; voti compotes futuros, si ossa matris acciperent et post se jacerent: quod illis primo magnam tristitiam et desperationem incussit: cum æquata rerum facie per diluvium, sepulchri perscrutatio omnino res sine exitu esset: sed tandem intellexerunt lapides terræ (cum tellus omnium mater habeatur) ab oraculo significari.

Fabula arcanum naturæ recludere videtur, et errorem animo humano familiarem corrigere. Hominis enim imperitia judicat rerum renovationes sive instaurationes ex earundem putredine

et reliquiis (ut phœnicen ex cinere propria) suscitari posse, quod nullo modo convenit; cum hujusmodi materiæ spatia sua confecerint, et ad initia ipsarum rerum prorsus ineptæ sint. Itaque retrocedendum ad principia magis communia.

XXII.

NEMESIS,

SIVE VICES RERUM.

Nemesis traditur fuisse dea, omnibus veneranda, potentibus et fortunatis etiam metuenda. Ea Noctis et Oceani filia fuisse perhibetur. Effigies autem ejus describitur talis. Alata erat, etiam coronata; in manibus autem gestabat, dextra hastam e fraxino, sinistra phialam, in qua inclusi erant Æthiopes; insidebat autem cervo.

Parabola ejusmodi esse videtur; nomen ipsum Nemesis vindictam, sive retributionem, satis aperte significat: hujus enim deæ officium et administratio in hoc sita erat, ut beatorum constanti et perpetuæ felicitati instar tribuni plebis intercederet, ac illud suum *Veto* interponeret; neque solum insolentiam castigaret, verum etiam rebus prosperis, licet innocentibus et moderatis, rerum adversarum vices rependeret: ac si neminem humanæ sortis ad convivia deorum admitti mos esset, nisi ad ludibrium. Equidem cum illud capitulum apud C. Plinium perlego, in quo ille infortunia et miserias Augusti Cæsaris collegit, quem omnium hominum fortunatissimum existimabam, quique artem etiam quandam utendi [et] fruendi[1] fortuna habebat, ac cujus in animo nil tumidum, nil leve, nil molle, nil confusum, nil melancholicum, annotare licet (ut ille etiam sponte mori aliquando destinasset); hanc deam magnam et præpotentem esse judicavi, ad cujus aram talis victima tracta esset. Parentes hujus deæ fuere Oceanus et Nox; hoc est, rerum vicissitudo, et judicium divinum obscurum et secretum; etenim vices rerum per oceanum apte repræsentantur, ob perpetuum fluxum et refluxum: occulta autem providentia per noctem rite proponitur. Nam etiam apud ethnicos nocturna

[1] *utendi fruendi* in both copies. In the original edition *fruendi* begins a fresh page, so that the omission of the *et* might easily be overlooked.

illa Nemesis, cum scilicet judicium humanum a divino discors esset, in observatione erat.

——Cadit et Ripheus, justissimus unus
Qui fuit ex Teucris, et servantissimus æqui.
Diis aliter visum.

Alata autem describitur Nemesis, ob subitas rerum conversiones, nec ante prævisas; nam in omni rerum memoria illud fere usuvenit, ut homines magni et prudentes per ea discrimina perierint quæ maxime contempserint. Certe, cum M. Cicero a Dec. Bruto de Octavii Cæsaris minus sincera fide et animo exulcerato monitus esset, illud tantum rescripsit: *Te autem mi Brute sicut debeo amo, quod istud quicquid est nugarum me scire voluisti.* Etiam corona Nemesis insignitur, ob naturam vulgi invidam et malignam: quando enim fortunati et potentes ruunt, tum fere vulgus exultat, et Nemesin coronat. Hasta autem in dextra ad eos pertinet quos Nemesis actu percutit et transfigit. Quos autem calamitate et infortunio non mactat, illis tamen spectrum illud atrum et infaustum in sinistra ostentat: obversantur enim proculdubio mortalibus etiam in summo fastigio felicitatis positis, mors et morbi, et infortunia, et amicorum perfidiæ, et inimicorum insidiæ, et rerum mutationes, et hujusmodi; veluti Æthiopes illi in phiala. Certe Virgilius, cum prælium Actiacum describit, de Cleopatra illud eleganter subjungit:

Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro,
Necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit angues.

Verum non multo post quocunque se illa verteret tota agmina Æthiopum obversabantur. Ad extremum prudenter additur, Nemesin cervo insidere; quia vivax admodum animal est cervus; atque fieri fortasse potest ut qui juvenis fato ereptus sit Nemesin prævertat et effugiat; cui autem diuturna obvenit felicitas et potentia, is proculdubio Nemesi subjicitur, ac veluti substernitur.

XXIII.

ACHELOUS,

SIVE PRÆLIUM.

NARRANT antiqui, cum Hercules et Achelous de nuptiis Dejaniræ contenderent, rem ad certamen deductam esse. Achelous

autem, cum varias et multiplices formas tentasset (nam hoc ei facere licebat), tandem Herculi sub forma tauri torvi et frementis occurrit, et ad pugnam se paravit. Hercules vero, solitam retinens figuram humanam, in eum impetum fecit. Res cominus gesta est. Eventus autem talis fuit, ut Hercules alterum ex cornibus tauro fregerit: ille majorem in modum dolens et perterritus, ut cornu illud suum redimeret, permutatione facta cornu Amaltheæ sive Copiæ Herculi largitus est.

Fabula ad belli expeditiones pertinet. Apparatus enim belli ex parte defensiva (qui per Acheloum proponitur) varius admodum et multiformis est. Nam invadentis species unica est et simplex, cum ex exercitu solo aut classe fortasse constet: regio autem, quæ in solo proprio hostem expectat, infinita molitur, oppida munit, diruit, plebem ex agris et villis in urbes et castella cogit, pontes extruit, prosternit, copias et commeatus comparat, distribuit, in fluviis, portibus, collium faucibus, sylvis, et aliis rebus innumeris occupata est, ut novas rerum facies quotidie induat et experiatur; ac tandem cum abunde munita et instructa fuerit [1], tauri pugnacis formam et minas ad vivum repræsentet. Ille autem qui invadit, prælium captat, et in hoc maxime incumbit, inopiam in terra hostili metuens. Quod si fiat ut prælio commisso acie victor sit, et tanquam cornu hosti frangat; tum proculdubio illud assequitur, ut hostis trepidus et existimatione diminutus, ut se explicet et vires suas reparet, in munitiora se recipiat; atque urbes et regiones victori ad populandum et diripiendum relinquat; quod vere instar cornu illius Amaltheæ censeri possit.

XXIV.

DIONYSUS,

SIVE CUPIDITAS.

Fabula hæc invenitur in libro secundo De Augmentis Scientiarum, aucta et locupletata.

NARRANT Semelen Jovis pellicem, postquam juramento eum inviolabili ad votum indefinitum obstrinxisset, petiisse ut ad amplexus suos accederet talis qualis cum Junone consuesset: itaque illa ex conflagratione periit. Infans autem quem in utero gestabat, a patre exceptus, in femur ejus insutus est, donec menses

[1] *instructa sit.* Ed. 1609.

fœtui destinatos compleret; ex quo tamen onere Jupiter nonnihil claudicabat: itaque puer, quod Jovem dum in femore ejus portaretur gravaret et pungeret, Dionysi nomen accepit. Postquam autem editus esset, apud Proserpinam per aliquot annos nutritus est. Cum vero adultus esset, ore fere muliebri conspiciebatur, ut sexus videretur tanquam ambigui. Etiam extinctus et sepultus erat ad tempus, et non ita multo post revixit. Atque prima juventa vitis culturam, atque adeo vini confectionem et usum, primus invenit et edocuit; ex quo celebris factus et inclytus, orbem terraram subjugavit, et ad ultimos Indorum terminos perrexit. Curru autem vehebatur a tigribus tracto. Circa eum subsultabant dæmones deformes Cobali vocati, Acratus, et alii. Quin et Musæ comitatui ejus se addebant. Uxorem autem sibi sumpsit Ariadnen a Theseo desertam et relictam. Arbor ei sacra erat hedera. Etiam sacrorum et cæremoniarum inventor et institutor habebatur, ejus tamen generis quæ et fanaticæ erant et plenæ corruptelarum, atque insuper crudeles. Furores quoque immittendi potestatem habebat. Certe in orgiis ejus a mulieribus furore percitis duo viri insignes discerpti narrantur, Pentheus et Orpheus; ille dum arbore conscensa spectator eorum quæ agerentur esse voluisset; hic cum lyram pulsaret. Atque hujus Dei res gestæ cum Jovis rebus fere confunduntur.

Fabula videtur ad mores pertinere, ut nihil in philosophia morali melius inveniatur. Describitur autem sub persona Bacchi natura Cupiditatis, sive affectus et perturbationis. Mater enim cupiditatis omnis, licet nocentissimæ, non alia est quam appetitus et desiderium Boni Apparentis. Concipitur vero semper Cupiditas in voto illicito, prius temere concesso quam intellecto et judicato. Postquam autem affectus effervescere cæperit, mater ejus (natura scilicet boni) ex nimio incendio destruitur et perit. Cupiditas autem dum immatura est, in anima humana (quæ ejus genitor est, et per Jovem repræsentatur) et nutricatur et occultatur, præcipue in animæ parte inferiore, tanquam femore; atque animum pungit et convellit et deprimit; adeo ut decreta et actiones ex ea impediantur et claudicent. Atque etiam postquam consensu et habitu confirmata est, et in actus erumpit, tamen apud Proserpinam ad tempus educatur; id est, latebras quærit, atque clandestina est et quasi subterranea, donec remotis pudoris et metus frænis, et coalita audacia, aut virtutis alicujus prætextum sumit, aut infamiam ipsam contemnit. Atque

illud verissimum est, omnem affectum vehementiorem tanquam ambigui sexus esse. Habet enim impetum virilem, impotentiam autem muliebrem. Etiam illud præclare, Bacchum mortuum reviviscere. Videntur enim affectus quandoque sopiti atque extincti, sed nulla fides habenda est eis, ne sepultis quidem; siquidem præbita materia et occasione resurgunt. Atque de inventione vitis parabola prudens est: omnis enim affectus ingeniosus est et sagax ad investigandum fomites suos; ante omnia autem quæ hominibus innotuere, vinum ad perturbationes cujuscunque generis excitandas et inflammandas potentissimum est et maxime efficax; atque est eis instar fomitis communis. Elegantissime autem ponitur affectus provinciarum subjugator, et expeditionis infinitæ susceptor. Nunquam enim partis acquiescit, sed appetitu infinito neque satiabili ad ulteriora tendit, et novis inhiat. Etiam tigres apud affectus stabulant et ad currum jugantur. Postquam enim affectus aliquis curulis esse cœpit non pedestris, et victor rationis et triumphator; in omnia quæ adversantur aut se opponunt crudelis est et indomitus et immitis. Facetum autem est, quod circa currum subsultant illi dæmones ridiculi. Omnis enim affectus progignit motus in oculis et ore ipso et gestu indecoros et inconditos, subsultorios et deformes, adeo ut qui sibi in aliquo affectu, veluti ira, insultatione [1], amore, videatur magnificus et tumidus, aliis tamen sit turpis et ridiculus. Conspiciuntur etiam in affectus comitatu Musæ. Neque enim reperitur ullus fere affectus, cui non blandiatur aliqua doctrina. Hac enim in re ingeniorum indulgentia Musarum majestatem minuit, ut cum duces vitæ esse debeant, sint affectuum pedissequæ. Atque imprimis nobilis est illa allegoria, Bacchum amores suos in eam effudisse quæ ab alio relicta erat. Certissimum enim est, affectum id petere et ambire quod experientia repudiavit. Atque norint omnes, qui affectibus suis servientes et indulgentes, pretium potiundi in immensum augent, sive honores appetant, sive fortunas, sive amores, sive gloriam, sive scientiam, sive alia quæcunque, se res relictas petere, et a compluribus per omnia fere sæcula post experimentum dimissas et fastiditas. Neque mysterio caret, quod hedera Baccho sacra fuerit. Hoc enim duplici modo convenit. Primum, quod hedera hieme virescat; deinde, quod circa tot res, arbores, parietes, ædificia serpat, ac circumfundatur, ac se attollat. Quod ad primum

[1] *arrogantia.* Ed. 1609.

enim attinet, omnis affectus per renitentiam et vetitum et tanquam antiperistasin (veluti per frigus brumæ hedera), virescit et vigorem acquirit. Secundo, affectus prædominans omnes humanas actiones et omnia humana decreta tanquam hedera circumfunditur, atque iis se addit et adjungit et immiscet. Neque mirum est si superstitiosi ritus Baccho attribuantur, cum omnis fere male sanus affectus in pravis religionibus luxurietur: aut si furores ab eo immitti putentur, cum omnis affectus et ipse furor brevis sit, et si vehementius obsideat et incumbat, in insania terminetur. Illud autem de Pentheo et Orpheo laceratis evidentem habet parabolam; cum affectus prævalidus et inquisitioni curiosæ et admonitioni salutari et liberæ asperrimus atque infensissimus sit. Postremo illa confusio personarum Jovis et Bacchi ad parabolam recte traduci potest; quandoquidem res gestæ nobiles et claræ, et merita insignia et gloriosa, interdum a virtute et recta ratione et magnanimitate, interdum a latente affectu et occulta cupiditate (utcunque famæ et laudis celebritate efferantur) proveniant: ut non facile sit distinguere facta Bachi a factis Jovis.

XXV.

ATALANTA,

SIVE LUCRUM.

ATALANTA cum velocitate excelleret, de victoria cursus cum Hippomene certamen iniit. Conditiones certaminis erant; victori Hippomeni conjugium Atalantæ, mors victo. Neque dubia victoria videbatur, cum Atalantæ insuperabilis in cursu præstantia multorum exitio insignita fuisset. Itaque Hippomenes ad dolos animum adjecit. Paravit autem tria mala aurea, eaque secum portavit.[1] Res geri cœpit; præcurrit Atalanta; ille cum se a tergo relictum cerneret, artis non immemor, ex malis aureis unum ante conspectum Atalantæ projecit; non recta quidem, sed ex transverso, ut illam et moraretur, atque insuper de via deduceret; illa, cupiditate muliebri, et mali pulchritudine illecta, omisso stadio post malum cu-

[1] *circa se habuit.* Ed. 1609.

currit, et ad illud tollendum se submisit. Hippomenes interim spatium stadii non parvum confecit, eamque post se reliquit. Illa tamen rursus naturali pernicitate jacturam temporis resarcivit, atque iterum emicuit: sed cum Hippomenes secundo et tertio hujusmodi moras ei injecisset, tandem victor astutia non virtute evasit.

Fabula videtur allegoriam insignem proponere de certamine Artis cum Natura. Ars enim, per Atalantam significata, virtute propria, si nihil obstet et impediat, longe natura velocior est, et veluti cursus citatioris; et celerius ad metam pervenit. Hoc enim in omnibus fere effectis patet. Cernas fructus ex nucleis tarde, ex insitione celeriter provenire; cernas lutum in generatione lapidum tarde, in torrefactione laterum cito durescere: etiam in moralibus, dolorum oblivionem et solatia diuturnitas temporis quasi ex beneficio naturæ inducit; philosophia autem (quæ veluti ars vivendi est) diem non expectat, sed præstat et repræsentat. Verum istam artis prærogativam et vigorem, infinito rerum humanarum detrimento, mala aurea retardant. Neque reperitur ex scientiis aut artibus aliqua, quæ cursum suum verum et legitimum ad finem suum, tanquam ad metam, constanter produxerit; sed perpetuo artes incœpta præcidunt, et stadium deserunt, et ad lucrum et commodum declinant, instar Atalantæ:

Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.

Itaque mirum minime est, si arti non datum sit naturam vincere, et victam ex pacto illo et lege certaminis perimere aut destruere; sed contrarium eveniat, ut ars in naturæ potestate sit, atque veluti nupta mulier conjugi pareat.

XXVI.

PROMETHEUS,

SIVE STATUS HOMINIS.

Tradunt antiqui Hominem fuisse opus Promethei, atque ex luto factum, nisi quod Prometheus particulas ex diversis animalibus massæ admiscuerit. Ille autem cum opus suum beneficio suo tueri vellet, neque conditor solum generis humani

videri, verum etiam amplificator, ad cœlum ascendit furtim, fasces secum portans ex ferula, quibus ad currum solis admotis et accensis, ignem ad terram detulit, atque cum hominibus communicavit. Ob tantum Promethei meritum memorant homines parum gratos fuisse. Quinetiam conspiratione facta, et Prometheum et inventum ejus apud Jovem accusarunt. Ea res non perinde accepta, atque æquum videri possit. Nam ipsa accusatio Jovi et superis admodum cordi fuit. Itaque delectati non solum ignis usum hominibus indulserunt, verum et novum munus omnium maxime amabile et optabile (perpetuam nimirum juventam) hominibus donarunt. Illi gestientes et inepti, donum deorum asello imposuerunt. Inter redeundum autem laborabat asellus siti gravi et vehementi; cumque ad fontem quendam pervenisset, serpens fonti custos additus, eum a potu prohibuit, nisi illud, quodcunque esset, quod in dorso portaret, pacisci vellet: asellus miser conditionem accepit, atque hoc modo instauratio juventutis, in pretium haustus pusillæ aquæ, ab hominibus ad serpentes transmissa est. Verum Prometheus a malitia sua non abscedens, atque hominibus post præmium illud eorum frustratum reconciliatus, animo vero erga Jovem exulcerato, dolos etiam ad sacrificium adhibere veritus non est. Atque duos aliquando tauros Jovi dicitur immolasse, ita tamen ut in alterius pelle carnes et adipem amborum incluserit, alteram pellem ossibus tantummodo suffarcinarit; atque deinde religiosus scilicet et benignus Jovi optionem concessit. Jupiter, vafritiem et malam fidem ejus detestatus, sed nactus occasionem ultionis, ludibrium illud tauri elegit; atque ad vindictam conversus, cum se insolentiam Promethei reprimere non posse animadverteret, nisi hominum genus (quo opere ille immensum turgebat et efferebatur) afflixisset, Vulcano imperavit, ut fœminam componeret pulchram et venustam, cui etiam dii singuli dotes suas impertierunt, quæ idcirco Pandora vocata est. Huic fœminæ inter manus vasculum elegans posuerunt, in quo omnia mala et ærumnas incluserant; subsidebat autem in imo vase Spes. Illa cum vasculo suo ad Prometheum primo se contulit; eum captans, si forte ille vas accipere vellet et aperire: quod ille cautus et astutus rejecit. Itaque ad Epimetheum Promethei fratrem (sed diversæ admodum indolis) spreta deflexit. Ille nihil cunctatus vas temere aperuit; cumque mala illa omnigena evolare cerneret, sero sapiens, magna contentione et festinatione vasi operculum suum rursus indere conatus est,

vix tamen ultimam et in fundo residentem Spem servare potuit. Postremo Prometheo Jupiter plurima et gravia imputans, quod ignis olim furtum fecisset, quod Jovis majestatem in sacrificio illo doloso ludibrio habuisset, quod donum ejus aspernatus esset, novo etiam additio crimine, quod Palladem vitiare tentasset, eum in vincula conjecit, et ad perpetuos cruciatus damnavit. Erat enim jussu Jovis adductus ad montem Caucasum, atque ibi columnæ alligatus, ut nullo pacto se movere posset: aderat autem aquila, quæ jecur ejus interdiu rostro tundebat atque consumebat, noctu autem quantum comesum erat renascebatur, ut nunquam doloris materia deficeret. Memorant tamen hoc supplicium aliquando finem habuisse: Hercules enim in poculo quod a Sole acceperat, navigato oceano, ad Caucasum pervenit, atque Prometheum liberavit, aquila sagittis confixa. Instituta autem sunt in honorem Promethei, apud nonnullos populos, lampadiferorum certamina, in quibus decurrentes accensas faces ferebant, quas si extingui contigisset, victoriam sequentibus cedebant et se subducebant, atque is demum palmam accepit, qui primus facem accensam ad metam usque detulisset.

Fabula contemplationes plurimas veras atque graves et præ se fert et premit. Nonnulla enim in ea jampridem recte notata, alia plane intacta sunt. Prometheus Providentiam liquido et diserte significat: atque in rerum universitate sola desumpta et delecta est ab antiquis Hominis fabrica et constitutio, quæ providentiæ attribuatur tanquam opus proprium. Hujus rei non solum illud in causa esse videtur, quod hominis natura mentem suscipit atque intellectum providentiæ sedem, atque durum quodammodo videtur et incredibile ex principiis brutis et surdis excitare et educere rationem et mentem; ut fere necessario concludatur providentia animæ humanæ indita esse non sine exemplari et intentione et authoramento providentiæ majoris: verum et hoc præcipue proponitur, quod homo veluti centrum mundi sit, quatenus ad causas finales; adeo ut sublato e rebus homine, reliqua vagari sine proposito videantur et fluctuari, atque quod aiunt scopæ dissolutæ esse, nec finem petere. Omnia enim subserviunt homini, isque usum et fructum ex singulis elicit et capit. Etenim astrorum conversiones et periodi et ad distinctiones temporum et ad plagarum mundi distributionem faciunt; et meteora ad præsagia tempestatum; et venti tum ad navigandum, tum ad molas et

machinas; et plantæ atque animalia cujuscunque generis, aut ad domicilia hominis et latebras, aut ad vestes, aut ad victum, aut ad medicinam, aut ad levandos labores, aut denique ad delectationem et solatium referuntur: adeo ut omnia prorsus non suam rem agere videantur, sed hominis. Neque temere additum est, in massa illa et plasmate particulas ex diversis animantibus desumptas, atque cum luto illo temperatas et confusas fuisse; quia verissimum est, omnium rerum quas universum complectitur hominem rem maxime compositam esse et decompositam, ut non immerito ab antiquis Mundus Minor vocatus sit. Quamvis enim verbi Microcosmi elegantiam chymici nimis putide et ad literam acceperint et detorserint, dum in homine omnem mineram, omne vegetabile, et reliqua, aut aliquid eis proportionatum, subesse volunt; manet tamen illud solidum et sanum quod diximus, corpus hominis omnium entium et maxime mistum et maxime organicum reperiri, quo magis admirandas virtutes et facultates suscipit et nanciscitur. Simplicium enim corporum vires paucæ sunt, licet certæ et rapidæ, quia minime per mixturam refractæ, et comminutæ, et libratæ existunt: virtutis autem copia et excellentia in mistura et compositione habitat. Atque nihilominus homo in originibus suis videtur esse res inermis et nuda, et tarda in juvamentum sui, denique quæ plurimis rebus indigeat. Itaque festinavit Prometheus ad inventionem ignis, qui omnibus fere humanis necessitatibus et usibus suppeditat et ministrat levamenta et auxilia: ut si forma formarum anima, si instrumentum instrumentorum manus, etiam auxilium auxiliorum sive opis opium ignis dici mereatur. Hinc enim operationes quamplurimæ [1], hinc artes mechanicæ, hinc scientiæ ipsæ infinitis modis adjuvantur. Modus autem furti ignis apte describitur, atque ex natura rei. Is fuisse perhibetur per virgam ex ferula ad currum solis admotam. Ferula enim ad percussionem et plagas adhibetur, ut luculenter significetur, ignis generationem per corporum violentas percussiones et collisiones fieri, ex quibus attenuantur materiæ, et in motu ponuntur, et ad calorem cœlestium suscipiendum præparantur, igneumque veluti ex curru solis modis clandestinis ac quasi furtim decerpunt et rapiunt. Sequitur parabolæ pars insignis. Homines, loco gratulationis et gratiarum actionis, ad indignationem et expostulationem versos esse, atque accusationem et Promethei et

[1] *Hinc enim omnis industria.* Ed. 1609.

ignis apud Jovem instituisse; eamque rem Jovi acceptissimam fuisse, adeo ut hominum commoda ob hoc nova munificentia cumulaverit. Quorsum enim ista criminis ingrati erga authorem suum animi (quod vitium omnia fere complectitur) approbatio et remuneratio? Res alio spectare videtur. Hoc enim vult allegoria; incusationem et naturæ suæ et artis per homines factam, ex optimo mentis statu proficisci, atque in bonum cedere; contrarium diis invisum et infaustum esse. Qui enim naturam humanam vel artes receptas in immensum extollunt, et effusi sunt in admirationem earum rerum quas habent et possident, et scientias quas profitentur aut colunt perfectas prorsus censeri volunt, illi primo adversus divinam naturam minus reverentes sunt, cujus perfectioni sua fere æquiparant; deinde iidem erga homines magis sunt infructuosi, cum se ad fastigium rerum jam pervenisse putent, et tanquam perfuncti ulteriora non quærant. Contra qui naturam et artes deferunt et accusant, et querimoniarum pleni sunt, illi vere et magis modestum animi sensum retinent, et perpetuo ad novam industriam et nova inventa extimulantur. Quo mihi magis mirari libet hominum inscitiam et malum genium, qui paucorum arrogantiæ servuli, istam Peripateticorum philosophiam, portionem Græcæ sapientiæ, nec eam magnam, in tanta veneratione habent, ut omnem ejus incusationem non solum inutilem sed suspectam et fere periculosam reddiderint. Atque magis probandus est et Empedocles, qui tanquam furens, et Democritus, qui magna cum verecundia, queruntur, omnia abstrusa esse, nihil nos scire, nil cernere, veritatem in profundis puteis immersam, veris falsa miris modis adjuncta atque intorta esse (nam Academia nova modum prorsus excessit), quam Aristotelis schola fidens et pronuntiatrix. Itaque monendi sunt homines, delationem naturæ et artis diis cordi esse, et novas eleemosynas et donaria a divina benignitate impetrare; et incusationem Promethei licet authoris et magistri, eamque acrem et vehementem, magis sanam et utilem quam gratulationem effusam esse; denique opinionem copiæ inter maximas causas inopiæ reponi. Quod vero attinet ad doni genus quod homines in præmium accusationis dicuntur accepisse (florem juventutis videlicet non deciduum), ejusmodi est, ut videantur antiqui de modis et medicinis ad senectutis retardationem et vitæ prolongationem facientibus non desperasse; sed illa utique numerasse potius inter ea quæ per hominum inertiam et

incuriam, licet semel accepta, periere aut frustrata sunt, quam inter ea quæ plane negata et nunquam concessa fuerint. Significant enim et innuunt, ex ignis vero usu, atque ex artis erroribus bene et strenue accusatis et convictis, munificentiam divinam ad hujusmodi dona hominibus non defuisse; ipsos sibi deesse, cum hoc deorum munus asello imposuerint lento et tardigrado; ea videtur esse Experientia, res stupida et plena moræ, ex cujus gradu tardo et testudineo antiqua illa querimonia de *vita brevi* et *arte longa* nata est. Atque certe nos in ea sumus opinione, facultates illas duas, Dogmaticam et Empiricam, adhuc non bene conjunctas et copulatas fuisse; sed nova deorum munera aut philosophiis abstractis, tanquam levi volucri, aut lentæ et tardæ experientiæ, tanquam asello, imposita esse. In quo tamen de asello illo non male ominandum est, nisi interveniat illud accidens viæ et sitis. Existimamus enim, si quis experientiæ veluti certa lege et methodo constanter militet, neque inter viam experimenta quæ vel ad lucrum faciunt vel ad ostentationem hauriendi siti corripiatur, adeo ut[1] ad ea comparanda onus suum deponat et distrahat; eum munificentiæ divinæ auctæ et novæ bajulum non inutilem fore. Quod vero donum illud ad serpentes transierit, ea videtur adjectio ad fabulam ornatus fere gratia; nisi forte illud inseruerint, ut homines pudeat, se cum igne illo suo et tot artibus ea in se transferre non posse quæ natura ipsa compluribus aliis animalibus largita est. Etiam illa subita hominum cum Prometheo reconciliatio postquam spe sua decidissent, monitum habet utile et prudens. Notat enim hominum levitatem et temeritatem in experimentis novis. Ea enim si statim non succedant et ad vota respondeant, præpropera festinatione homines incepta deserunt, et præcipites ad vetera recurrunt, iisque reconciliantur. Descripto statu hominis quoad artes et intellectualia, parabola transit ad Religionem; culturam enim artium cultus divinorum comitatus est; quem statim hypocrisis occupavit et polluit. Itaque sub duplici illo sacrificio, eleganter repræsentatur persona vere religiosi et hypocritæ. Alteri enim inest adeps, Dei nimirum portio, ob inflammationem et suffitum, per quod affectus et zelus ad gloriam Dei incensus atque alta petens significatur; insunt viscera charitatis, insunt carnes bonæ et utiles. In altero nihil præter ossa arida et nuda reperiuntur, quæ nihilominus pellem farciunt, et

[1] *sitiat, ut.* Ed. 1609.

hostiam pulcherrimam et magnificam imitantur; per quæ recte notantur externi et inanes ritus et cæremoniæ jejunæ, quibus homines cultum divinum onerant et inflant, res ad ostentationem potius compositæ, quam ad pietatem facientes. Neque satis est hominibus hujusmodi ludibria Deo offerre, nisi ea etiam illi imponant et imputent, ac si ipse illa elegerit et præscripserit. Certe propheta sub Dei persona de hac optione expostulat: *Num tandem hoc est illud jejunium, quod* ELEGI, *ut homo animam suam in diem unum affligat, et caput instar junceæ demittat?* Post statum religionis, parabola se vertit ad mores et humanæ vitæ conditiones. Atque pervulgatum est illud, et tamen recte positum, per Pandoram significari Voluptatem et Libidinem, quæ post vitæ civilis artes et cultum et luxum, veluti ex dono ignis et ipsa incensa est. Itaque Vulcano, qui similiter ignem repræsentat, opificium voluptatis deputatur. Ab illa autem infinita mala et in animos et in corpora et fortunas hominum, una cum sera pœnitentia, fluxerunt; neque tantum in status singulorum, verum etiam in regna et respublicas. Ab eodem enim fonte bella et tumultus et tyrannides ortum traxere. Verum operæ pretium est animadvertere, quam belle et eleganter fabula duas humanæ vitæ conditiones, et veluti tabulas sive exempla, sub personis Promethei et Epimethei depinxerit. Qui enim sectam Epimethei sequuntur, illi improvidi, neque in longum consulentes, quæ in præsentia suavia sunt prima habent, atque multis sane propter hoc angustiis et difficultatibus et calamitatibus premuntur, et perpetuo fere cum illis conflictantur; interim tamen genium suum placant, atque insuper ob rerum imperitiam multas inanes spes intra animum volvunt, quibus tamen veluti suavibus insomniis se delectant, atque miserias vitæ suæ condiunt. Promethei autem schola, homines nimirum prudentes, et in futurum prospicientes, multa scilicet mala et infortunia caute submovent et rejiciunt; verum cum hoc bono illud conjunctum est, ut multis voluptatibus et varia rerum jucunditate se privent, et genium suum fraudent, atque quod multo pejus est, curis et solicitudine et timoribus intestinis se crucient et conficiant. Alligati enim Necessitatis columnæ, innumeris cogitationibus (quæ, quia volucres admodum sunt, per aquilam significantur) iisque pungentibus et jecur mordentibus et corrodentibus vexantur; nisi forte aliquando veluti noctu exiguam quampiam animi remissionem et quietem nanciscantur; ita tamen ut statim subinde

redeant novæ anxietates et formidines. Itaque paucis admodum utriusque sortis beneficium contigit, ut providentiæ commoda retinuerint, sollicitudinis et perturbationis malis se liberarint: neque id quisquam assequi potest, nisi per Herculem, id est, fortitudinem et animi constantiam, quæ in omnem eventum parata, et cuicunque sorti æqua, prospicit sine metu, fruitur sine fastidio, et tolerat sine impatientia. Atque illud notatu dignum est, virtutem hanc Prometheo non innatam sed adventitiam fuisse, atque ex ope aliena. Nulla enim ingenita et naturalis fortitudo tantæ rei par esse possit. Sed hæc virtus ab ultimo oceano atque a sole accepta et advecta est: præstatur enim a sapientia, tanquam a sole, et a meditatione inconstantiæ ac veluti undarum humanæ vitæ, tanquam a navigatione oceani; quæ duo Virgilius bene conjunxit:

> Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
> Quique metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
> Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

Elegantissime autem additur ad hominum animos consolandos et confirmandos, heroëm istum ingentem in poculo sive urceo navigasse: ne forte naturæ suæ angustias et fragilitatem nimium pertimescant aut causentur, ac si hujusmodi fortitudinis et constantiæ capax omnino non esset; de quo ipso Seneca bene ominatus est, cum dicat, *Magnum est habere simul fragilitatem hominis, et securitatem Dei.* Sed jam retrocedendum est ad illud, quod consulto præterivimus, ne ea quæ inter se connexa sunt abrumperemus: hoc est, de novissimo illo Promethei crimine, quod pudicitiam Minervæ sollicitasset. Nam et ob hoc delictum, gravissimum certe et maximum, illam pœnam laniationis viscerum subiit. Illud non aliud esse videtur, quam quod homines artibus et scientia multa inflati, etiam sapientiam divinam sensibus et rationi subjicere sæpius tentent; ex quo certissime sequitur mentis laceratio et stimulatio perpetua et irrequieta. Itaque mente sobria et submissa distinguenda sunt humana et divina; atque oracula sensus et fidei; nisi forte et religio hæretica et philosophia commentitia hominibus cordi sit. Restat ultimum illud de ludis Promethei cum tædis ardentibus. Hoc rursus ad artes et scientias pertinet, sicut ignis ille ad cujus memoriam et celebrationem hujusmodi ludi instituti sunt; atque continet in se monitum, idque prudentissimum; ut perfectio scientiarum a successione, non ab unius alicujus pernicitate aut facultate, expectetur. Etenim qui ad cursum et conten-

tionem velocissimi et validissimi sunt, ii ad facem suam accensam servandam fortasse minus sunt habiles, cum a cursu rapido æque ac nimis tardo periculum extinctionis immineat. Isti autem Luminum cursus et certamina jampridem intermissa videntur, cum scientiæ in primis quibusque authoribus, Aristotele, Galeno, Euclide, Ptolomæo, maxime florere cernantur; atque successio nil magni effecerit aut fere tentaverit. Atque optandum esset, ut isti ludi in honorem Promethei sive Humanæ Naturæ instaurarentur, atque res certamen et æmulationem et bonam fortunam reciperet, neque ex unius cujuspiam face tremula atque agitata penderet. Itaque homines monendi sunt, ut se ipsi exsuscitent, et vires atque etiam vices suas experiantur, neque in paucorum hominum animulis et cerebellis omnia ponant. Hæc sunt illa, quæ in fabula ista vulgari et decantata nobis adumbrari videntur; neque tamen inficiamur, illi subesse haud pauca, quæ ad Christianæ fidei mysteria miro consensu innuant; ante omnia navigatio illa Herculis in urceo ad liberandum Prometheum, imaginem Dei Verbi, in carne tanquam fragili vasculo ad redemptionem generis humani properantis, præ se ferre videtur. Verum nos omnem in hoc genere licentiam nobis ipsi interdicimus, ne forte igne extraneo ad altare Domini utamur.

XXVII.

ICARUS VOLANS, ITEM SCYLLA ET CHARYBDIS, SIVE VIA MEDIA.[1]

MEDIOCRITAS, sive Via Media, in moralibus laudatissima est; in intellectualibus minus celebrata, sed non minus utilis et bona; in politicis tantum suspecta, et cum judicio adhibenda. Morum autem mediocritates per viam Icaro præscriptam, intellectualium autem per viam inter Scyllam et Charybdim ob difficultatem et periculum decantatam, ab antiquis notantur. Icaro præcepit pater, cum mare esset prætervolandum, ut viam aut nimis sublimem aut nimis humilem caveret. Cum enim alæ cera essent conglutinatæ, periculum erat, si altius efferretur, ne cera ex solis ardore liquefieret; sin ad vaporem maris propius se sub-

[1] In Ed. 1609, the title of this fable, both here and in the table of contents, is "SCYLLA et ICARUS, sive via media."

mitteret, ne ab humore cera minus tenax efficeretur. Ille vero ausu juvenili in celsiora contendit, atque in præceps lapsus est.

Parabola facilis et vulgata est: virtutis enim via inter excessum et defectum recto tramite aperitur. Neque mirum erat si Icarum, juvenili alacritate gestientem [1], excessus perdiderit. Excessus enim fere juvenum; defectus senum vitia esse solent. Ex semitis tamen malis et nocivis elegit Icarus (si plane pereundum erat) meliorem.[2] Defectus enim recte æstimantur excessibus praviores. Quandoquidem [3] excessui nonnihil magnanimitatis subsit et cognationis cum cœlo, ad instar volucris: defectus vero humi serpat instar reptilis. Præclare Heraclitus; *Lumen siccum, optima anima.* Nam [4] si ex humo humorem contrahat anima, prorsus deprimitur et degenerat: interim tamen [5] modus adhibendus est, ut ab illa siccitate laudata lumen reddatur subtilius, non corripiatur incendium. Atque hæc cuivis fere nota sunt. At via illa in intellectualibus, inter [6] Scyllam et Charybdim, certe et peritiam navigandi et felicitatem desiderat. Si enim in Scyllam incidant naves, illiduntur cautibus: sin in Charybdim, absorbentur. Cujus parabolæ ea videtur esse vis (quam nos breviter perstringemus, tametsi infinitam trahat contemplationem), ut in omni doctrina et scientia, earumque regulis et axiomatibus, modus teneatur inter distinctionum scopulos, et universalium voragines. Hæc enim duo naufragiis ingeniorum et artium famosa sunt.

XXVIII.

SPHINX,

SIVE SCIENTIA.

Traditur Sphinx fuisse monstrum specie multiforme; facie et voce virginis; pennis volucris; unguibus gryphi: jugum autem montis in agro Thebano tenebat, et vias obsidebat: mos autem ei erat, viatores ex insidiis invadere ac comprehendere, quibus in potestatem redactis, ænigmata quædam obscura et

[1] This clause is not in Ed. 1609.
[2] *potiorem elegit.* Ed. 1609.
[3] *Defectus enim praviores æstimantur; cum, &c.* Ed. 1609.
[4] *etenim.* Ed. 1609.
[5] *prorsus degenerat. Etiam ex altera parte modus &c.* Ed. 1609.
[6] *via autem illa inter.* Ed. 1609.

perplexa proponebat, quæ a Musis præbita et accepta putabantur. Ea si solvere et interpretari miseri captivi non possent, hæsitantes et confusos in illis [1], magna sævitia dilaniabat. Hæc calamitas cum diu grassaretur, præmium propositum est a Thebanis (ipsum Thebarum imperium) viro qui Sphingis ænigmata explicare possit, (neque enim alia superandæ illius ratio erat.) Tanto pretio excitatus Œdipus, vir acer et prudens, sed pedibus læsis et perforatis, conditionem accepit, et experiri statuit. Postquam autem fidens animi et alacer se coram Sphinge stitisset; illa ab eo quæsivit, quale tandem illud animal esset, quod primo quadrupes natum, postea bipes factum esset, deinde tripes, ad extremum rursus quadrupes. Ille præsenti animo respondit, illud in Hominem competere, qui sub ipsum partum et infantiam quadrupes provolvitur, et vix repere tentat; nec ita multo post erectus et bipes incedit; in senectute autem baculo innititur et se sustentat, ut tanquam tripes videatur; extrema autem ætate decrepitus senex, labantibus nervis, quadrupes decumbit, et lecto affigitur. Itaque vero responso victoriam adeptus, Sphingem interemit; cujus corpus asello impositum, veluti in triumpho ducebatur: ipse autem ex pactis rex Thebanorum creatus est.

Fabula elegans, nec minus prudens est: atque videtur conficta de Scientia, præsertim conjuncta practicæ. Siquidem scientia non absurde monstrum dici possit, cum ignorantibus et imperitis prorsus admirationi sit. Figura autem et specie multiformis est, ob immensam varietatem subjecti in qua scientia versatur: vultus et vox affingitur muliebris ob gratiam et loquacitatem; adduntur alæ, quia scientiæ et earum inventa momento discurrunt et volant; cum communicatio scientiæ sit instar luminis de lumine, quod affatim incenditur. Elegantissime autem attribuuntur ungues acuti et adunci; quia scientiæ axiomata et argumenta penetrant mentem, eamque prehendunt et tenent, ut movere et elabi non possit: quod et sanctus philosophus notavit: *Verba sapientum* (inquit) *sunt tanquam aculei, et veluti clavi in altum defixi.* Omnis autem scientia collocata videtur in arduis et editis montium. Nam res sublimis merito putatur et excelsa, et ignorantiam tanquam ex superiore loco despiciens, atque etiam late et undequaque speculatur et prospicit, ut in verticibus montium fieri solet. Vias autem obsidere fingitur scientia, quia ubique in intinere

[1] *in illis* is omitted in Ed. 1609.

isto sive peregrinatione vitæ humanæ, materia et occasio contemplationis se ingerit et occurrit. Proponit autem Sphinx quæstiones et ænigmata mortalibus varia et difficilia, quæ accepit a Musis. Ea tamen quamdiu apud Musas manent, sævitia fortasse carent. Donec enim nullus alius finis meditationis et disquisitionis sit, præter ipsum Scire, intellectus non premitur, nec in arcto ponitur, sed vagatur et expatiatur; atque in ipsa dubitatione et varietate nonnullam jucunditatem et delectationem sentit: sed postquam a Musis hujusmodi ænigmata ad Sphingem transmissa sunt, id est ad practicam, ut instet et urgeat actio et electio et decretum; tum demum ænigmata molesta et sæva esse incipiunt, et nisi solvantur et expediantur, animos hominum miris modis torquent et vexant, et in omnes partes distrahunt, et plane lacerant. Proinde in ænigmatibus Sphingis duplex semper proponitur conditio; non solventi mentis laceratio; solventi imperium. Qui enim rem callet, is fine suo potitur, atque omnis artifex operi suo imperat. Ænigmatum autem Sphingis duo in universum sunt genera; ænigmata de natura rerum, atque ænigmata de natura hominis: atque similiter in præmium solutionis sequuntur duo imperia; imperium in naturam, et imperium in homines: veræ enim philosophiæ naturalis finis proprius et ultimus est, imperium in res naturales, corpora, medicinas, mechanica, alia infinita; licet Schola, oblatis contenta et sermonibus tumefacta, res et opera negligat et fere projiciat. Verum ænigma illud Œdipodi propositum, ex quo ille imperium Thebanum adeptus est, pertinebat ad naturam hominis: quisquis enim naturam hominis prorsus introspexit, ille faber fere fortunæ suæ esse potest, et ad imperandum natus est. Id quod de Romanis artibus bene pronuntiatum est:

> Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
> Hæ tibi erunt artes.

Itaque apposite illud, quod Augustus Cæsar signo Sphingis sive de industria sive fortuito usus est. Ille enim (si quis unquam) in politica excelluit, et in vitæ suæ curriculo plurima nova ænigmata de natura hominis felicissime solvit, quæ nisi dexter et paratus solvisset, multoties non procul ab imminente pernicie et exitio abfuisset. Atque additur in fabula, Sphingis devictæ corpus in asellum impositum fuisse. Elegantissime certe, cum nihil sit tam acutum et abstrusum, quin postquam plane intellectum et deinceps pervulgatum sit, etiam tardo

imponi possit. Neque illud prætermittendum, debellatam esse Sphingem a viro pedibus clavato: etenim nimis cito pede et celeri gradu ad ænigmata Sphingis homines properare solent; unde fit ut (prævalente Sphinge) potius per disputationes ingenia et animos lacerent, quam per opera et effectus imperent.

XXIX.

PROSERPINA,

SIVE SPIRITUS.

NARRANT Plutonem, postquam regnum inferorum ex partitione illa memorabili accepisset, de nuptiis alicujus e superis desperasse, si eas per colloquia aut modos suaves tentaret; ut ad raptum consilia sua dirigere ei fuerit necesse. Itaque captata opportunitate, Proserpinam Cereris filiam, virginem pulcherrimam, dum flores Narcissi in Siciliæ pratis colligeret, subito incursu rapuit, atque quadrigis secum ad subterranea asportavit. Ei magna reverentia præbita est, ut et Domina Ditis vocata sit. Ceres autem ejus mater, cum filia sibi unice dilecta nusquam comparuisset, supra modum mœsta et anxia, tædam accensam ipsa manu præ se ferens, universum orbis terrarum ambitum peragravit, ut filiam investigaret et recuperaret. Id cum frustra fuisset, accepto forte indicio quod ad inferos devecta esset, multis lachrymis et lamentationibus Jovem fatigavit, ut illa ei restitueretur. Atque tandem pervicit, ut si illa nihil ex iis quæ apud inferos essent degustasset, tum eam abducere liceret. Ea conditio matris desiderio adversa fuit; Proserpina enim grana tria ex malo granato gustasse comperta est. Neque idcirco Ceres destitit, quin preces et ploratus de integro resumeret. Postremo itaque ei indultum est, ut Proserpina, dispertitis temporibus et alternis vicibus, sex menses cum marito, alteris sex cum matre esset Hanc Proserpinam postea Theseus et Perithous eximia audacia thalamo Ditis deducere tentarunt. Cum autem in itinere super saxo apud inferos defessi consedissent, eis resurgere minime licuit, sed æternum sedebant. Proserpina itaque Inferorum Regina mansit; in cujus honorem etiam additum est privilegium magnum; cum enim ab inferis revocare gradum illis qui eo descendissent fas non esset,

ascripta est huic legi exceptio singularis; ut si quis ramum aureum in donum Proserpinæ attulisset, ei ob hoc ire et redire liceret. Is ramus unicus erat in ingenti et opaco luco, neque stirps erat, sed visci instar in aliena arbore frondebat, atque avulso illo alter non deficiebat.

Fabula ad naturam pertinere videtur, atque vim et copiam illam in subterraneis divitem et frugiferam, ex qua hæc nostra pullulant, et in quam rursus solvuntur et redeunt, perscrutari. Per Proserpinam antiqui significarunt spiritum illum æthereum, qui sub terra (per Plutonem repræsentata) clauditur et detinetur, a superiore globo divulsus; quod non male expressit ille:

> Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto
> Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cœli.

Ille spiritus raptus a terra fingitur, quia minime cohibetur, ubi tempus et moram habet ad evolandum, sed subita confractione et comminutione tantum [1] compingitur et figitur, perinde ac si quis aërem aquæ commiscere tentet; quod [2] nullo modo efficere possit nisi per agitationem celerem et rapidam: hac enim ratione videmus illa corpora conjungi in spuma, aëre tanquam rapto ab aqua. Neque ineleganter additur, Proserpinam flores Narcissi in vallibus colligentem raptam fuisse; quia Narcissus a torpore sive stupore nomen sumit; atque tum demum spiritus ad raptum materiæ terrestris magis præparatus est et opportunus, cum coagulari incipit, ac veluti torporem colligere. Recte autem tribuitur honor ille Proserpinæ, qualis nulli uxori deorum, ut Ditis domina sit; quia ille spiritus plane omnia in illis regionibus administrat, stupido et quasi ignaro Plutone. Hunc autem spiritum æther ac vis cœlestium (per Cererem adumbrata) infinita sedulitate elicere, atque sibi restituere contendit. Fax autem illa ætheris, sive tæda ardens in manu Cereris, proculdubio solem denotat; qui circa terræ ambitum luminis officio fungitur, atque maximi omnium esset ad Proserpinam recuperandam momenti, si omnino hoc fieri posset. Illa tamen hæret, et manet: cujus ratio sequitur accurate et excellenter proposita in pactis illis Jovis et Cereris. Primum enim certissimum est, duos esse modos spiritus in materia solida et terrestri cohibendi: alterum per constipationem sive obstructionem, qui est mera incarceratio et violentia: alterum per ministrationem proportionati alimenti, atque id fit sponte et

[1] *subita distractione.* Ed. 1609. [2] *hoc.* Ed. 1609.

libenter. Postquam enim spiritus inclusus depascere incepit atque se alere, evolare protinus non festinat: sed veluti in terra sua figitur: atque hæc est degustatio Proserpinæ ex malo granato; quæ si non fuisset, jampridem a Cerere cum face illa sua orbem terrarum peragrante abducta fuisset. Spiritus enim qui subest metallis et mineralibus compingitur fortasse præcipue per massæ soliditatem; qui autem in plantis est et animantibus, in corpore poroso habitat, et aperta effugia habet, nisi per illum modum degustationis libenter detineretur. Secundum autem pactum de semestri consuetudine non aliud est, quam elegans descriptio dispertitionis anni; cum spiritus ille per terram perfusus, quoad res vegetabiles mensibus æstatis apud superiora degat, atque mensibus hiemis ad subterranea redeat. Quod vero attinet ad conatum illum Thesei et Perithoi abducendæ Proserpinæ, id eo spectat, quod sæpius fiat, ut spiritus subtiliores qui ad terram in multis corporibus descendunt, neutiquam illud efficiant ut spiritum subterraneum exsugant, et secum uniant, et evehant; sed contra ipsi coagulentur, neque amplius resurgant; ut Proserpina per eos aucta incolis et imperio sit. De virga autem illa aurea, vix videmur sustinere posse impetum Chymistarum, si in nos hac ex parte irruant; cum illi ab eodem lapide suo, et auri montes et restitutionem corporum naturalium veluti a portis inferorum promittant. Verum de chymica, atque lapidis illius procis perpetuis, certo scimus theoricam eorum esse sine fundamento; suspicamur etiam practicam esse sine certo pignore. Itaque missis illis, de ista postrema parabolæ parte hæc nostra sententia est. Nobis certe compertum est ex compluribus antiquorum figuris, eos conservationem atque instaurationem quadantenus corporum naturalium pro re desperata non habuisse, sed potius pro re abstrusa et quasi avia. Atque idem sentire hoc etiam loco videntur, cum virgulam istam inter infinita virgulta ingentis et densissimæ sylvæ collocarunt; auream autem finxere, quia aurum durationis tessera est; insitivam, quia ab arte hujusmodi effectus sperandus est, non ab aliqua medicina, aut modo simplici aut naturali.

XXX.

METIS,

SIVE CONSILIUM.

NARRANT poëtæ antiqui Jovem cepisse in uxorem Metin, cujus nomen non obscure *Consilium* significat: eam autem ex illo gravidam factam fuisse: quod cum ille sensisset, partum ejus nullo modo expectasse, sed utique eam devorasse, unde et ipse prægnans factus sit: puerperium autem mirum fuisse; nam ex capite, sive cerebro, Palladem armatam peperisse.

Hujus fabulæ monstrosæ, et primo auditu insulsissimæ, sensus arcanum imperii continere videtur, qua arte scilicet reges se versus consilia sua [1] gerere soleant, ut authoritas et majestas eorum non solum illibata conservetur, verum apud populum [2] augeatur et extollatur. Nam reges se cum consiliis suis vinclo veluti nuptiali copulare et conjungere [3], et de rebus maximis cum eis deliberare, recto et prudente instituto consueverunt; idque majestatem eorum [4] neutiquam imminuere haud abs re judicant: verum cum res jam ad decretum spectat, quod instar partus est, consilii partes non ultra tendere sinunt, ne acta ex consilii arbitrio pendere videantur. Verum, tum demum reges (nisi hujusmodi res sit, ut invidiam a se derivare cupiant) quicquid a consilio elaboratum et veluti in utero efformatum est, in se transferre consueverunt, ut decretum et executio (quæ quia cum potestate procedit et necessitatem infert, eleganter sub figura Palladis armatæ involvitur) ab ipsis emanare videatur. Neque satis est ut hoc ab auctoritate regum et eorum voluntate soluta, et libera, et non obnoxia, profectum videatur; nisi etiam hoc sibi reges sumant [5], ut ex capite eorum, id est ex judicio et prudentia propria, decreta nata existimentur.

[1] *sive senatus suos.* MS.
[2] *populum versus.* MS.
[3] *copulari et conjungi.* Ed. 1609.
[4] *majestatem suam* (omitting the words *recto . . . . idque.*) Ed. 1609.
[5] *ut authoritas regum accedat, et voluntas soluta et libera, et non obnoxia, nisi etiam hoc sibi sumant.* Ed. 1609. The MS. has *et aliorum consensui non obnoxia.*

XXXI.

SIRENES,

SIVE VOLUPTAS.

FABULA de Sirenibus ad perniciosas illecebras voluptatis recte, sed sensu vulgatissimo, transfertur. Nobis autem videtur Sapientia Veterum tanquam uvæ male calcatæ; ex quibus licet nonnihil exprimitur, tamen potissima quæque resident et prætermittuntur. Sirenes Acheloi, et Terpsichores unius ex Musis, filiæ fuisse narrantur. Eæ primis temporibus alatæ erant; sed inito temere cum Musis certamine victæ, alis mulctatæ sunt. Ex pennis autem evulsis Musæ coronas sibi fecerunt; adeo ut ab eo tempore Musæ cum capitibus alatis procederent, præter unam Sirenum matrem. Mora autem Sirenum erat in insulis quibusdam amœnis: illæ vero e specula naves adventantes cum conspicerent, cantu navigantes primo detinebant, deinde alliciebant, exceptos autem necabant. Neque simplex erat cantilena, sed singulos modis maxime naturæ eorum convenientibus captabant. Tanta autem pestis erat, ut insulæ Sirenum etiam longe intuentibus alberent ex ossibus cadaverum inhumatorum. Huic malo remedium repertum est genere et modo duplex; alterum ab Ulysse, alterum ab Orpheo: Ulysses, sociis omnino aures cera obturari jussit; ipse, cum experimentum rei facere vellet, periculum autem depellere, se ad malum navis alligari voluit, interminatus, ne quis eum, licet rogatus, solveret: Orpheus vero, missis hujusmodi vinclis, clara voce deorum laudes cantans ad lyram, voces Sirenum retudit, et extra omne periculum fuit.

Fabula ad mores pertinet, atque minime obscura sane, nec tamen inelegans[1] parabola videtur. Voluptates ex copia rerum ac affluentia; atque ex hilaritate sive exultatione animi proveniunt. Illæ olim primis ipsis illecebris subito, et tanquam alatæ, mortales rapere solebant. Doctrina autem et eruditio hoc saltem effecit, ut animus humanus se nonnihil cohibeat, et exitum rei secum perpendat; itaque alas voluptatibus detraxit. Hoc autem in Musarum decus et honorem egregium cessit. Postquam enim philosophiam contemptum voluptatum inducere posse nonnullorum exemplo patuit, statim res sublimis visa est, quæ animam veluti humo affixam attollat et evehat, et

[1] *evidens sane, nec minus tamen elegans.* Ed. 1609.

hominum cogitationes (quæ in capite vigent) pennatas et veluti æthereas faciat. Sola Sirenum mater pedestris, et sine alis mansit; ea proculdubio nil aliud est, quam doctrinæ leves et ad jucunditatem inventæ et adhibitæ; quales videntur Petronio illi in pretio fuisse, qui postquam sententiam mortis accepisset, in ipsis atriis mortis delicias quæsivit, cumque etiam literas in solatium adhibere vellet, nil (inquit Tacitus) legit eorum quæ ad constantiam faciunt; sed leves versus. Ex hoc genere est illud:

> Vivamus, mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
> Rumoresque senum severiorum
> Omnes unius æstimemus assis.

Et illud:

> Jura senes norint, et quid sit fasque nefasque
> Inquirant tristes, legumque examina servent.

Hujusmodi enim doctrinæ alas Musarum coronis rursus detrahere, et Sirenibus restituere velle videntur. Habitare autem perhibentur Sirenes in insulis, quia voluptates fere secessus quærunt, atque hominum cœtus sæpe vitant. Sirenum autem cantus omnibus decantatus est, ejusque pernicies et artificium varium: itaque interprete hæc non egent. Illud magis acutum de ossibus veluti clivis albentibus e longinquo visis: ex quo illud significatur, exempla calamitatum, licet clara et conspicua, contra voluptatum corruptelas non multum proficere. Restat de remediis parabola, non abstrusa ea quidem, sed tamen prudens et nobilis. Proponuntur enim mali tam callidi et tam violenti remedia tria. Duo a philosophia; tertium a religione. Atque primus effugii modus est, ut quis principiis obstet, atque omnes occasiones quæ animum tentare et sollicitare possint, sedulo devitet: id quod obturatio illa aurium denotat; atque hoc remedium ad animos mediocres et plebeios necessario adhibetur, tanquam ad comites Ulyssis. Animi autem celsiores etiam versari inter medias voluptates possunt, si decreti constantia se muniant: quin et per hoc virtutis suæ experimentum magis exquisitum capere gaudent; etiam voluptatum ineptias et insanias perdiscunt, potius contemplantes quam obsequentes: quod et Salomon de se professus est, cum enumerationem voluptatum quibus diffluebat, ea sententia claudat: *Sapientia quoque perseveravit mecum.* Itaque hujusmodi heroës inter maximas voluptatum illecebras se immobiles præstare, atque in

ipsis earum præcipitiis se sustinere queant; tantum, ad Ulyssis exemplum, interdictis perniciosis suorum consiliis et obsequiis, quæ animam maxime omnium labefactare et solvere possint. Præstantissimum autem in omni genere est remedium Orphei; qui laudes Deorum cantans et reboans, Sirenum voces confudit et summovit. Meditationes enim Rerum Divinarum, Voluptates Sensus non tantum potestate, sed etiam suavitate superant.

FINIS.

OF THE

WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

DEDICATED TO

THE FAMOUS UNIVERSITY

OF

CAMBRIDGE.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS

THE EARL OF SALISBURY,

LORD HIGH TREASURER OF ENGLAND, AND CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

THINGS dedicated to the University of Cambridge accrue to you as Chancellor; to all that proceeds from me you have a personal title. The question is, whether as these things are yours, so they are worthy of you. Now for that which is least worth in them (the wit of the author), your kindness towards me will let that pass; and there is nothing else in the matter to disgrace you. For if time be regarded, — primæval antiquity is an object of the highest veneration; if the form of exposition, — parable has ever been a kind of arc, in which the most precious portions of the sciences were deposited; if the matter of the work, — it is philosophy, the second grace and ornament of life and the human soul. For be it said, that however philosophy in this our age, falling as it were into a second childhood, be left to young men and almost to boys, yet I hold it to be of all things, next to religion, the most important and most worthy of human nature. Even the art of politics, wherein you are so well approved both by faculty and by merits, and by the judgment of a most wise king, springs from the same fountain, and is a great part thereof. And if any man think these things of mine to be common and vulgar, it is not for me of course to say what I have effected; but my aim has been, passing by things obvious and obsolete and commonplace, to give some help towards the difficulties

of life and the secrets of science. To the vulgar apprehension therefore they will be vulgar; but it may be that the deeper intellect will not be left aground by them, but rather (as I hope) carried along. While however I strive to attach some worth to this work, because it is dedicated to you, I am in danger of transgressing the bounds of modesty, seeing it is undertaken by myself. But you will accept it as a pledge of my affection, observance, and devotion to yourself, and will accord it the protection of your name. Seeing therefore that you have so many and so great affairs on your shoulders, I will not take up more of your time, but make an end, wishing you all felicity, and ever remaining yours,

Most bounden to you both by my zeal and your benefits,

FRA. BACON.

TO HIS

NURSING-MOTHER

THE FAMOUS UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

SINCE without philosophy I care not to live, I must needs hold you in great honour, from whom these defences and solaces of life have come to me. To you on this account I profess to owe both myself and all that is mine; and therefore it is the less strange, if I requite you with what is your own; that with a natural motion it may return to the place whence it came. And, yet I know not how it is, but there are few footprints pointing back towards you, among the infinite number that have gone forth from you. Nor shall I take too much to myself (I think), if by reason of that little acquaintance with affairs which my kind and plan of life has necessarily carried with it, I indulge a hope that the inventions of the learned may receive some accession by these labours of mine. Certainly I am of opinion that speculative studies when transplanted into active life acquire some new grace and vigour, and having more matter to feed them, strike their roots perhaps deeper, or at least grow taller and fuller leaved. Nor do you yourselves (as I think) know how widely your own studies extend, and how many things they concern. Yet it is fit that all should be attributed to you and be counted to your honour, since all increase is due in great part to the beginning. You will not however expect from a man of business anything exquisite; any miracles or prerogatives of leisure; but you will attribute to my great love for you and yours even this,—that among the thorns of business these things have not quite perished, but there is preserved for you so much of your own.

Your most loving pupil,

FRA. BACON.

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PREFACE.

THE most ancient times (except what is preserved of them in the scriptures) are buried in oblivion and silence: to that silence succeeded the fables of the poets: to those fables the written records which have come down to us. Thus between the hidden depths of antiquity and the days of tradition and evidence that followed there is drawn a veil, as it were, of fables, which come in and occupy the middle region that separates what has perished from what survives.

Now I suppose most people will think I am but entertaining myself with a toy, and using much the same kind of licence in expounding the poets' fables which the poets themselves did in inventing them; and it is true that if I had a mind to vary and relieve my severer studies with some such exercise of pleasure for my own or my reader's recreation, I might very fairly indulge in it. But that is not my meaning. Not but that I know very well what pliant stuff fable is made of, how freely it will follow any way you please to draw it, and how easily with a little dexterity and discourse of wit meanings which it was never meant to bear may be plausibly put upon it. Neither have I forgotten that there has been old abuse of the thing in practice; that many, wishing only to gain the sanction and reverence of antiquity for doctrines and inventions of their own, have tried to twist the fables of the poets into that sense; and that this is neither a modern vanity nor a rare one, but old of standing and frequent in use; that Chrysippus long ago, interpreting the oldest poets after the manner of an interpreter of dreams, made them out to be Stoics; and that the Alchemists more absurdly still have discovered in the pleasant and sportive fictions of the transformation of bodies, allusion to experiments of the furnace. All this I have duly examined and weighed; as well as all the levity and looseness with which people indulge

their fancy in the matter of allegories; yet for all this I cannot change my mind. For in the first place to let the follies and licence of a few detract from the honour of parables in general is not to be allowed; being indeed a boldness savouring of profanity; seeing that religion delights in such veils and shadows, and to take them away would be almost to interdict all communion between divinity and humanity. But passing that and speaking of human wisdom only, I do certainly for my own part (I freely and candidly confess) incline to this opinion,—that beneath no small number of the fables of the ancient poets there lay from the very beginning a mystery and an allegory. It may be that my reverence for the primitive time carries me too far, but the truth is that in some of these fables, as well in the very frame and texture of the story as in the propriety of the names by which the persons that figure in it are distinguished, I find a conformity and connexion with the thing signified, so close and so evident, that one cannot help believing such a signification to have been designed and meditated from the first, and purposely shadowed out. For who is there so impenetrable and that can so shut his eyes to a plain thing, but when he is told that after the *Giants* were put down, *Fame* sprang up as their posthumous sister, he will at once see that it is meant of those murmurs of parties and seditious rumours which always circulate for a time after the suppression of a rebellion? Or again who can hear that the *Giant Typhon* cut off and carried away *Jupiter's* sinews, and that *Mercury* stole them from Typhon and gave them back to Jupiter; without at once perceiving that it relates to successful rebellions, by which kings have their sinews both of money and authority cut off; yet not so but that by fair words and wise edicts the minds of the subjects may be presently reconciled, and as it were stolen back, and so kings recover their strength? Or who can hear that in that memorable expedition of the gods against the giants the braying of *Silenus's ass* had a principal stroke in putting the giants to flight, and not be sure that the incident was invented in allusion to the vast attempts of rebels, dissipated as they commonly are by empty rumours and vain terrors? Then again there is a conformity and significancy in the very names, which must be clear to everybody. Metis, Jupiter's wife, plainly means counsel; Typhon, swelling; Pan, the universe;

Nemesis, revenge; and the like. And what if we find here and there a bit of real history underneath, or some things added only for ornament, or times confounded, or part of one fable transferred to another and a new allegory introduced? Such things could not but occur in stories invented (as these were) by men who both lived in different ages and had different ends, some being more modern, some more ancient, some having in their thoughts natural philosophy, others civil affairs; and therefore they need not trouble us.

But there is yet another sign, and one of no small value, that these fables contain a hidden and involved meaning; which is, that some of them are so absurd and stupid upon the face of the narrative taken by itself, that they may be said to give notice from afar and cry out that there is a parable below. For a fable that is probable may be thought to have been composed merely for pleasure, in imitation of history. But when a story is told which could never have entered any man's head either to conceive or relate on its own account, we must presume that it had some further reach. What a fiction (for instance) is that of Jupiter and Metis! Jupiter took Metis to wife: as soon as he saw that she was with child, he ate her up; whereupon he grew to be with child himself; and so brought forth out of his head Pallas in armour! Surely I think no man had ever a dream so monstrous and extravagant, and out of all natural ways of thinking.

But the consideration which has most weight with me is this, that few of these fables were invented, as I take it, by those who recited and made them famous,—Homer, Hesiod, and the rest. For had they been certainly the production of that age and of those authors by whose report they have come down to us, I should not have thought of looking for anything great or lofty from such a source. But it will appear upon an attentive examination that they are delivered not as new inventions then first published, but as stories already received and believed. And since they are told in different ways by writers nearly contemporaneous, it is easy to see that what all the versions have in common came from ancient tradition, while the parts in which they vary are the additions introduced by the several writers for embellishment — a circumstance which gives them in my eyes a much higher value: for so they must be regarded as neither being the inventions nor belonging to the age of the

poets themselves, but as sacred relics and light airs breathing out of better times, that were caught from the traditions of more ancient nations and so received into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks.

Nevertheless, if any one be determined to believe that the allegorical meaning of the fable was in no case original and genuine, but that always the fable was first and the allegory put in after, I will not press that point; but allowing him to enjoy that gravity of judgment (of the dull and leaden order though it be) which he affects, I will attack him, if indeed he be worth the pains, in another manner upon a fresh ground. Parables have been used in two ways, and (which is strange) for contrary purposes. For they serve to disguise and veil the meaning, and they serve also to clear and throw light upon it. To avoid dispute then, let us give up the former of these uses. Let us suppose that these fables were things without any definite purpose, made only for pleasure. Still there remains the latter use. No force of wit can deprive us of that. Nor is there any man of ordinary learning that will object to the reception of it as a thing grave and sober, and free from all vanity; of prime use to the sciences, and sometimes indispensable: I mean the employment of parables as a method of teaching, whereby inventions that are new and abstruse and remote from vulgar opinions may find an easier passage to the understanding. On this account it was that in the old times, when the inventions and conclusions of human reason (even those that are now trite and vulgar) were as yet new and strange, the world was full of all kinds of fables, and enigmas, and parables, and similitudes: and these were used not as a device for shadowing and concealing the meaning, but as a method of making it understood; the understandings of men being then rude and impatient of all subtleties that did not address themselves to the sense,—indeed scarcely capable of them. For as hieroglyphics came before letters, so parables came before arguments. And even now if any one wish to let new light on any subject into men's minds, and that without offence or harshness, he must still go the same way and call in the aid of similitudes.

Upon the whole I conclude with this: the wisdom of the primitive ages was either great or lucky; great, if they knew what they were doing and invented the figure to shadow the

meaning; lucky, if without meaning or intending it they fell upon matter which gives occasion to such worthy contemplations. My own pains, if there be any help in them, I shall think well bestowed either way: I shall be throwing light either upon antiquity or upon nature itself.

That the thing has been attempted by others I am of course aware, but if I may speak what I think freely without mincing it, I must say that the pains which have been hitherto taken that way, though great and laborious, have gone near to deprive the inquiry of all its beauty and worth; while men of no experience in affairs, nor any learning beyond a few commonplaces, have applied the sense of the parables to some generalities and vulgar observations, without attaining their true force, their genuine propriety, or their deeper reach. Here, on the other hand, it will be found (if I mistake not) that though the subjects be old, yet the matter is new; while leaving behind us the open and level parts we bend our way towards the nobler heights that rise beyond.

by

OF THE

WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

I.

CASSANDRA;

OR PLAINNESS OF SPEECH.

THEY say that Cassandra was beloved by Apollo; that she contrived by various artifices to elude his desires, and yet to keep his hopes alive until she had drawn from him the gift of divination; that she had no sooner obtained this, which had all along been her object, than she openly rejected his suit; whereupon he, not being permitted to recal the boon once rashly promised, yet burning with revenge, and not choosing to be the scorn of an artful woman, annexed to it this penalty, —that though she should always foretell true, yet nobody should believe her. Her prophecies therefore had truth, but not credit: and so she found it ever after, even in regard to the destruction of her country; of which she had given many warnings, but could get nobody to listen to her or believe her.

This fable seems to have been devised in reproof of unreasonable and unprofitable liberty in giving advice and admonition. For they that are of a froward and rough disposition, and will not submit to learn of Apollo, the god of harmony, how to observe time and measure in affairs, flats and sharps (so to speak) in discourse, the differences between the learned and the vulgar ear, and the times when to speak and when to be silent; such persons, though they be wise and free, and their counsels sound and wholesome, yet with all their efforts to persuade they scarcely can do any good; on the contrary, they rather hasten the destruction of those upon whom they

press their advice; and it is not till the evils they predicted have come to pass that they are celebrated as prophets and men of a far foresight. Of this we have an eminent example in Marcus Cato of Utica, by whom the ruin of his country and the usurpation that followed, by means first of the conjunction and then of the contention between Pompey and Cæsar, was long before foreseen as from a watch-tower, and foretold as by an oracle; yet all the while he did no good, but did harm rather, and brought the calamities of his country faster on; as was wisely observed and elegantly described by Marcus Cicero, when he said in a letter to a friend, *Cato means well: but he does hurt sometimes to the State; for he talks as if he were in the republic of Plato and not in the dregs of Romulus.*

II.

TYPHON;

OR THE REBEL.

THE poets tell us that Juno being angry that Jupiter had brought forth Pallas by himself without her help, implored of all the gods and goddesses that she also might bring forth something without the help of Jupiter: to which when wearied with her violence and importunity they had assented, she smote the earth, which quaking and opening gave birth to Typhon, a huge and hideous monster. He was given to a serpent by way of foster-father to be nursed. As soon as he was grown up he made war upon Jupiter, whom in the conflict he took prisoner; and bearing him on his shoulders to a remote and obscure region, cut out the sinews of his hands and feet, and carrying them away, left him there helpless and mutilated. Then came Mercury, and having stolen the sinews from Typhon gave them back to Jupiter, who finding his strength restored attacked the monster again. And first he struck him with a thunderbolt, which made a wound the blood whereof engendered serpents; then, as he fell back and fled, threw upon him the mountain Ætna and crushed him beneath the weight.

The fable has been composed in allusion to the variable fortune of kings and the rebellions that occur from time to

time in monarchies. For kings and their kingdoms are properly, like Jupiter and Juno, man and wife. But it sometimes happens that the king, depraved by the long habit of ruling, turns tyrant and takes all into his own hands; and not caring for the consent of his nobles and senate, brings forth as it were by himself; that is to say, administers the government by his own arbitrary and absolute authority. Whereat the people aggrieved endeavour on their part to set up some head of their own. This generally begins with the secret solicitation of nobles and great persons, whose connivency being obtained, an attempt is then made to stir the people. Thence comes a kind of swelling in the State, which is signified by the infancy of Typhon. And this condition of affairs is fostered and nourished by the innate depravity and malignant disposition of the common people, which is to kings like a serpent full of malice and mischief; till the disaffection spreading and gathering strength breaks out at last into open rebellion; which because of the infinite calamities it inflicts both on kings and peoples is represented under the dreadful image of Typhon, with a hundred heads, denoting divided powers; flaming mouths, for devastations by fire; belts of snakes, for the pestilences which prevail, especially in sieges; iron hands, for slaughters; eagle's talons, for rapine; feathery body, for perpetual rumours, reports, trepidations, and the like. And sometimes these rebellions grow so mighty that the king is forced, as if carried off on the shoulders of the rebels, to abandon the seat and principal cities of his kingdom, and to contract his forces, and betake himself to some remote and obscure province; his sinews both of money and majesty being cut off. And yet if he bears his fortune wisely, he presently by the skill and industry of Mercury recovers those sinews again; that is to say, by affability and wise edicts and gracious speeches he reconciles the minds of his subjects, and awakens in them an alacrity to grant him supplies, and so recovers the vigour of his authority. Nevertheless, having learned prudence and caution, he is commonly unwilling to set all upon the toss of fortune, and therefore avoids a pitched battle, but tries first by some memorable exploit to destroy the reputation of the rebels: in which if he succeed, the rebels feeling themselves shaken and losing their confidence, resort first to broken and empty threats, like serpent's hisses, and then finding their case

desperate take to flight. And then is the time, when they are beginning to fall to pieces, for the king with the entire forces and mass of his kingdom, as with the mountain Ætna, to pursue and overwhelm them.

III.

THE CYCLOPES;

OR MINISTERS OF TERROR.

THE story is that the Cyclopes were at first on account of their fierceness and brutality driven by Jupiter into Tartarus, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment; but afterwards he was persuaded by the Earth that it would be for his interest to release them and employ them to make thunderbolts for him; which he accordingly did; and they with officious industry laboured assiduously with a terrible din in forging thunderbolts and other instruments of terror. In course of time it happened that Jupiter's wrath was kindled against Æsculapius, son of Apollo, for raising a man from the dead by medicine; but because the deed was pious and famous and no just cause of displeasure, he concealed his anger and secretly set the Cyclopes upon him: who made no difficulty, but presently dispatched him with their thunderbolts; in revenge whereof Apollo (with Jupiter's permission) slew them with his arrows.

This fable seems to relate to the doings of kings; by whom cruel and bloody and exacting ministers are in the first instance punished and put out of office. But afterwards by counsel of the Earth, that is by ignoble and dishonourable counsel, yielding to considerations of utility, they take them into service again, when they have need either of severity of executions or harshness in exactions. They on their part being by nature cruel and by their former fortune exasperated, and knowing well enough what they are wanted for, apply themselves to this kind of work with wonderful diligence; till for want of caution and from over eagerness to ingratiate themselves, they at one time or another (taking a nod or an ambiguous word of the prince for a warrant) perpetrate some execution that is odious and unpopular. Upon which the prince, not willing to take

the envy of it upon himself, and well knowing that he can always have plenty of such instruments, throws them overboard, and leaves them to the course of law and the vengeance of the friends and relatives of their victims, and to popular hatred; and so amid much applause of the people and great acclamations and blessings on the king, they meet at last, though late, the fate they deserve.

IV.

NARCISSUS;

OR SELF-LOVE.

NARCISSUS is said to have been a young man of wonderful beauty, but intolerably proud, fastidious, and disdainful. Pleased with himself and despising all others, he led a solitary life in the woods and hunting-grounds; with a few companions to whom he was all in all; followed also wherever he went by a nymph called Echo. Living thus, he came by chance one day to a clear fountain, and (being in the heat of noon) lay down by it; when beholding in the water his own image, he fell into such a study and then into such a rapturous admiration of himself, that he could not be drawn away from gazing at the shadowy picture, but remained rooted to the spot till sense left him; and at last he was changed into the flower that bears his name; a flower which appears in the early spring; and is sacred to the infernal deities, — Pluto, Proserpine, and the Furies.

In this fable are represented the dispositions, and the fortunes too, of those persons who from consciousness either of beauty or some other gift with which nature unaided by any industry of their own has graced them, fall in love as it were with themselves. For with this state of mind there is commonly joined an indisposition to appear much in public or engage in business; because business would expose them to many neglects and scorns, by which their minds would be dejected and troubled. Therefore they commonly live a solitary, private, and shadowed life; with a small circle of chosen companions, all devoted admirers, who assent like an echo to everything they say, and entertain them with mouth-homage; till being by such habits gradually depraved and puffed up, and besotted at last with self-admiration,

they fall into such a sloth and listlessness that they grow utterly stupid, and lose all vigour and alacrity. And it was a beautiful thought to choose the flower of spring as an emblem of characters like this: characters which in the opening of their career flourish and are talked of, but disappoint in maturity the promise of their youth. The fact too that this flower is sacred to the infernal deities contains an allusion to the same thing. For men of this disposition turn out utterly useless and good for nothing whatever; and anything that yields no fruit, but like the way of a ship in the sea passes and leaves no trace, was by the ancients held sacred to the shades and infernal gods.

V.

STYX;

OR TREATIES.

It is a very common tradition that of the one oath by which the gods bound themselves when they meant to leave no room for repentance; and finds a place in a great many fables. In that case they invoked in witness, not any majesty of heaven or any divine attribute, but Styx; a river in the infernal regions which with many windings encircled the palace of Dis. This form of oath alone, and no other, was held to be sure and inviolable: the penalty of breaking it being one which the deities most dreaded, — namely that the breaker should for a certain period of years be excluded from the banquets of the gods.

The fable seems to have been invented in allusion to treaties and compacts of princes: in respect of which it is but too true that whatever be the solemnity and sanctity of the oath they are confirmed with, yet they are little to be depended on; insomuch that they are used in fact rather with an eye to reputation and fame and ceremony, than for confidence and security and effect. And even when the ties of relationship (which are as the sacraments of nature) or of mutual good services come in to aid, yet in most cases all are too weak for ambition and interest and the licence of power: the rather because princes can always find plenty of plausible pretexts (not being accountable to any arbiter) wherewith to justify and veil their cupidity and

bad faith. There is adopted therefore but one true and proper pledge of faith; and it is not any celestial divinity. This is Necessity (the great god of the powerful), and peril of state, and communion of interest. Now Necessity is elegantly represented under the figure of Styx; the fatal river across which no man can return. This is the deity which Iphicrates the Athenian invoked to witness treaties; and since he was one that spoke out plainly what most men think and keep to themselves, his words are worth quoting. Finding that the Lacedæmonians were devising and propounding various cautions and sanctions and securities and bonds to hold the treaty fast, *There is only one bond and security* (said he, interrupting them) *that can hold between you and us: — you must prove that you have yielded so much into our hands that you cannot hurt us if you would.* And so it is that if the means of hurting be taken away, or if a breach of the treaty would endanger the existence or the integrity of the state and revenue, — then the treaty may be considered to be ratified and sanctioned and confirmed as by the oath of Styx: for then it is upon peril of being interdicted from the banquets of the gods; which was the ancient expression for the rights and prerogatives of empire, and wealth, and felicity.

VI.

PAN;

OR NATURE.[1]

THE ancients have given under the person of Pan an elaborate description of universal nature. His parentage they leave in doubt. Some call him the son of Mercury; others assign him an origin altogether different; saying that he was the offspring of a promiscuous intercourse between Penelope and all her suitors. But in this the name of Penelope has doubtless been foisted by some later author into the original fable. For it is no uncommon thing to find the more ancient narrations transferred to persons and names of later date; sometimes absurdly and stupidly, as in this instance; for Pan was one of

[1] For an enlarged version of this fable, see Vol. IV. p. 318.

the oldest gods, and long before the times of Ulysses; and Penelope was for her matronly chastity held in veneration by antiquity. But there is yet a third account of his birth, which must not be passed over; for some have called him the son of Jupiter and Hybris, or Insolence.

Whatever was his origin, the Fates are said to have been his sisters.

His person is described by ancient tradition as follows: With horns, and the tops of the horns reaching heaven; his whole body shaggy and hairy; his beard especially long. In figure, biform; human in the upper parts, the other half brute; ending in the feet of a goat. As emblems of his power he carried in his left hand a pipe compact of seven reeds, in his right a sheep-hook or staff crooked at the top; and he was clothed in a scarf, made of panther's skin. The powers and offices assigned to him are these,—he is the god of hunters, of shepherds, and generally of dwellers in the country: also he presides over mountains; and is (next to Mercury) the messenger of the gods. He was accounted moreover the captain and commander of the nymphs, who were always dancing and frisking about him: the Satyrs, and their elders, the Sileni, were also of his company. He had the power likewise of exciting sudden terrors,—empty and superstitious ones especially;—thence called Panics. The actions that are recorded of him are not many; the principal is that he challenged Cupid to wrestle; and was beaten by him. He also entangled and caught the giant Typhon in a net; and they say besides, that when Ceres, out of grief and indignation at the rape of Proserpina, had hid herself, and all the gods were earnestly engaged in seeking her out, and had dispersed several ways in search of her, it was Pan's good fortune to light upon and discover her by accident while he was hunting. He had also the presumption to match himself against Apollo in music; and was by Midas's judgment pronounced victor; for which judgment Midas had to wear the ears of an ass, but not so as to be seen. There are no amours reported of Pan, or at least very few: which among a crowd of gods so excessively amorous may seem strange. The only thing imputed to him in this kind is a passion for Echo, who was also accounted his wife; and for one nymph called Syringa, with love of whom he was smitten by Cupid in anger and revenge because of his presumption in

challenging him to wrestle. Nor had he any issue (which is again strange, seeing that the gods, especially the males, were remarkably prolific) except one daughter, a little serving woman called Iambe, who used to amuse guests with ridiculous stories, and was supposed by some to be Pan's offspring by his wife Echo.

A noble fable this, if there be any such; and big almost to bursting with the secrets and mysteries of Nature.

Pan, as the very word declares, represents the universal frame of things, or Nature. About his origin there are and can be but two opinions; for Nature is either the offspring of Mercury—that is of the Divine Word (an opinion which the Scriptures establish beyond question, and which was entertained by all the more divine philosophers); or else of the seeds of things mixed and confused together. For they who derive all things from a single principle, either take that principle to be God, or if they hold it to be a material principle, assert it to be though actually one yet potentially many; so that all difference of opinion on this point is reducible to one or other of these two heads,—the world is sprung either from Mercury, or from all the suitors. He sang, says Virgil,

> How through the void of space the seeds of things
> Came first together; seeds of the sea, land, air,
> And the clear fire; how from these elements
> All embryos grew, and the great world itself
> Swelled by degrees and gathered in its globe.

The third account of the generation of Pan, might make one think that the Greeks had heard something, whether through the Egyptians or otherwise, concerning the Hebrew mysteries; for it applies to the state of the world, not at its very birth, but as it was after the fall of Adam, subject to death and corruption. For that state was the offspring of God and Sin,—and so remains. So that all three stories of the birth of Pan (if they be understood with a proper distinction as to facts and times) may be accepted as indeed true. For true it is that this Pan, whom we behold and contemplate and worship only too much, is sprung from the Divine Word, through the medium of confused matter (which is itself God's creature), and with the help of sin and corruption entering in.

To the Nature of things, the Fates or destinies of things are truly represented as sisters. For natural causes are the chain

which draws after it the births and durations and deaths of all things; their fallings and risings, their labours and felicities: —in short all the fates that can befall them.

That the world is represented with horns, and that such horns are broad at bottom and narrow at top, has relation to the fact that the whole frame of nature rises to a point like a pyramid. For individuals are infinite: these are collected into species, which are themselves also very numerous; the species are gathered up into genera, and these again into genera of a higher stage; till nature, contracting as it rises, seems to meet at last in one point. Nor need we wonder that Pan's horns touch heaven; since the summits, or universal forms, of nature do in a manner reach up to God; the passage from metaphysic to natural theology being ready and short.

The body of Nature is most elegantly and truly represented as covered with hair; in allusion to the rays which all objects emit; for rays are like the hairs or bristles of nature; and there is scarcely anything which is not more or less radiant. This is very plainly seen in the power of vision, and not less so in all kinds of magnetic virtue, and in every effect which takes place at a distance. For whatever produces an effect at a distance may be truly said to emit rays. But Pan's hair is longest in the beard, because the rays of the celestial bodies operate and penetrate from a greater distance than any other; and we see also that the sun, when the upper part of him is veiled by a cloud and the rays break out below, has the appearance of a face with a beard.

Again, the body of Nature is most truly described as biform; on account of the difference between the bodies of the upper and the lower world. For the upper or heavenly bodies, are for their beauty and the equability and constancy of their motion, as well as for the influence they have upon earth and all that belongs to it, fitly represented under the human figure: but the others, by reason of their perturbations and irregular motions, and because they are under the influence of the celestial bodies, may be content with the figure of a brute. The same description of Nature's body may be referred also to the mixture of one species with another. For there is no nature which can be regarded as simple; every one seeming to participate and be compounded of two. Man has something of the brute; the brute has something of the vegetable; the vegetable some-

thing of the inanimate body; and so all things are in truth biformed and made up of a higher species and a lower. There is also a very ingenious allegory involved in that attribute of the goat's feet; which has reference to the motion upwards of terrestrial bodies towards the regions of air and sky: for the goat is a climbing animal, and loves to hang from rocks and cling to the sides of precipices: a tendency which is also exhibited in a wonderful manner by substances that belong properly to the lower world—witness clouds and meteors.

The emblems in Pan's hands are of two kinds—one of harmony, the other of empire. The pipe compact of seven reeds evidently indicates that harmony and concent of things, that concord mixed with discord, which results from the motions of the seven planets. Also the sheep-hook is a noble metaphor, alluding to the mixture of straight and crooked in the ways of nature. But the staff is curved chiefly towards the top; because all the works of Divine Providence in the world are wrought by winding and roundabout ways—where one thing seems to be doing, and another is doing really—as in the selling of Joseph into Egypt, and the like. So also in all the wiser kinds of human government, they who sit at the helm can introduce and insinuate what they desire for the good of the people more successfully by pretexts and indirect ways than directly; so that every rod or staff of empire is truly crooked at the top. The scarf or mantle of Pan is very ingeniously feigned to be made of a panther's skin; on account of the spots scattered all over it. For the heavens are spotted with stars, the sea with islands, the earth with flowers; and even particular objects are generally variegated on the surface, which is as it were their mantle or scarf.

Now the office of Pan can in no way be more lively set forth and explained than by calling him god of hunters. For every natural action, every motion and process of nature, is nothing else than a hunt. For the sciences and arts hunt after their works, human counsels hunt after their ends, and all things in nature hunt either after their food, which is like hunting for prey, or after their pleasures, which is like hunting for recreation;—and that too by methods skilful and sagacious.

> After the wolf the lion steals; the wolf the kid doth follow;
> The kid pursues the cytisus o'er hillock and thro' hollow.

Also Pan is the god of country people in general; because they live more according to nature; whereas in courts and cities nature is corrupted by too much culture; till it is true what the poet said of his mistress,—*the girl herself is the least part of the matter.*

Pan is likewise especially called president of mountains—because it is in mountains and elevated places that the nature of things is most spread abroad, and lies most open to view and study. As for Pan's being, next to Mercury, the messenger of the gods, that is an allegory plainly divine; seeing that next to the Word of God, the image itself of the world is the great proclaimer of the divine wisdom and goodness. So sings the Psalmist: *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork.*

Again Pan takes delight in the nymphs; that is the souls; for the souls of the living are the delight of the world. And Pan is truly called their commander, since they follow the guidance each of her several nature; leaping and dancing about it with infinite variety, every one in her country's fashion, and with motion that never ceases. And in their company are ever found the Satyrs and the Sileni; that is old age and youth; for all things have their merry and dancing time, and likewise their heavy and tippling time. And yet to one who truly considers them, the pursuits of either age appear perhaps, as they did to Democritus, ridiculous and deformed,—like to a Satyr or Silenus.

In the Panic terrors there is set forth a very wise doctrine; for by the nature of things all living creatures are endued with a certain fear and dread, the office of which is to preserve their life and essence, and to avoid or repel approaching mischief. But the same nature knows not how to keep just measure—but together with salutary fears ever mingles vain and empty ones; insomuch that all things (if one could see into the heart of them) are quite full of Panic terrors; human things most of all; so infinitely tossed and troubled as they are with superstition (which is in truth nothing but a Panic terror), especially in seasons of hardship, anxiety, and adversity.

With regard to the audacity of Pan in challenging Cupid to fight, it refers to this,—that matter is not without a certain inclination and appetite to dissolve the world and fall back into

the ancient chaos; but that the overswaying concord of things (which is represented by Cupid or Love) restrains its will and effort in that direction and reduces it to order. And therefore it is well for man and for the world that in that contest Pan was foiled. The same thing is alluded to in that other circumstance of the catching of Typhon in a net: because however it be that vast and strange swellings (for that is the meaning of Typhon) take place occasionally in nature,—whether of the sea, or the clouds, or the earth, or any other body—nevertheless all such exuberancies and irregularities are by the nature of things caught and confined in an inextricable net, and bound down as with a chain of adamant.

As for the tale that the discovery of Ceres was reserved for this god, and that while he was hunting, and denied to the rest of the gods though diligently and specially engaged in seeking her; it contains a very true and wise admonition—namely that the discovery of things useful to life and the furniture of life, such as corn, is not to be looked for from the abstract philosophies, as it were the greater gods, no not though they devote their whole powers to that special end—but only from Pan; that is from sagacious experience and the universal knowledge of nature, which will often by a kind of accident, and as it were while engaged in hunting, stumble upon such discoveries.

Then again that match in music and the result of it exhibits a wholesome doctrine, fit to restrain and reduce to sobriety the pride and overweening confidence of human reason and judgment. For it seems there are two kinds of harmony and music; one of divine providence, the other of human reason; and to the human judgment, and the ears as it were of mortals, the government of the world and nature, and the more secret judgments of God, sound somewhat harsh and untunable; and though this be ignorance, such as deserves to be distinguished with the ears of an ass, yet those ears are worn secretly and not in the face of the world—for it is not a thing observed or noted as a deformity by the vulgar.

Lastly, it is not to be wondered at that no amours are attributed to Pan, except his marriage with Echo. For the world enjoys itself and in itself all things that are. Now he that is in love wants something, and where there is abundance of everything want can have no place. The world therefore

can have no loves, nor any want (being content with itself) unless it be of discourse. Such is the nymph Echo, or, if it be of the more exact and measured kind, Syringa. And it is excellently provided that of all discourses or voices Echo alone should be chosen for the world's wife. For that is in fact the true philosophy which echoes most faithfully the voice of the world itself, and is written as it were from the world's own dictation; being indeed nothing else than the image and reflexion of it, which it only repeats and echoes, but adds nothing of its own. That the world has no issue, is another allusion to the sufficiency and perfection of it in itself. Generation goes on among the parts of the world, but how can the whole generate, when no body exists out of itself? As for that little woman, Pan's putative daughter, it is an addition to the fable, with a great deal of wisdom in it; for by her are represented those vain babbling doctrines about the nature of things, which wander abroad in all times and fill the world—doctrines barren in fact, counterfeit in breed, but by reason of their garrulity sometimes entertaining; and sometimes again troublesome and annoying.

VII.

PERSEUS;

OR WAR.[1]

PERSEUS was sent, it is said, by Pallas to cut off the head of Medusa, from whom many nations in the westernmost parts of Spain suffered grievous calamities:—a monster so dreadful and horrible that the mere sight of her turned men into stone. She was one of the Gorgons; and the only one of them that was mortal, the others not being subject to change. By way of equipment for this so noble exploit, Perseus received arms and gifts from three several gods. Mercury gave him wings for his feet; Pluto gave him a helmet; Pallas a shield and a mirror. And yet though so well provided and equipped, he did not proceed against Medusa directly, but went out of his way to visit the Grææ. These were half-sisters to the

[1] For an enlarged version of this fable, see Vol. IV. p. 327.

Gorgons; and had been born old women with white hair. They had but one eye and one tooth among them, and these they used to wear by turns; each putting them on as she went abroad, and putting them off again when she came back. This eye and tooth they now lent to Perseus. Whereupon, judging himself sufficiently equipped for the performance of his undertaking, he went against Medusa with all haste, flying. He found her asleep; but not daring to face her (in case she should wake) he looked back into Pallas's mirror, and taking aim by the reflexion, cut off her head. From the blood which flowed out of the wound, there suddenly leaped forth a winged Pegasus. The severed head was fixed by Perseus in Pallas's shield; where it still retained its power of striking stiff, as if thunder or planet stricken, all who looked on it.

The fable seems to have been composed with reference to the art and judicious conduct of war. And first, for the kind of war to be chosen, it sets forth (as from the advice of Pallas) three sound and weighty precepts to guide the deliberation.

The first is, not to take any great trouble for the subjugation of the neighbouring nations. For the rule to be followed in the enlarging of a patrimony does not apply to the extension of an empire. In a private property, the vicinity of the estates to each other is of importance; but in extending an empire, occasion, and facility of carrying the war through, and value of conquest, should be regarded instead of vicinity. We see that the Romans, while they had hardly penetrated westward beyond Liguria, had conquered and included in their empire eastern provinces as far off as Mount Taurus. And therefore Perseus, though he belonged to the east, did not decline a distant expedition to the uttermost parts of the west.

The second is that there be a just and honourable cause of war: for this begets alacrity as well in the soldiers themselves, as in the people, from whom the supplies are to come: also it opens the way to alliances, and conciliates friends; and has a great many advantages. Now there is no cause of war more pious than the overthrow of a tyranny under which the people lies prostrate without spirit or vigour, as if turned to stone by the aspect of Medusa.

Thirdly, it is wisely added that whereas there are three Gorgons (by whom are represented wars), Perseus chose the one that was mortal, that is, he chose such a war as might be

finished and carried through, and did not engage in the pursuit of vast or infinite projects.

The equipment of Perseus is of that kind which is everything in war, and almost ensures success; for he received swiftness from Mercury, secrecy of counsel from Pluto, and providence from Pallas. Nor is the circumstance that those wings of swiftness were for the heels and not for the shoulders without an allegorical meaning, and a very wise one. For it is not in the first attack, so much as in those that follow up and support the first, that swiftness is required; and there is no error more common in war than that of not pressing on the secondary and subsidiary actions with an activity answerable to the vigour of the beginnings. There is also an ingenious distinction implied in the images of the shield and the mirror (for the parable of Pluto's helmet which made men invisible needs no explanation) between the two kinds of foresight. For we must have not only that kind of foresight which acts as a shield, but that other kind likewise which enables us (like Pallas's mirror) to spy into the forces and movements and counsels of the enemy.

But Perseus, however provided with forces and courage, stands yet in need of one thing more before the war be commenced, which is of the highest possible importance, — he must go round to the Grææ. These Grææ are treasons; which are indeed war's sisters, yet not sisters german, but as it were of less noble birth. For wars are generous; treasons degenerate and base. They are prettily described, in allusion to the perpetual cares and trepidations of traitors, as old and white from their birth. Their power (before they break out into open revolt) lies either in the eye or the tooth; for all factions when alienated from the state, both play the spy and bite. And the eye and tooth are as it were common to them all: the eye because all their information is handed from one to another, and circulates through the whole party; the tooth, because they all bite with one mouth and all tell one tale, — so that when you hear one you hear all. Therefore Perseus must make friends of those Grææ, that they may lend him their eye and tooth,— the eye for discovery of information, the tooth to sow rumours, raise envy, and stir the minds of the people.

These matters being thus arranged and prepared, we come next to the carriage of the war itself. And here we see that

Perseus finds Medusa asleep; for the undertaker of a war almost always, if he is wise, takes his enemy unprepared and in security. And now it is that Pallas's mirror is wanted. For there are many who before the hour of danger can look into the enemy's affairs sharply and attentively; but the chief use of the mirror is in the very instant of peril, that you may examine the manner of it without being confused by the fear of it; which is meant by the looking at it with eyes averted.

The conclusion of the war is followed by two effects: first the birth and springing up of Pegasus, which obviously enough denotes fame, flying abroad and celebrating the victory. Secondly the carrying of Medusa's head upon the shield; for this is incomparably the best kind of safeguard. A single brilliant and memorable exploit, happily conducted and accomplished, paralyses all the enemies' movements, and mates malevolence itself.

VIII.

ENDYMION;

OR THE FAVOURITE.

Tradition says that Endymion, a shepherd, was beloved by the moon. But the intercourse between them was of a strange and singular kind. For while he lay reposing according to his habit in a natural cave under the rocks of Latmos, the moon would come down from heaven and kiss him as he slept, and go up into heaven again. And yet this idleness and sleeping did not hurt his fortunes; for the moon in the mean time so ordered it that his sheep fattened and increased exceedingly; insomuch that no shepherd had finer flocks or fuller.

The fable relates (as I take it) to the dispositions and manners of princes. For princes being full of thoughts and prone to suspicions, do not easily admit to familiar intercourse men that are perspicacious and curious, whose minds are always on the watch and never sleep; but choose rather such as are of a quiet and complying disposition, and submit to their will without inquiring further, and shew like persons ignorant and unobserving, and as if asleep; displaying simple obedience rather than fine observation. With men of this kind princes

have always been glad to descend from their greatness, as the moon from heaven; and to lay aside their mask, the continual wearing of which becomes a kind of burden; and to converse familiarly; for with such they think they can do so safely. It was a point especially noted in Tiberius Cæsar, a prince extremely difficult to deal with; with whom those only were in favour who, though they really understood him, yet dissembled their knowledge with a pertinacity which seemed like dulness. The same thing was observable in Louis XI. of France, a most cautious and crafty king. The circumstance of the *cave* also, in which according to the fable Endymion used to lie, is not without its elegance. For those who enjoy this kind of favour with princes have commonly some pleasant places of retirement to invite them to, where they may have the comfort of leisure and relaxation of mind, discharged of the incumbrances which their position lays upon them. And it is true that favourites of this class are commonly prosperous in their private fortunes; for princes though they may not raise them to honours, yet since their favour springs from true affection and not from considerations of utility, they generally enrich them with their bounty.

IX.

THE SISTER OF THE GIANTS;

OR FAME.

THE poets tell us that the Giants, being brought forth by Earth, made war upon Jupiter and the gods, and were routed and vanquished with thunderbolts, whereupon Earth, in rage at the wrath of the gods, to revenge her sons brought forth Fame, youngest sister of the giants.

The meaning of the fable appears to be this: by Earth is meant the nature of the common people; always swelling with malice towards their rulers, and hatching revolutions. This upon occasion given brings forth rebels and seditious persons, who with wicked audacity endeavour the overthrow of princes. And when these are suppressed, the same nature of the common people, still leaning to the worse party and impatient of tranquillity, gives birth to rumours and malignant whispers, and

querulous fames, and defamatory libels, and the like, tending to bring envy upon the authorities of the land: so that seditious fames differ from acts of rebellion, not in race and parentage, but only in sex: the one being feminine and the other masculine.

X.

ACTÆON AND PENTHEUS;

OR CURIOSITY.

THE curiosity and unhealthy appetite of man for the discovery of secrets, is reproved by the ancients in two examples: one of Actæon, the other of Pentheus. Actæon having unawares and by chance seen Diana naked, was turned into a stag and worried by his own dogs. Pentheus having climbed a tree for the purpose of seeing the secret mysteries of Bacchus, was struck with madness; and the form of his madness was this: he thought everything was double; saw two suns, and again two cities of Thebes: insomuch that when he set out towards Thebes, he presently saw another Thebes behind, which made him go back; and so was kept continually going backwards and forwards without any rest.

> As to distracted Pentheus there appear
> Furies in troops, and in the sky two suns,
> And on the earth two several Thebes at once.

The first of these fables seems to relate to the secrets of princes, the other to the secrets of divinity. For whoever becomes acquainted with a prince's secrets without leave and against his will, is sure to incur his hatred: and then, knowing that he is marked and that occasions are sought against him, he lives the life of a stag; a life full of fears and suspicions. Often too it happens that his own servants and domestics, to curry favour with the prince, accuse and overthrow him. For when the displeasure of the prince is manifest, a man shall scarcely have a servant but will betray him; and so he may expect the fate of Actæon.

The calamity of Pentheus is of a different kind. For the punishment assigned to those who with rash audacity, forgetting their mortal condition, aspire by the heights of nature

and philosophy, as by climbing a tree, to penetrate the divine mysteries, is perpetual inconstancy, and a judgment vacillating and perplexed. For since the light of nature is one thing and the light of divinity another, they are as men that see two suns; and since the actions of life and the determinations of the will depend upon the intellect, it follows that they are perplexed in will no less than in opinion, and cannot be consistent with themselves: in which sense they in like manner see two Thebes; for by Thebes is meant the ends and aim of our actions; Thebes being Pentheus's home and resting-place. And hence it comes that they know not which way to turn, but being uncertain and fluctuating as to the sum and end of all, they are carried round and round from one thing to another, according to the impulse of the moment.

XI.

ORPHEUS;

OR PHILOSOPHY.

THE story of Orpheus, which though so well known has not yet been in all points perfectly well interpreted, seems meant for a representation of universal Philosophy. For Orpheus himself,—a man admirable and truly divine, who being master of all harmony subdued and drew all things after him by sweet and gentle measures,—may pass by an easy metaphor for philosophy personified. For as the works of wisdom surpass in dignity and power the works of strength, so the labours of Orpheus surpass the labours of Hercules.

Orpheus, moved by affection for his wife who had been snatched from him by an untimely death, resolved to go down to Hell and beg her back again of the Infernal Powers; trusting to his lyre. Nor was he disappointed. For so soothed and charmed were the infernal powers by the sweetness of his singing and playing, that they gave him leave to take her away with him; but upon one condition; she was to follow behind him, and he was not to look back until they had reached the confines of light. From this however in the impatience of love and anxiety he could not refrain. Before he had quite

reached the point of safety, he looked back; and so the covenant was broken, and she suddenly fell away from him and was hurried back into Hell. From that time Orpheus betook himself to solitary places, a melancholy man and averse from the sight of women; where by the same sweetness of his song and lyre he drew to him all kinds of wild beasts, in such manner that putting off their several natures, forgetting all their quarrels and ferocity, no longer driven by the stings and furies of lust, no longer caring to satisfy their hunger or to hunt their prey, they all stood about him gently and sociably, as in a theatre, listening only to the concords of his lyre. Nor was that all: for so great was the power of his music that it moved the woods and the very stones to shift themselves and take their stations decently and orderly about him. And all this went on for some time with happy success and great admiration; till at last certain Thracian women, under the stimulation and excitement of Bacchus, came where he was; and first they blew such a hoarse and hideous blast upon a horn that the sound of his music could no longer be heard for the din: whereupon, the charm being broken that had been the bond of that order and good fellowship, confusion began again; the beasts returned each to his several nature and preyed one upon the other as before; the stones and woods stayed no longer in their places: while Orpheus himself was torn to pieces by the women in their fury, and his limbs scattered about the fields: at whose death, Helicon (river sacred to the Muses) in grief and indignation buried his waters under the earth, to reappear elsewhere.

The meaning of the fable appears to be this. The singing of Orpheus is of two kinds; one to propitiate the infernal powers, the other to draw the wild beasts and the woods. The former may be best understood as referring to natural philosophy; the latter to philosophy moral and civil. For natural philosophy proposes to itself, as its noblest work of all, nothing less than the restitution and renovation of things corruptible, and (what is indeed the same thing in a lower degree) the conservation of bodies in the state in which they are, and the retardation of dissolution and putrefaction. Now certainly if this can be effected at all, it cannot be otherwise than by due and exquisite attempering and adjustment of parts in nature, as by the harmony and perfect modulation of a lyre. And

yet being a thing of all others the most difficult, it commonly fails of effect; and fails (it may be) from no cause more than from curious and premature meddling and impatience. Then Philosophy finding that her great work is too much for her, in sorrowful mood, as well becomes her, turns to human affairs; and applying her powers of persuasion and eloquence to insinuate into men's minds the love of virtue and equity and peace, teaches the peoples to assemble and unite and take upon them the yoke of laws and submit to authority, and forget their ungoverned appetites, in listening and conforming to precepts and discipline; whereupon soon follows the building of houses, the founding of cities, the planting of fields and gardens with trees; insomuch that the stones and the woods are not unfitly said to leave their places and come about her. And this application of Philosophy to civil affairs is properly represented, and according to the true order of things, as subsequent to the diligent trial and final frustration of the experiment of restoring the dead body to life. For true it is that the clearer recognition of the inevitable necessity of death sets men upon seeking immortality by merit and renown. Also it is wisely added in the story, that Orpheus was averse from women and from marriage; for the sweets of marriage and the dearness of children commonly draw men away from performing great and lofty services to the commonwealth; being content to be perpetuated in their race and stock, and not in their deeds.

But howsoever the works of wisdom are among human things the most excellent, yet they too have their periods and closes. For so it is that after kingdoms and commonwealths have flourished for a time, there arise perturbations and seditions and wars; amid the uproars of which, first the laws are put to silence, and then men return to the depraved conditions of their nature, and desolation is seen in the fields and cities. And if such troubles last, it is not long before letters also and philosophy are so torn in pieces that no traces of them can be found but a few fragments, scattered here and there like planks from a shipwreck; and then a season of barbarism sets in, the waters of Helicon being sunk under the ground, until, according to the appointed vicissitude of things, they break out and issue forth again, perhaps among other nations, and not in the places where they were before.

XII.

CŒLUM;

OR THE ORIGIN OF THINGS.

It is a tradition of the poets that Cœlum was the most ancient of all the gods: that his parts of generation were cut off by his son Saturn with a scythe; that Saturn himself begot a numerous progeny, but devoured his sons as fast as they were born; that at last Jupiter escaped this fate, and as soon as he grew up overthrew his father Saturn, cast him into Tartarus, and took possession of his kingdom; also that he cut off his genitals with the same scythe with which he, Saturn, had cut off those of Cœlum, and threw them into the sea; and that from them was born Venus. Afterwards they say that the kingdom of Jupiter, when as yet it was scarcely settled, had to stand the brunt of two memorable wars: the first, the war of the Titans, in the subduing of whom the assistance of the Sun (the only one of the Titans that was on Jupiter's side) was conspicuous; the second, the war of the Giants, who were likewise by thunder and the arms of Jupiter defeated; and that when these were put down Jupiter reigned afterwards in security.

This fable seems to be an enigma concerning the origin of things, not much differing from the philosophy afterwards embraced by Democritus, who more openly than any one else asserted the eternity of matter, while he denied the eternity of the world; a point in which he came somewhat nearer to the truth as declared in the divine narrative; for that represents matter without form as existing before the six days' works.

The fable may be explained in this manner. By Cœlum is meant the concave or circumference which encloses all matter. By Saturn is meant matter itself; which, inasmuch as the sum total of matter remains always the same and the absolute quantum of nature suffers neither increase nor diminution, is said to have deprived its parent of all power of generation. Now the agitations and motions of matter produced at first imperfect and ill-compacted structures of things, that would not hold together,—mere attempts at worlds. Afterwards in process of time a fabric was turned out which could keep

its form. Of these two divisions of time, the first is meant by the reign of Saturn; who by reason of the frequent dissolutions and short durations of things in his time, was called the devourer of his children: the second, by the reign of Jupiter, who put an end to those continual and transitory changes, and thrust them into Tartarus—that is to say the place of perturbation: which place seems to be midway between the lowest parts of heaven and the innermost parts of the earth: in which middle region perturbation and fragility and mortality or corruption have their chief operation. And while that former system of generation lasted which had place under the reign of Saturn, Venus, according to the story, was not yet born. For so long as in the universal frame of matter discord was stronger than concord and prevailed over it, there could be no change except of the whole together; and in this manner did the generation of things proceed before Saturn was castrated. But as soon as this mode of generation ceased, it was immediately succeeded by that other which proceeds by Venus, and belongs to a state in which, concord being powerful and predominant, change proceeds part by part only, the total fabric remaining entire and undisturbed. Nevertheless Saturn is represented as thrust out and overthrown only, not as cut off and extinguished; because it was the opinion of Democritus that the world might yet relapse into its ancient confusion and intervals of no government: an event which Lucretius prayed might not happen in his own times.

> Which may all-ruling Fortune keep far hence,
> And reason teach it, not experience.

Again, after the world was established and settled in respect of its mass and moving force, yet it did not from the first remain in quiet. For first there followed notable commotions in the heavenly regions; which however, by the power of the Sun predominating in those regions, were so composed that the world survived and kept its state; afterwards in like manner followed convulsions in the lower regions, by inundations, tempests, winds, earthquakes of more universal character than any we now have; and when these likewise were subdued and dispersed, things settled at last into a more durable state of consent and harmonious operation.

It must be said however of all this, that as there is philosophy

in the fable so there is fable in the philosophy. For we know (through faith) that all such speculations are but the oracles of sense which have long since ceased and failed; the world, both matter and fabric, being in truth the work of the Creator.

XIII.

PROTEUS;

OR MATTER.

PROTEUS, the poets tell us, was herdsman to Neptune. He was an old man and a prophet; a prophet moreover of the very first order, and indeed thrice excellent; for he knew all three,—not the future only, but likewise the past and the present; insomuch that besides his power of divination, he was the messenger and interpreter of all antiquity and all secrets. His dwelling was under an immense cave. There it was his custom every day at noon to count his flock of seals and then go to sleep. And if any one wanted his help in any matter, the only way was first to secure his hands with handcuffs, and then to bind him with chains. Whereupon he on his part, in order to get free, would turn himself into all manner of strange shapes—fire, water, wild beasts, &c., till at last he returned again to his original shape.

The sense of this fable relates, it would seem, to the secrets of nature and the conditions of matter. For under the person of Proteus, Matter—the most ancient of all things, next to God—is meant to be represented. Now matter has its habitation under the vault of heaven, as under a cave. And it may be called the servant of Neptune, inasmuch as all the operation and dispensation of matter is effected principally in liquids. The herd or flock of Proteus, seems to be nothing else than the ordinary species of animals, plants, minerals, etc. in which matter may be said to diffuse and use itself up; insomuch that having once made up and finished those species it seems to sleep and rest, as if its task were done; without applying itself or attempting or preparing to make any more. And this is what is meant by Proteus counting his herd and then going to sleep. Now this is said to take place not in the morning or in the

evening, but at noon: that is to say, when the full and legitimate time has come for completing and bringing forth the species out of matter already duly prepared and predisposed; which is the middle point between the first rudiments of them and their declination. And this we know from the sacred history to have been in fact at the very time of the creation. For then it was that by virtue of the divine word *producat* matter came together at the command of the Creator, not by its own circuitous processes, but all at once; and brought its work to perfection on the instant, and constituted the species. And here the story is complete, as regards Proteus free and at large with his herd. For the universe with its several species according to their ordinary frame and structure, is merely the face of matter unconstrained and at liberty, with its flock of materiate creatures. Nevertheless if any skilful Servant of Nature shall bring force to bear on matter, and shall vex it and drive it to extremities as if with the purpose of reducing it to nothing, then will matter (since annihilation or true destruction is not possible except by the omnipotence of God) finding itself in these straits, turn and transform itself into strange shapes, passing from one change to another till it has gone through the whole circle and finished the period; when, if the force be continued, it returns at last to itself. And this constraint and binding will be more easily and expeditiously effected, if matter be laid hold on and secured by the hands; that is, by its extremities. And whereas it is added in the fable that Proteus was a prophet and knew the three times; this agrees well with the nature of matter: for if a man knew the conditions, affections, and processes of matter, he would certainly comprehend the sum and general issue (for I do not say that his knowledge would extend to the parts and singularities) of all things past, present, and to come.

XIV.

MEMNON;

OR THE EARLY-RIPE.

MEMNON, according to the poets, was the son of Aurora. Conspicuous for the beauty of his arms, and great in popular

reputation, he came to the Trojan war; where rushing with breathless haste and headlong courage at the highest mark, he engaged Achilles, the bravest of all the Greeks, in single fight; and fell by his hand. In pity of his fate Jupiter sent birds to grace his funeral that kept up a continual cry of grief and lamentation. His statue also, as often as the rays of the rising sun touched it, is said to have uttered a mournful sound.

The fable seems meant to apply to the unfortunate deaths of young men of high promise. For such are as it were the sons of the morning, and it commonly happens that, being puffed up with empty and outward advantages, they venture upon enterprises that are beyond their strength, provoke and challenge to combat the bravest heroes, and falling in the unequal conflict are extinguished. But the death of such persons is wont to be followed by infinite commiseration; for of all mortal accidents there is none so lamentable, none so powerful to move pity, as this cropping of the flower of virtue before its time: the rather because their life has been too short to give occasion of satiety or of envy, which might otherwise mitigate sorrow at their death and temper compassion. And not only do lamentations and wailings hover like those mourner birds about the funeral pile; but the same feeling of pity lasts long after: and more especially upon all fresh accidents and new movements and beginnings of great events, as by the touch of sunrise, the regret for them is stirred up again and renewed.

XV.

TITHONUS;

OR SATIETY.

It is an elegant fable they relate of Tithonus; that Aurora was in love with him, and desiring to enjoy his company for ever, begged of Jupiter that he might never die; but forgot, (with a woman's thoughtlessness,) to add to her petition that neither might he suffer the infirmities of age. So he was exempted from the condition of dying; but there came upon him a strange and miserable old age, such as he must needs undergo to whom death is denied, while the burden of years continues to grow

heavier and heavier; so that Jupiter, pitying such a condition, changed him at last into a grasshopper.

This fable seems to be an ingenious picture and description of Pleasure; which in its beginning, or morning-time, is so agreeable that men are fain to pray that such delights may last and be their own for ever; forgetting that satiety and loathing of the same will come upon them, like old age, before they are aware. So that at last when men have become incapable of the acts of pleasure and yet retain the desire and appetite, they fall to talking and telling stories about the pleasures of their youth, and find their delight in that: as we see in lewd persons, who are always harping upon indecent stories, and in soldiers that are for ever recounting their deeds; like grasshoppers, whose vigour is only in their voice.

XVI.

JUNO'S SUITOR;

OR DISHONOUR.

THE poets tell us that Jupiter in pursuit of his loves assumed many different shapes, — a bull, an eagle, a swan, a shower of gold: but that when he courted Juno, he turned himself into the ignoblest shape that could be, a very object of contempt and ridicule; that of a wretched cuckoo, drenched with rain and tempest, amazed, trembling, and half dead.

It is a wise fable, derived from the depths of moral science. The meaning is that men are not to flatter themselves that an exhibition of their virtue and worth will win them estimation and favour with everybody. For that depends upon the nature and character of those to whom they apply themselves. If these be persons of no gifts or ornaments of their own, but only a proud and malignant disposition (the character represented by Juno), then they should know that they must put off everything about them that has the least show of honour or dignity, and that it is mere folly in them to proceed any other way; nay that it is not enough to descend to the baseness of flattery, unless they put on the outward show and character of abjectness and degeneracy.

XVII.

CUPID;

OR THE ATOM.

THE accounts given by the poets of Cupid, or Love, are not properly applicable to the same person; yet the discrepancy is such that one may see where the confusion is and where the similitude, and reject the one and receive the other.

They say then that Love was the most ancient of all the gods; the most ancient therefore of all things whatever, except Chaos, which is said to have been coeval with him; and Chaos is never distinguished by the ancients with divine honour or the name of a god. This Love is introduced without any parent at all; only, that some say he was an egg of Night. And himself out of Chaos begot all things, the gods included. The attributes which are assigned to him are in number four: he is always an infant; he is blind; he is naked; he is an archer. There was also another Love, the youngest of all the gods, son of Venus, to whom the attributes of the elder are transferred, and whom in a way they suit.

The fable relates to the cradle and infancy of nature, and pierces deep. This Love I understand to be the appetive or instinct of primal matter; or to speak more plainly, *the natural motion of the atom;* which is indeed the original and unique force that constitutes and fashions all things out of matter. Now this is entirely without parent; that is, without cause. For the cause is as it were parent of the effect; and of this virtue there can be no cause in nature (God always excepted): there being nothing before it, therefore no efficient; nor anything more original in nature, therefore neither kind nor form. Whatever it be therefore, it is a thing positive and inexplicable. And even if it were possible to know the method and process of it, yet to know it by way of cause is not possible; it being, next to God, the cause of causes—itself without cause. That the method even of its operation should ever be brought within the range and comprehension of human inquiry, is hardly perhaps to be hoped; with good reason therefore it is represented as an egg hatched by night. Such certainly is the judgment of the sacred philosopher,

when he says, *He hath made all things beautiful according to their seasons; also he hath submitted the world to man's inquiry, yet so that man cannot find out the work which God worketh from the beginning to the end.* For the summary law of nature, that impulse of desire impressed by God upon the primary particles of matter which makes them come together, and which by repetition and multiplication produces all the variety of nature, is a thing which mortal thought may glance at, but can hardly take in.

Now the philosophy of the Greeks, which in investigating the material principles of things is careful and acute, in inquiring the principles of motion, wherein lies all vigour of operation, is negligent and languid; and on the point now in question seems to be altogether blind and babbling; for that opinion of the Peripatetics which refers the original impulse of matter to privation, is little more than words—a name for the thing rather than a description of it. And those who refer it to God, though they are quite right in that, yet they ascend by a leap and not by steps. For beyond all doubt there is a single and summary law in which nature centres and which is subject and subordinate to God; the same in fact which in the text just quoted is meant by the words, *The work which God worketh from the beginning to the end.* Democritus considered the matter more deeply; and having first given the atom some dimension and shape, attributed to it a single desire or primary motion simply and absolutely, and a second by comparison. For he thought that all things move by their proper nature towards the centre of the world; but that that which has more matter, moving thither faster, strikes aside that which has less, and forces it to go the other way. This however was but a narrow theory, and framed with reference to too few particulars: for it does not appear that either the motion of the heavenly bodies in circle, or the phenomena of contraction and expansion, can be reduced to this principle, or reconciled with it. As for Epicurus's opinion of the declination and fortuitous agitation of the atom, it is a relapse to trifling and ignorance. So it is but too plain that the parentage of this Cupid is wrapped in night.

Let us now consider his attributes. He is described with great elegance as a little child, and a child for ever; for things compounded are larger and are affected by age; whereas the

primary seeds of things, or atoms, are minute and remain in perpetual infancy.

Most truly also is he represented as naked: for all compounds (to one that considers them rightly) are masked and clothed; and there is nothing properly naked, except the primary particles of things.

The blindness likewise of Cupid has an allegorical meaning full of wisdom. For it seems that this Cupid, whatever he be, has very little providence; but directs his course, like a blind man groping, by whatever he finds nearest; which makes the supreme divine Providence all the more to be admired, as that which contrives out of subjects peculiarly empty and destitute of providence, and as it were blind, to educe by a fatal and necessary law all the order and beauty of the universe.

His last attribute is archery: meaning that this virtue is such as acts at a distance: for all operation at a distance is like shooting an arrow. Now whoever maintains the theory of the atom and the vacuum (even though he suppose the vacuum not to be collected by itself but intermingled through space), necessarily implies the action of the virtue of the atom at a distance: for without this no motion could be originated, by reason of the vacuum interposed; but all things would remain fixed and immovable.

As for that younger Cupid, it is with reason that he is reported to be the youngest of the gods; since until the species were constituted he could have no operation. In the description of him the allegory changes its aim and passes to morals. And yet there remains a certain conformity between him and the elder Cupid. For Venus excites the general appetite of conjunction and procreation; Cupid, her son, applies the appetite to an individual object. From Venus therefore comes the general disposition, from Cupid the more exact sympathy. Now the general disposition depends upon causes near at hand, the particular sympathy upon principles more deep and fatal, and as if derived from that ancient Cupid, who is the source of all exquisite sympathy.

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XVIII.

DIOMEDES;

OR RELIGIOUS ZEAL.

DIOMEDES, a hero of high renown and a special favourite of Pallas, was incited by her (being of himself apt enough) if he chanced to encounter Venus in the battle, not to spare her. He boldly did as he was bid, and wounded Venus in the hand. This for the time he carried with impunity, and returned to his own country in great fame and reputation: but meeting there with domestic troubles he took refuge abroad in Italy. Here also he had a good enough fortune at first. King Daunus entertained him with hospitality and enriched him with honours and presents, and many statues were raised to him throughout the country. But no sooner did a calamity befal the people among whom he had taken up his abode, than Daunus bethought him that he was entertaining under his roof a man impious and hated by the gods, a fighter against heaven, who had violently assaulted and wounded with the sword a goddess whom it was forbidden even to touch. Whereupon, to free his country from the curse under which it lay, he suddenly (setting aside the bond of hospitality, in respect of the more ancient bond of religion) puts Diomedes to death, and orders his statues to be thrown down and his honours cancelled. Nor was it safe in such a case even to pity so grievous an accident; but his comrades likewise, when they bewailed the death of their chief and filled the land with lamentations, were changed into a kind of swans,—a bird which at the approach of its own death also utters a sweet and plaintive sound.

The subject of this fable is rare and almost singular; for there is no other story in which any hero is represented as having wounded a god. This is told of Diomedes only: and in him certainly seems meant to be portrayed the character and fortunes of a man who makes it his declared object to persecute and overthrow by violence and the sword some religious worship or sect, though a vain and light one. For though religious wars were unknown to the ancients (the heathen gods having no touch of jealousy, which is the attri-

bute of the true God); yet so great appears to have been the wisdom of the primitive ages and so wide the range of it, that what they did not know by experience they nevertheless attained in idea by reflexion and imagination.

Now those who make war against any religious sect, though a vain, corrupt, and infamous one (and this is signified in the person of Venus), proceeding not by force of reason and doctrine and by sanctity of life and by weight of examples and authorities to correct and confute, but by fire and sword and sharpness of punishment to cut out and exterminate the same;—such persons are perhaps set upon the work by Pallas,—that is, by a certain keenness of discernment and severity of judgment which gives them a thorough insight into the fallacies and falsehoods of such errors, joined with hatred of evil and honest zeal;—and for a time they commonly acquire great glory, and are by the vulgar (who can never like what is moderate) celebrated and almost worshipped as the only champions of truth and religion; all others appearing lukewarm and timid. And yet this glory and felicity seldom endures to the end; but almost every kind of violence, unless by an early death it escape the vicissitudes of fortune, is in the end unprosperous. And if it so happen that an alteration takes place in the state, whereby that proscribed and depressed sect gathers strength and raises its head, then are the zealous and contentious courses of these men condemned, their very name hated, and all their honours turned into reproach. The murder of Diomedes by the hands of his host alludes to the fact that difference in matter of religion breeds falsehood and treachery even among the nearest and dearest friends. And where it is said that the very grief and lamentations of his comrades were not tolerated, but visited with punishment, the meaning is that whereas almost every crime is open to pity, insomuch that they who hate the offence may yet in humanity commiserate the person and calamity of the offender,—and it is the extremity of evil to have the offices of compassion interdicted,—yet where religion and piety are in question, the very expression of pity is noted and disliked. On the other hand, the sorrows and lamentations of the comrades of Diomedes, that is of those who are of the same sect and opinion, are commonly very piercing and musical, like the notes of swans, or birds of Diomedes. And this part of the allegory has a further meaning which is striking and noble; namely that in the case of persons

who suffer for religion, the words which they speak at their death, like the song of the dying swan, have a wonderful effect and impression upon men's minds, and dwell long after in their memory and feelings.

XIX.

DÆDALUS;

OR THE MECHANIC.

UNDER the person of Dædalus, a man of the greatest genius but of very bad character, the ancients drew a picture of mechanical skill and industry, together with its unlawful artifices and depraved applications. Dædalus had been banished for murdering a fellow-pupil and rival; yet found favour in his banishment with kings and states. Many and excellent works, as well in honour of the gods as for the adornment and ennobling of cities and public places, had been built and modelled by him; but it is for unlawful inventions that his name is most famous. For he it was who supplied the machine which enabled Pasiphae to satisfy her passion for the bull; so that the unhappy and infamous birth of the monster Minotaurus, which devoured the ingenuous youth, was owing to the wicked industry and pernicious genius of this man. Then to conceal the first mischief he added another, and for the security of this pest devised and constructed the Labyrinth; a work wicked in its end and destination, but in respect of art and contrivance excellent and admirable. Afterwards again, that his fame might not rest on bad arts only, and that he might be sought to for remedies as well as instruments of evil, he became the author likewise of that ingenious device of the clue, by which the mazes of the labyrinth should be retraced. This Dædalus was persecuted with great severity and diligence and inquisition by Minos; yet he always found both means of escape and places of refuge. Last of all, he taught his son Icarus how to fly; who being a novice and ostentatious of his art fell from the sky into the water.

The parable may be interpreted thus. In the entrance is noted that envy which is strongly predominant in great artists and never lets them rest; for there is no class of men more

troubled with envy, and that of the bitterest and most implacable character.

Then is touched the impolitic and improvident nature of the punishment inflicted; namely banishment. For it is the prerogative of famous workmen to be acceptable all over the world, insomuch that to an excellent artisan exile is scarcely any punishment at all. For whereas other modes and conditions of life cannot easily flourish out of their own country, the admiration of an artisan spreads wider and grows greater among strangers and foreigners; it being the nature of men to hold their own countrymen, in respect of mechanical arts, in less estimation.

The passages which follow concerning the use of mechanical arts are plain enough. Certainly human life is much indebted to them, for very many things which concern both the furniture of religion and the ornament of state and the culture of life in general, are drawn from their store. And yet out of the same fountain come instruments of lust, and also instruments of death. For (not to speak of the arts of procurers) the most exquisite poisons, also guns, and such like engines of destruction, are the fruits of mechanical invention; and well we know how far in cruelty and destructiveness they exceed the Minotaurus himself.

Very beautiful again is that allegory of the labyrinth; under which the general nature of mechanics is represented. For all the more ingenious and exact mechanical inventions may, for their subtlety, their intricate variety, and the apparent likeness of one part to another, which scarcely any judgment can order and discriminate, but only the clue of experiment, be compared to a labyrinth. Nor is the next point less to the purpose; viz. that the same man who devised the mazes of the labyrinth disclosed likewise the use of the clue. For the mechanical arts may be turned either way, and serve as well for the cure as for the hurt and have power for the most part to dissolve their own spell.

Moreover the unlawful contrivances of art, and indeed the arts themselves, are often persecuted by Minos; that is by the laws; which condemn them and forbid people to use them. Nevertheless they are secretly preserved, and find every where both hiding-places and entertainment; as was well observed by Tacitus in his times, in a case not much unlike; where

speaking of the mathematicians and fortune-tellers, he calls them *a class of men which in our state will always be retained and always prohibited.* And yet these unlawful and curious arts do in tract of time, since for the most part they fail to perform their promises, fall out of estimation, as Icarus from the sky, and come into contempt, and through the very excess of ostentation perish. And certainly if the truth must be told, they are not so easily bridled by law as convicted by their proper vanity.

XX.

ERICTHONIUS;

OR IMPOSTURE.

THE poets tell us that Vulcan wooed Minerva, and in the heat of desire attempted to force her; that in the struggle which followed his seed was scattered on the ground; from which was born Ericthonius, a man well made and handsome in the upper parts of the body, but with thighs and legs like an eel, thin and deformed: and that he, from consciousness of this deformity, first invented chariots, whereby he might shew off the fine part of his body and hide the mean.

This strange and prodigious story seems to bear this meaning: that Art (which is represented under the person of Vulcan, because it makes so much use of fire) when it endeavours by much vexing of bodies to force Nature to its will and conquer and subdue her (for Nature is described under the person of Minerva, on account of the wisdom of her works) rarely attains the particular end it aims at; and yet in the course of contriving and endeavouring, as in a struggle, there fall out by the way certain imperfect births and lame works, specious to look at but weak and halting in use: yet impostors parade them to the world with a great deal of false shew in setting forth, and carry them about as in triumph. Such things may often be observed among chemical productions, and among mechanical subtleties and novelties; the rather because men being too intent upon their end to recover themselves from the errors of their way, rather struggle with Nature than woo her embraces with due observance and attention.

XXI.

DEUCALION;

OR RESTORATION.

The poets relate that when the inhabitants of the old world were utterly extinguished by the universal deluge, and none remained except Deucalion and Pyrrha, these two being inflamed with a pious and noble desire to restore the human race, consulted the oracle and received answer to the following effect; they should have their wish if they took their mother's bones and cast them behind their backs. This struck them at first with great sorrow and despair, for the face of nature being laid level by the deluge, to seek for a sepulchre would be a task altogether endless. But at last they found that the stones of the earth (the earth being regarded as the mother of all things) were what the oracle meant.

This fable seems to disclose a secret of nature, and to correct an error which is familiar to the human mind. For man in his ignorance concludes that the renewal and restoration of things may be effected by means of their own corruption and remains; as the Phœnix rises out of her own ashes; which is not so: for matters of this kind have already reached the end of their course, and can give no further help towards the first stages of it: so we must go back to more common principles.

XXII.

NEMESIS;

OR THE VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

Nemesis, according to the tradition, was a goddess, the object of veneration to all, to the powerful and fortunate of fear also. They say she was the daughter of Night and Ocean. She is represented with wings, and a crown: an ashen spear in her right hand; a phial, with Ethiops in it, in her left; sitting upon a stag.

The parable may be understood thus. The very name Nemesis plainly signifies Revenge or Retribution: for it was the office and function of this goddess to interrupt the felicity of fortunate persons, and let no man be constantly and perpetually happy, but step in like a tribune of the people with her *veto;* and not to chastise insolence only, but to see also that prosperity however innocent and moderately borne had its turn of adversity: as if no one of human race could be admitted to the banquets of the gods, except in derision. And certainly when I have read that chapter of Caius Plinius in which he has collected the misfortunes and miseries of Augustus Cæsar,—him whom I thought of all men the most fortunate, and who had moreover a certain art of using and enjoying his fortune, and in whose mind were no traces of swelling, of lightness, of softness, of confusion, or of melancholy—(insomuch that he had once determined to die voluntarily),—great and powerful must this goddess be, I have thought, when such a victim was brought to her altar.

The parents of this goddess were Ocean and Night; that is, the vicissitude of things, and the dark and secret judgment of God. For the vicissitude of things is aptly represented by the Ocean, by reason of its perpetual flowing and ebbing; and secret providence is rightly set forth under the image of Night. For this Nemesis of the Darkness (the human not agreeing with the divine judgment) was matter of observation even among the heathen.

> Ripheus fell too,
> Than whom a juster and a truer man
> In all his dealings was not found in Troy.
> But the gods judged not so.

Nemesis again is described as winged; because of the sudden and unforeseen revolutions of things. For in all the records of time it has commonly been found that great and wise men have perished by the dangers which they most despised. So was it with M. Cicero; who when warned by Decimus Brutus to beware of Octavius Cæsar's bad faith and evil mind towards him, only answered, *I am duly grateful to you, my dear Brutus, for giving me that information, though it is but folly.*

Nemesis is distinguished also with a crown; in allusion to the envious and malignant nature of the vulgar; for when the fortunate and the powerful fall, the people commonly exult and set a crown upon the head of Nemesis.

The spear in her right hand relates to those whom she actually strikes and transfixes. And if there be any whom she does not make victims of calamity and misfortune, to them she nevertheless exhibits that dark and ominous spectre in her left: for mortals must needs be visited, even when they stand at the summit of felicity, with images of death, diseases, misfortunes, perfidies of friends, plots of enemies, changes of fortune, and the like; even like those Ethiops in the phial. It is true that Virgil, in describing the battle of Actium, adds elegantly concerning Cleopatra:—

> Midmost the Queen with sounding timbrel cheers
> Her armies to the fight; nor dreams the while
> Of those two aspics at her back.

But it was not long before, turn which way she would, whole troops of Ethiops met her eyes.

Lastly, it is wisely added that Nemesis is mounted on a stag: for the stag is a very long lived animal; and it may be that one who is cut off young may give Nemesis the slip; but if his prosperity and greatness endure for any length of time, he is without doubt a subject of Nemesis, and carries her as it were on his back.

XXIII.

ACHELOUS;

OR THE BATTLE.

THE ancients relate that when Hercules and Achelous disputed which should marry Deianira, they agreed to decide the question by a fight. Now Achelous began by trying a variety of different shapes, which he was at liberty to do, and presented himself before Hercules at last in the shape of a savage and roaring bull, and so prepared for the combat. Hercules on the other hand retaining his wonted human figure, fell upon him. A close fight followed; the end of which was that Hercules broke off one of the bull's horns: whereupon he, greatly hurt and terrified, to redeem his own horn gave Hercules the horn of Amalthea, or Abundance, in exchange.

The fable alludes to military expeditions. The preparations

for war on the part defensive (which is represented by Achelous) is various and multiform. For the form assumed by the invader is one and simple, consisting of an army only, or perhaps a fleet. Whereas a country preparing to receive an enemy on its own ground sets to work in an infinity of ways; fortifies one town, dismantles another, gathers the people from the fields and villages into cities and fortified places; builds a bridge here, breaks down a bridge there; raises, and distributes, forces and provisions; is busy about rivers, harbours, gorges of hills, woods, and numberless other matters; so that it may be said to try a new shape and put on a new aspect every day; and when at last it is fully fortified and prepared, it represents to the life the form and threatening aspect of a fighting bull. The invader meanwhile is anxious for a battle, and aims chiefly at that; fearing to be left without supplies in an enemy's country; and if he win the battle, and so break as it were the enemy's horn, then he brings it to this: that the enemy, losing heart and reputation, must, in order to recover himself and repair his forces, fall back into his more fortified positions, leaving his cities and lands to the conqueror to be laid waste and pillaged; which is indeed like giving him Amalthea's horn.

XXIV.

DIONYSUS;

OR DESIRE.

THEY say that Semele, Jupiter's paramour, made him take an inviolable oath to grant her one wish, whatever it might be, and then prayed that he would come to her in the same shape in which he was used to come to Juno. The consequence was that she was scorched to death in his embrace. The infant in her womb was taken by its father and sewed up in his thigh, until the time of gestation should be accomplished. The burden made him limp, and the infant, because while it was carried in his thigh it caused a pain or pricking, received the name of Dionysus. After he was brought forth he was sent to Proserpina for some years to nurse; but as he grew

[1] For an enlarged version of this fable see Vol. IV. p. 332.

up his face was so like a woman's, that it seemed doubtful of which sex he was. Moreover he died and was buried for a time, and came to life again not long after. In his early youth he discovered and taught the culture of the vine, and therewithal the composition and use of wine, which had not been known before: whereby becoming famous and illustrious, he subjugated the whole world and advanced to the furthest limits of India. He was borne in a chariot drawn by tigers; about him tripped certain deformed demons called Cobali,—Acratus and others. The Muses also joined his train. He took to wife Ariadne, whom Theseus had abandoned and deserted. His sacred tree was the Ivy. He was accounted likewise the inventor and founder of sacred rites and ceremonies; yet such as were fanatical and full of corruption, and cruel besides. He had power to excite phrensy. At least it was by women excited to phrensy in his orgies that two illustrious persons, Pentheus and Orpheus, are said to have been torn to pieces; the one having climbed a tree to see what they were doing; the other in the act of striking his lyre. Moreover the actions of this god are often confounded with those of Jupiter.

The fable seems to bear upon morals, and indeed there is nothing better to be found in moral philosophy. Under the person of Bacchus is described the nature of Desire, or passion and perturbation. For the mother of all desire, even the most noxious, is nothing else than the appetite and aspiration for apparent good: and the conception of it is always in some unlawful wish, rashly granted before it has been understood and weighed. But as the passion warms, its mother (that is the nature of good), not able to endure the heat of it, is destroyed and perishes in the flame. Itself while still in embryo remains in the human soul (which is its father and represented by Jupiter), especially in the lower part of the soul, as in the thigh; where it is both nourished and hidden; and where it causes such prickings, pains, and depressions in the mind, that its resolutions and actions labour and limp with it. And even after it has grown strong by indulgence and custom, and breaks forth into acts, it is nevertheless brought up for a time with Proserpina; that is to say, it seeks hiding-places, and keeps itself secret and as it were underground; until casting off all restraints of shame and fear, and growing bold, it either assumes the mask of some virtue or sets infamy itself at defiance. Most true also it is

that every passion of the more vehement kind is as it were of doubtful sex, for it has at once the force of the man and the weakness of the woman. It is notably said too that Bacchus came to life again after death. For the passions seem sometimes to be laid asleep and extinguished; but no trust can be placed in them, no not though they be buried; for give them matter and occasion, they rise up again.

It is a wise parable too, that of the invention of the Vine; for every passion is ingenious and sagacious in finding out its own stimulants. And there is nothing we know of so potent and effective as wine, in exciting and inflaming perturbations of every kind; being a kind of common fuel to them all. Very elegantly too is Passion represented as the subjugator of provinces, and the undertaker of an endless course of conquest. For it never rests satisfied with what it has, but goes on and on with infinite insatiable appetite panting after new triumphs. Tigers also are kept in its stalls and yoked to its chariot; for as soon as Passion ceases to go on foot and comes to ride in its chariot, as in celebration of its victory and triumph over reason, then is it cruel, savage, and pitiless towards everything that stands in its way. Again, there is humour in making those ridiculous demons dance about the chariot: for every passion produces motions in the eyes, and indeed in the whole countenance and gesture, which are uncomely, unsettled, skipping, and deformed; insomuch that when a man under the influence of any passion, as anger, scorn, love, or the like, seems most grand and imposing in his own eyes, to the lookers on he appears unseemly and ridiculous. It is true also that the Muses are seen in the train of Passion, there being scarce any passion which has not some branch of learning to flatter it. For herein the majesty of the Muses suffers from the licence and levity of men's wits, turning those that should be the guides of man's life into mere followers in the train of his passions.

And again that part of the allegory is especially noble which represents Bacchus as lavishing his love upon one whom another man had cast off. For most certain it is that passion ever seeks and aspires after that which experience has rejected. And let all men who in the heat of pursuit and indulgence are ready to give any price for the fruition of their passion, know this—that whatever be the object of their

pursuit, be it honour or fortune or love or glory or knowledge, or what it will, they are paying court to things cast off,—things which many men in all times have tried, and upon trial rejected with disgust.

Nor is the consecration of the Ivy to Bacchus without its mystery. For this has a double propriety. First because the Ivy flourishes in winter; next because it has the property of creeping and spreading about so many things,—as trees, walls, buildings. For as to the first, every passion flourishes and acquires vigour by being resisted and forbidden, as by a kind of antiperistasis; like the ivy by the cold of winter. As to the second, the master passion spreads itself like ivy about all human actions and resolutions, forcing itself in and mixing itself up with them. Nor is it wonderful that superstitious rites are attributed to Bacchus, since every insane passion grows rank in depraved religions; or if phrensies are supposed to be inflicted by him, seeing that every passion is itself a brief madness, and if it be vehement and obstinate ends in insanity. Again that circumstance of the tearing of Pentheus and Orpheus has an evident allegorical meaning; since curious inquisition and salutary and free admonition are alike hateful and intolerable to an overpowering passion.

Lastly, the confusion of the persons of Bacchus and Jupiter may be well understood as a parable; inasmuch as deeds of high distinction and desert proceed sometimes from virtue and right reason and magnanimity, and sometimes (however they may be extolled and applauded) only from some lurking passion or hidden lust; and thus the deeds of Bacchus are not easily distinguished from the deeds of Jupiter.

XXV.

ATALANTA;

OR PROFIT.

ATALANTA, who was remarkable for swiftness, was matched to run a race with Hippomenes. The conditions were that if Hippomenes won he was to marry Atalanta, if he lost he was to be put to death; and there seemed to be no doubt about the

issue, since the matchless excellence of Atalanta in running had been signalised by the death of many competitors. Hippomenes therefore resorted to an artifice. He provided himself with three golden apples, and carried them with him. The race began. Atalanta ran ahead. He seeing himself left behind bethought him of his stratagem, and rolled forward one of the golden apples, so that she might see it, — not straight forwards, but a little on one side, that it might not only delay her but also draw her out of the course. She, with a woman's eagerness, attracted by the beauty of the apple, left the course, ran after it, and stooped to take it up. Hippomenes in the meantime made good way along the course and got before her. She however by force of her natural swiftness made good the loss of time and was again foremost; when Hippomenes a second and a third time interrupted her in the same way, and so at last by craft not speed won the race.

The story carries in it an excellent allegory, relating to the contest of Art with Nature. For Art, which is meant by Atalanta, is in itself, if nothing stand in the way, far swifter than Nature and, as one may say, the better runner, and comes sooner to the goal. For this may be seen in almost everything; you see that fruit grows slowly from the kernel, swiftly from the graft; you see clay harden slowly into stones, fast into baked bricks: so also in morals, oblivion and comfort of grief comes by nature in length of time; but philosophy (which may be regarded as the art of living) does it without waiting so long, but forestalls and anticipates the day. But then this prerogative and vigour of art is retarded, to the infinite loss of mankind, by those golden apples. For there is not one of the sciences or arts which follows the true and legitimate course constantly forth till it reach its end; but it perpetually happens that arts stop in their undertakings half way, and forsake the course, and turn aside like Atalanta after profit and commodity, —

Leaving the course the rolling gold to seize.

And therefore it is no wonder if Art cannot outstrip Nature, and according to the agreement and condition of the contest put her to death or destroy her; but on the contrary Art remains subject to Nature, as the wife is subject to the husband.

XXVI.

PROMETHEUS;

OR THE STATE OF MAN.

TRADITION says that Man was made by Prometheus, and made of clay; only that Prometheus took particles from different animals and mixed them in. He, desiring to benefit and protect his own work, and to be regarded not as the founder only but also as the amplifier and enlarger of the human race, stole up to heaven with a bundle of fennel-stalks in his hand, kindled them at the chariot of the sun, and so brought fire to the earth and presented it to mankind. For this so great benefit received at his hands, men (it is said) were far from being grateful; so far indeed, that they conspired together and impeached him and his invention before Jupiter. This act of theirs was not so taken as justice may seem to have required. For the accusation proved very acceptable both to Jupiter and the rest of the gods; and so delighted were they, that they not only indulged mankind with the use of fire, but presented them likewise with a new gift, of all others most agreeable and desirable,—perpetual youth. Overjoyed with this, the foolish people put the gift of the gods on the back of an ass. The ass on his way home, being troubled with extreme thirst, came to a fountain; but a serpent, that was set to guard it, would not let him drink unless he gave in payment whatever that was that he carried on his back. The poor ass accepted the condition; and so for a mouthful of water the power of renewing youth was transferred from men to serpents. After mankind had lost their prize, Prometheus made up his quarrel with them; but retaining his malice, and being bitterly incensed against Jupiter, he did not scruple to tempt him with deceit, even in the act of sacrifice. Having slain (it is said) two bulls, he stuffed the hide of one of them with the flesh and fat of both, and bringing them to the altar, with an air of devotion and benignity offered Jupiter his choice. Jupiter, detesting his craft and bad faith, but knowing how to requite it, chose the mock bull; then bethinking him of vengeance, and seeing that there was no way to take down the insolence of Prometheus except by chastising the human race (of which work he was extravagantly vain and proud), ordered

Vulcan to make a fair and lovely woman. When she was made, each of the gods bestowed upon her his several gift; whence she was called Pandora. Then they placed in her hands an elegant vase, in which were enclosed all mischiefs and calamities; only at the bottom there remained Hope. With her vase in her hand she repaired first of all to Prometheus, to see if he would take and open it, which he, cautious and cunning, declined. Thus rejected she went away to Epimetheus, Prometheus's brother, but of a character entirely different, who opened it without hesitation; but as soon as he saw all the mischiefs rushing out, growing wise when it was too late, he struggled to get the lid on again as fast as possible; but it was all he could do keep in the last of the party, which was Hope, that lay at the bottom. In the end Jupiter seized Prometheus, and upon many and grave charges,—as that of old he had stolen fire, that he had made a mock of Jupiter's majesty in that deceitful sacrifice, that he had scorned and rejected his gift, together with another not mentioned before, that he had attempted to ravish Minerva,—threw him into chains and condemned him to perpetual tortures. For by Jupiter's command he was dragged to Mount Caucasus, and there bound fast to a column so that he could not stir. And there was an eagle which gnawed and consumed his liver by day; but what was eaten in the day grew again in the night, so that matter was never wanting for the torture to work upon. Yet they say that this punishment had its end at last; for Hercules sailed across the ocean in a cup that was given to him by the Sun, came to Caucasus, shot the eagle with his arrows, and set Prometheus free. In honour of Prometheus there were instituted in some nations games called torch-races, in which the runners carried lighted torches in their hands; and if any went out the bearer stood aside, leaving the victory to those that followed; and the first who reached the goal with his torch still burning received the prize.

This fable carries in it many true and grave speculations both on the surface and underneath. For there are some things in it that have been long ago observed, others have never been touched at all.

Prometheus clearly and expressly signifies Providence: and the one thing singled out by the ancients as the special and peculiar work of Providence was the creation and constitution

of Man. For this one reason no doubt was, that the nature of man includes mind and intellect, which is the seat of providence; and since to derive mind and reason from principles brutal and irrational would be harsh and incredible, it follows almost necessarily that the human spirit was endued with providence not without the precedent and intention and warrant of the greater providence. But this was not all. The chief aim of the parable appears to be, that Man, if we look to final causes, may be regarded as the centre of the world; insomuch that if man were taken away from the world, the rest would seem to be all astray, without aim or purpose, to be like a besom without a binding, as the saying is, and to be leading to nothing. For the whole world works together in the service of man; and there is nothing from which he does not derive use and fruit. The revolutions and courses of the stars serve him both for distinction of the seasons and distribution of the quarters of the world. The appearances of the middle sky afford him prognostications of weather. The winds sail his ships and work his mills and engines. Plants and animals of all kinds are made to furnish him either with dwelling and shelter or clothing or food or medicine, or to lighten his labour, or to give him pleasure and comfort; insomuch that all things seem to be going about man's business and not their own. Nor is it without meaning added that in the mass and composition of which man was made, particles taken from the different animals were infused and mixed up with the clay; for it is most true that of all things in the universe man is the most composite, so that he was not without reason called by the ancients the little world. For though the Alchemists, when they maintain that there is to be found in man every mineral, every vegetable, &c., or something corresponding to them, take the word *microcosm* in a sense too gross and literal, and have so spoiled the elegance and distorted the meaning of it, yet that the body of man is of all existing things both the most mixed and the most organic, remains not the less a sober and solid truth. And this is indeed the reason it is capable of such wonderful powers and faculties; for the powers of simple bodies, though they be certain and rapid, yet being less refracted, broken up, and counteracted by mixture, they are few; but abundance and excellence of power resides in mixture and composition. Nevertheless we see that man in the first stage of his existence is a naked and defenceless thing,

slow to help himself, and full of wants. Therefore Prometheus applied himself with all haste to the invention of fire; which in all human necessities and business is the great minister of relief and help; insomuch that if the soul be the form of forms and the hand the instrument of instruments, fire may rightly be called the help of helps and the mean of means. For through it most operations are effected, through it the arts mechanical and the sciences themselves are furthered in an infinite variety of ways.

Now the description of the manner in which the theft of fire was accomplished is apt and according to the nature of the thing. It was by applying a stalk of fennel to the chariot of the Sun. For fennel is used as a rod to strike with. The meaning therefore clearly is that Fire is produced by violent percussions and collisions of one body with another; whereby the matter they are made of is attenuated and set in motion, and prepared to receive the heat of the celestial bodies, and so by clandestine processes, as by an act of theft, snatches fire as it were from the chariot of the Sun.

There follows a remarkable part of the parable. Men, we are told, instead of gratulation and thanksgiving fell to remonstrance and indignation, and brought an accusation before Jupiter both against Prometheus and against Fire; and this act was moreover by him so well liked, that in consideration of it he accumulated fresh benefits upon mankind. For how should the crime of ingratitude towards their maker, a vice which includes in itself almost all others, deserve approbation and reward? and what could be the drift of such a fiction? But this is not what is meant. The meaning of the allegory is, that the accusation and arraignment by men both of their own nature and of art, proceeds from an excellent condition of mind and issues in good; whereas the contrary is hated by the gods, and unlucky. For they who extravagantly extol human nature as it is and the arts as received; who spend themselves in admiration of what they already possess, and hold up as perfect the sciences which are professed and cultivated; are wanting, first, in reverence to the divine nature, with the perfection of which they almost presume to compare, and next in usefulness towards man; as thinking that they have already reached the summit of things and finished their work, and therefore need seek no further. They on the other hand who arraign

and accuse nature and the arts, and abound with complainings, are not only more modest (if it be truly considered) in their sentiment, but are also stimulated perpetually to fresh industry and new discoveries. And this makes me marvel all the more at the ignorance and evil genius of mankind, who being overcrowed by the arrogance of a few persons, hold in such honour that philosophy of the Peripatetics, which was but a portion, and no large portion either, of the Greek philosophy, that every attempt to find fault with it has come to be not only useless, but also suspected and almost dangerous. Whereas certainly in my opinion both Empedocles and Democritus, who complain, the first madly enough, but the second very soberly, that all things are hidden away from us, that we know nothing, that we discern nothing, that truth is drowned in deep wells, that the true and the false are strangely joined and twisted together, (for the new academy carried it a great deal too far,) are more to be approved than the school of Aristotle so confident and dogmatical. Therefore let all men know that the preferring of <complaints against nature> and the arts is a thing well pleasing to the gods, and draws down new alms and bounties from the divine goodness; and that the accusation of Prometheus, our maker and master though he be, yea sharp and vehement accusation, is a thing more sober and profitable than this overflow of congratulation and thanksgiving: let them know that conceit of plenty is one of the principal causes of want.

Now for the gift which men are said to have received as the reward of their accusation, namely the unfading flower of youth; it seems to show that methods and medicines for the retardation of age and the prolongation of life were by the ancients not despaired of, but reckoned rather among those things which men once had and by sloth and negligence let slip, than among those which were wholly denied or never offered. For they seem to say that by the true use of fire, and by the just and vigorous accusation and conviction of the errors of art, such gifts might have been compassed; and that it was not the divine goodness that was wanting to them therein, but they that were wanting to themselves; in that having received this gift of the gods, they committed the carriage of it to a lazy and slow-paced ass. By this seems to be meant <experience>; a thing stupid and full of delay, whose

slow and tortoise-like pace gave birth to that ancient complaint that *life is short and art is long*. And for my own part I certainly think that those two faculties—the Dogmatical and the Empirical—have not yet been well united and coupled; but that the bringing down of new gifts from the gods has ever been left either to the abstract philosophies, as to a light bird; or to sluggish and tardy experience, as to an ass. And yet it must be said in behalf of the ass, that he might perhaps do well enough, but for that accident of thirst by the way. For if a man would put himself fairly under the command of experience, and proceed steadily onward by a certain law and method, and not let any thirst for experiments either of profit or ostentation seize him by the way and make him lay down and unsettle his burthen in order that he may taste them,—such a man I do think would prove a carrier to whom new and augmented measures of divine bounty might be well enough entrusted.

As for the transfer of the gift to serpents, it seems to be an addition merely for ornament; unless it were inserted in shame of mankind, who with that fire of theirs and with so many arts, cannot acquire for themselves things which nature has of herself bestowed on many other animals.

The sudden reconciliation of men with Prometheus after the frustration of their hope, contains likewise a wise and useful observation. It alludes to the levity and rashness of men in new experiments; who if an experiment does not at once succeed according to wish, are in far too great a hurry to give up the attempt as a failure, and so tumble back to where they were and take on with the old things again.

Having thus described the state of man in respect of arts and matters intellectual, the parable passes to Religion; for with the cultivation of the arts came likewise the worship of things divine; and this was immediately seized on and polluted by hypocrisy. Therefore under the figure of that double sacrifice is elegantly represented the person of the truly religious man and the hypocrite. For in the one there is the fat, which is God's portion, by reason of the flame and sweet savour, whereby is meant affection and zeal burning and rising upward for the glory of God. In him are the bowels of charity; in him wholesome and useful meat. In the other is found nothing but dry and bare bones, with which the skin is stuffed out till it looks like a fair and noble victim: whereby are signified

those external and empty rites and ceremonies with which men overload and inflate the service of religion: things rather got up for ostentation than conducing to piety. Nor is it enough for men to offer such mockeries to God, but they must also lay and father them upon himself, as though he had himself chosen and prescribed them. It is against such a kind of choice that the prophet in God's person remonstrates, when he says, *Is this such a fast as I have* CHOSEN, *that man should afflict his soul for one day and bow his head like a bulrush?*

After touching the state of Religion, the parable turns to morals and the conditions of human life. Pandora has been generally and rightly understood to mean pleasure and sensual appetite; which after the introduction of civil arts and culture and luxury, is kindled up as it were by the gift of fire. To Vulcan therefore, who in like manner represents fire, the making of Pleasure is imputed. And from her have flowed forth infinite mischief upon the minds, the bodies, and the fortunes of men, together with repentance when too late; nor upon individuals only, but upon kingdoms also and commonwealths. For from this same fountain have sprung wars and civil disturbances and tyrannies. But it is worth while to observe how prettily and elegantly the two conditions and as it were pictures or models of human life are set forth in the story, under the persons of Prometheus and Epimetheus. The followers of Epimetheus are the improvident, who take no care for the future but think only of what is pleasant at the time; and on this account it is true that they suffer many distresses, difficulties, and calamities, and are engaged in a perpetual struggle with them; and yet in the mean time they indulge their genius, and amuse their minds moreover, as their ignorance allows them to do, with many empty hopes, in which they take delight as in pleasant dreams, and so sweeten the miseries of life. The school of Prometheus on the other hand, that is the wise and fore-thoughtful class of men, do indeed by their caution decline and remove out of their way many evils and misfortunes; but with that good there is this evil joined, that they stint themselves of many pleasures and of the various agreeableness of life, and cross their genius, and (what is far worse) torment and wear themselves away with cares and solicitude and inward fears. For being bound to the column of Necessity, they are troubled with innumerable thoughts (which because of their

flightiness are represented by the eagle), thoughts which prick and gnaw and corrode the liver: and if at intervals, as in the night, they obtain some little relaxation and quiet of mind, yet new fears and anxieties return presently with the morning. Very few therefore are they to whom the benefit of both portions falls, — to retain the advantages of providence and yet free themselves from the evils of solicitude and perturbation. Neither is it possible for any one to attain this double blessing, except by the help of Hercules; that is, fortitude and constancy of mind, which being prepared for all events and equal to any fortune, foresees without fear, enjoys without fastidiousness, and bears without impatience. It is worth noting too that this virtue was not natural to Prometheus, but adventitious, and came by help from without; for it is not a thing which any inborn and natural fortitude can attain to; it comes from beyond the ocean, it is received and brought to us from the Sun; for it comes of Wisdom, which is as the Sun, and of meditation upon the inconstancy and fluctuations of human life, which is as the navigation of the ocean: two things which Virgil has well coupled together in those lines: —

> Ah, happy, could we but the causes know
> Of all that is! Then should we know no fears.
> Then should the inexorable Fate no power
> Possess to shake us, nor the jaws of death.

Most elegantly also is it added for the consolation and encouragement of men's minds, that that mighty hero sailed in a cup or pitcher; lest they should too much mistrust the narrowness and frailty of their own nature, or plead it in their own excuse, as though it were altogether incapable of this kind of fortitude and constancy: the true nature of which was well divined by Seneca, when he said, *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of man and the security of God.*

But I must now return to a part which, that I might not interrupt the connexion of what precedes, I have purposely passed by. I mean that last crime of Prometheus, the attempt upon the chastity of Minerva. For it was even for this offence, — certainly a very great and grave one, — that he underwent that punishment of the tearing of his entrails. The crime alluded to appears to be no other than that into which men not unfrequently fall when puffed up with arts and much knowledge, — of trying to bring the divine wisdom itself

under the dominion of sense and reason: from which attempt inevitably follows laceration of the mind and vexation without end or rest. And therefore men must soberly and modestly distinguish between things divine and human, between the oracles of sense and of faith; unless they mean to have at once a heretical religion and a fabulous philosophy.

The last point remains,—namely the races with burning torches instituted in honour of Prometheus. This again, like that fire in memory and celebration of which these games were instituted, alludes to arts and sciences, and carries in it a very wise admonition, to this effect,—that the perfection of the sciences is to be looked for not from the swiftness or ability of any one inquirer, but from a succession. For the strongest and swiftest runners are perhaps not the best fitted to keep their torch alight; since it may be put out by going too fast as well as too slow. It seems however that these races and games of the torch have long been intermitted; since it is still in their first authors, — Aristotle, Galen, Euclid, Ptolemy, — that we find the several sciences in highest perfection; and no great matter has been done, nor hardly attempted, by their successors. And well were it to be wished that these games in honour of Prometheus, that is of Human Nature, were again revived; that the victory may no longer depend upon the unsteady and wavering torch of each single man; but competition, emulation, and good fortune be brought to aid. Therefore men should be advised to rouse themselves, and try each his own strength and the chance of his own turn, and not to stake the whole venture upon the spirits and brains of a few persons.

Such are the views which I conceive to be shadowed out in this so common and hacknied fable. It is true that there are not a few things beneath which have a wonderful correspondency with the mysteries of the Christian faith. The voyage of Hercules especially, sailing in a pitcher to set Prometheus free, seems to present an image of God the Word hastening in the frail vessel of the flesh to redeem the human race. But I purposely refrain myself from all licence of speculation in this kind, lest peradventure I bring strange fire to the altar of the Lord.

XXVII.

THE FLIGHT OF ICARUS; ALSO SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS;

OR THE MIDDLE WAY.

MODERATION, or the Middle Way, is in Morals much commended; in Intellectuals less spoken of, though not less useful and good; in Politics only, questionable and to be used with caution and judgment.

The principle of moderation in Morals is represented by the ancients in the path which Icarus was directed to take through the air; the same principle in relation to the intellect, by the passage between Scylla and Charybdis, so famous for its difficulty and danger.

Icarus was instructed by his father to beware, when he came to fly over the sea, of taking either too high or too low a course. For his wings being fixed on with wax, the fear was that if he rose too high the wax would be melted by the sun's heat; if he kept down too near the vapour of the sea, it would lose its tenacity by the moisture. Icarus, in the adventurous spirit of youth, made for the heights, and so fell headlong down.

It is an easy and a familiar parable. The path of virtue goes directly midway between excess on the one hand and defect on the other. Icarus, being in the pride of youthful alacrity, naturally fell a victim to excess. <For it is on the side of excess that the young commonly sin, as the old on the side of defect.> And yet if he was to perish one way, it must be admitted that of two paths, both bad and mischievous, he chose the better. For sins of defect are justly accounted worse than sins of excess; because in excess there is something of magnanimity,—something, like the flight of a bird, that holds kindred with heaven; whereas defect creeps on the ground like a reptile. Excellently was it said by Heraclitus, *Dry light is the best soul.* For when the moisture and humours of earth get into the soul, it becomes altogether low and degenerate. And yet here too a measure must be kept: the dryness, so justly praised, must be such as to make the light more subtle, but not such as to make it catch fire. But this is what everybody knows.

Now for the passage between Scylla and Charybdis (understood of the conduct of the understanding) certainly it needs both skill and good fortune to navigate it. For if the ship run on Scylla, it is dashed on the rocks, if on Charybdis, it is sucked in by the whirlpool: by which parable (I can but briefly touch it, though it suggests reflexions without end) we are meant to understand that in every knowledge and science, and in the rules and axioms appertaining to them, a mean must be kept between too many distinctions and too much generality,—between the rocks of the one and the whirlpools of the other. For these two are notorious for the shipwreck of wits and arts.

XXVIII.

SPHINX;

OR SCIENCE.

SPHINX, says the story, was a monster combining many shapes in one. She had the face and voice of a virgin, the wings of a bird, the claws of a griffin. She dwelt on the ridge of a mountain near Thebes and infested the roads, lying in ambush for travellers, whom she would suddenly attack and lay hold of; and when she had mastered them, she propounded to them certain dark and perplexed riddles, which she was thought to have obtained from the Muses. And if the wretched captives could not at once solve and interpret the same, as they stood hesitating and confused she cruelly tore them to pieces. Time bringing no abatement of the calamity, the Thebans offered to any man who should expound the Sphinx's riddles (for this was the only way to subdue her) the sovereignty of Thebes as his reward. The greatness of the prize induced Œdipus, a man of wisdom and penetration, but lame from wounds in his feet, to accept the condition and make the trial: who presenting himself full of confidence and alacrity before the Sphinx, and being asked what kind of animal it was which was born four-footed, afterwards became two-footed, then three-footed, and at last four-footed again, answered readily that it was man; who at his birth and during his infancy sprawls on all four, hardly attempting to creep; in a little while walks upright on two feet; in later years leans on a walking-stick and

so goes as it were on three; and at last in extreme age and decrepitude, his sinews all failing, sinks into a quadruped again, and keeps his bed. This was the right answer and gave him the victory; whereupon he slew the Sphinx; whose body was put on the back of an ass and carried about in triumph; while himself was made according to compact King of Thebes.

The fable is an elegant and a wise one, invented apparently in allusion to Science; especially in its application to practical life. Science, being the wonder of the ignorant and unskilful, may be not absurdly called a monster. In figure and aspect it is represented as many-shaped, in allusion to the immense variety of matter with which it deals. It is said to have the face and voice of a woman, in respect of its beauty and facility of utterance. Wings are added because the sciences and the discoveries of science spread and fly abroad in an instant; the communication of knowledge being like that of one candle with another, which lights up at once. Claws, sharp and hooked, are ascribed to it with great elegance, because the axioms and arguments of science penetrate and hold fast the mind, so that it has no means of evasion or escape; a point which the sacred philosopher also noted: *The words of the wise are as goads, and as nails driven deep in.* Again, all knowledge may be regarded as having its station on the heights of mountains; for it is deservedly esteemed a thing sublime and lofty, which looks down upon ignorance as from an eminence, and has moreover a spacious prospect on every side, such as we find on hill-tops. It is described as infesting the roads, because at every turn in the journey or pilgrimage of human life, matter and occasion for study assails and encounters us. Again Sphinx proposes to men a variety of hard questions and riddles which she received from the Muses. In these, while they remain with the Muses, there is probably no cruelty; for so long as the object of meditation and inquiry is merely to know, the understanding is not oppressed or straitened by it, but is free to wander and expatiate, and finds in the very uncertainty of conclusion and variety of choice a certain pleasure and delight; but when they pass from the Muses to Sphinx, that is from contemplation to practice, whereby there is necessity for present action, choice, and decision, then they begin to be painful and cruel; and unless they be solved and disposed of, they strangely

torment and worry the mind, pulling it first this way and then that, and fairly tearing it to pieces. Moreover the riddles of the Sphinx have always a twofold condition attached to them; distraction and laceration of mind, if you fail to solve them; if you succeed, a kingdom. For he who understands his subject is master of his end; and every workman is king over his work.

Now of the Sphinx's riddles there are in all two kinds; one concerning the nature of things, another concerning the nature of man; and in like manner there are two kinds of kingdom offered as the reward of solving them; one over nature, and the other over man. For the command over things natural,—over bodies, medicines, mechanical powers, and infinite other of the kind—is the one proper and ultimate end of true natural philosophy; however the philosophy of the School, content with what it finds, and swelling with talk, may neglect or spurn the search after realities and works. But the riddle proposed to Œdipus, by the solution of which he became King of Thebes related to the nature of man; for whoever has a thorough insight into the nature of man may shape his fortune almost as he will, and is born for empire; as was well declared concerning the arts of the Romans,—

> Be thine the art,
> O Rome, with government to rule the nations,
> And to know whom to spare and whom to abate,
> And settle the condition of the world.

And therefore it fell out happily that Augustus Cæsar, whether on purpose or by chance, used a Sphinx for his seal. For he certainly excelled in the art of politics if ever man did; and succeeded in the course of his life in solving most happily a great many new riddles concerning the nature of man, which if he had not dexterously and readily answered he would many times have been in imminent danger of destruction. The fable adds very prettily that when the Sphinx was subdued, her body was laid on the back of an ass: for there is nothing so subtle and abstruse, but when it is once thoroughly understood and published to the world, even a dull wit can carry it. Nor is that other point to be passed over, that the Sphinx was subdued by a lame man with club feet; for men generally proceed too fast and in too great a hurry to the solution of the Sphinx's riddles; whence it follows that the Sphinx has the better of

them, and instead of obtaining the sovereignty by works and effects, they only distract and worry their minds with disputations.

XXIX.

PROSERPINA;

OR SPIRIT.

They say that when Pluto upon that memorable partition of the kingdoms received for his portion the infernal regions, he despaired of gaining any of the goddesses above in marriage by addresses and gentle methods, and so was driven to take measures for carrying one of them off by force. Seizing his opportunity therefore, while Proserpina, daughter of Ceres, a fair virgin, was gathering flowers of Narcissus in the Sicilian meadows, he rushed suddenly upon her and carried her off in his chariot to the subterranean regions. Great reverence was paid her there: so much that she was even called the Mistress or Queen of Dis. Meanwhile her mother Ceres, filled with grief and anxiety by the disappearance of her dearly beloved daughter, took a lighted torch in her hand, and wandered with it all round the world in quest of her. Finding the search fruitless, and hearing by chance that she had been carried down to the infernal regions, she wearied Jupiter with tears and lamentations, praying to have her restored; till at last she won a promise from him that if her daughter had not eaten of anything belonging to the under world, then she might bring her back. This condition was unfortunate for the mother; for Proserpina had eaten (it was found) three grains of a pomegranate. But this did not prevent Ceres from renewing her prayers and lamentations; and it was agreed at last that Proserpina should divide the year between the two, and live by turns six months with her husband and the other six with her mother.

Afterwards a very daring attempt to carry away the same Proserpina from the chamber of Dis was made by Theseus and Pirithous. But having sate down to rest by the way on a stone in the infernal regions, they were unable to rise again, and continued sitting there for ever. So Proserpina remained Queen of the under world: where a great and new privilege was

granted in honour of her; for whereas they who went down to the under world were not permitted to go back, a singular exception was made in favour of any who should bring a certain golden branch as a present to Proserpina; such present entitling the bearer to go and return. It was a single branch growing by itself in a vast and dark wood; neither had it a stock of its own, but grew like misseltoe upon a tree of different kind; and as soon as it was plucked off, another came in its place.

The fable relates, as I take it, to Nature, and explains the source of that rich and fruitful supply of active power subsisting in the under world, from which all the growths of our upper world spring, and into which they again return and are resolved. By Proserpina the ancients signified that ethereal spirit which, having been separated by violence from the upper globe, is enclosed and imprisoned beneath the earth (which earth is represented by Pluto); as was well expressed in those lines,—

> Whether that the Earth yet fresh, and from the deeps
> Of heaven new-sundered, did some seeds retain,
> Some sparks and motions of its kindred sky.

This spirit is represented as having been ravished, that is suddenly and forcibly carried off, by the Earth; because there is no holding it in if it have time and leisure to escape, and the only way to confine and fix it is by a sudden pounding and breaking up; just as if you would mix air with water, you can only do it by sudden and rapid agitation: for thus it is that we see these bodies united in foam, the air being as it were ravished by the water. It is prettily added that Proserpina was carried off while in the act of gathering flowers of Narcissus in the valleys: for Narcissus takes its name from torpor or stupor; and it is only when beginning to curdle, and as it were to gather torpor, that spirit is in the best state to be caught up and carried off by earthy matter. It is right too that Proserpina should have that honour, which is not conceded to the wife of any other God,—to be called the Mistress or Queen of Dis: for the spirit does in fact govern and manage everything in those regions, without the help of Pluto, who remains stupid and unconscious.

The air meanwhile, and the power of the celestial region (which is represented by Ceres) strives with infinite assiduity to win forth and recover this imprisoned spirit again; and that

torch which the air carries—the lighted torch in Ceres's hand —means no doubt the Sun, which does the office of a lamp all over the earth, and would do more than anything else for the recovery of Proserpina, were the thing at all possible. But Proserpina remains fixed where she is; the reason and manner whereof is accurately and admirably set forth in those two agreements between Jupiter and Ceres. For with regard to the first, most certain it is that there are two ways of confining and restraining spirit in solid and earthy matter; one by constipation and obstruction, which is simple imprisonment and violence; the other by administering some suitable aliment, which is spontaneous and free. For when the imprisoned spirit begins to feed and nourish itself, it is no longer in a hurry to escape, but becomes settled as in its own land. And this is what is meant by Proserpina's tasting of the pomegranate; which if she had not done, she would have been long since carried off by Ceres as she traversed the globe with her torch in quest of her. For though the spirit which is contained in metals and minerals is prevented from getting out chiefly perhaps by the solidity of the mass, that which is contained in plants and animals dwells in a porous body, from which it could easily escape if it were not by that process of tasting reconciled to remain. As for the second agreement,—that she should stay six months at a time with either party,—it is nothing else but an elegant description of the division of the year; since that spirit which is diffused through the earth does (in regard to the vegetable kingdom) live in the upper world during the summer months, and retires to the under world in the winter months.

Now for that attempt of Theseus and Pirithous to carry Proserpina away, the meaning is that the subtler spirits which in many bodies descend to the earth often fail to draw out and assimilate and carry away with them the subterranean spirit, but contrariwise are themselves curdled and never reascend again, and so go to increase the number of Proserpina's people and the extent of her empire.

As for that golden branch, it may seem difficult for me to withstand the Alchemists, if they attack me from that side; seeing they promise us by that same stone of theirs not only mountains of gold, but also the restitution of natural bodies as it were from the gates of the Infernals. Nevertheless for Alchemy and those that are never weary of their wooing of

that stone, as I am sure they have no ground in theory, so I suspect that they have no very good pledge of success in practice. And therefore putting them aside, here is my opinion as to the meaning of that last part of the parable. From many figurative allusions I am satisfied that the ancients regarded the conservation, and to a certain extent the restoration, of natural bodies as a thing not desperate, but rather as abstruse and out of the way. And this is what I take them in the passage before us to mean, by placing this branch in the midst of the innumerable other branches of a vast and thick wood. They represented it as golden; because gold is the emblem of duration; and grafted, because the effect in question is to be looked for as the result of art, not of any medicine or method which is simple or natural.

XXX.

METIS;

OR COUNSEL.

THE ancient poets tell us that Jupiter took Metis, whose name plainly signifies Counsel, to wife; that she conceived by him and was with child; which he perceiving did not wait till she brought forth, but ate her up; whereby he became himself with child; but his delivery was of a strange kind; for out of his head or brain he brought forth Pallas armed.

This monstrous and at first sight very foolish fable contains, as I interpret it, a secret of government. It describes the art whereby kings so deal with the councils of state as not only to keep their authority and majesty untouched, but also to increase and exalt it in the eyes of their people. For kings by a sound and wise arrangement tie themselves to their councils with a bond like that of wedlock, and deliberate with them concerning all their greatest matters, rightly judging that this is no diminution to their majesty. But when the question grows ripe for a decision (which is the bringing forth) they do not allow the council to deal any further in it, lest their acts should seem to be dependent upon the council's will; but at that point, (unless the matter be of such a nature that they wish to put away the envy of it) they take into their own hands whatever

has been by the council elaborated and as it were shaped in the womb; so that the decision and execution (which, because it comes forth with power and carries necessity, is elegantly represented under the figure of Pallas armed) may seem to emanate from themselves. Nor is it enough that it be seen to proceed from their free and unconstrained and independent authority and will, but they must have the world think that the decision comes out of their own head, that is out of their proper wisdom and judgment.

XXXI.

THE SIRENS;

OR PLEASURE.

THE fable of the Sirens is truly applied to the pernicious allurements of pleasure; but in a very poor and vulgar sense. For I find the wisdom of the ancients to be like grapes ill-trodden: something is squeezed out, but the best parts are left behind and passed over.

The Sirens were daughters (we are told) of Achelous and of Terpsichore, one of the Muses. Originally they had wings; but being beaten in a contest with the Muses which they had rashly challenged, their wings were plucked off, and turned by the Muses into crowns for themselves, who thenceforward all wore wings on their heads, except only the mother of the Sirens. These Sirens had their dwelling in certain pleasant islands, whence they kept watch for ships; and when they saw any approaching, they began to sing; which made the voyagers first stay to listen, then gradually draw near, and at last land; when they took and killed them. Their song was not all in one strain; but they varied their measures according to the nature of the listener, and took each captive with those which best suited him. So destructive the plague was, that the islands of the Sirens were seen afar off white with the bones of unburied carcasses. For this evil two different remedies were found; one by Ulysses, the other by Orpheus. Ulysses caused the ears of his crew to be stopped with wax; and himself (wishing to make trial of the thing without incurring the danger) to be

bound to the mast; at the same time forbidding any one at his peril to loose him even at his own request. Orpheus, not caring to be bound, raised his voice on high, and singing to his lyre the praises of the Gods, drowned the voices of the Sirens, and so passed clear of all danger.

The fable relates to Morals, and contains an elegant though obvious parable. Pleasures spring from the union of abundance and affluence with hilarity and exultation of mind. And formerly they carried men away at once, as if with wings, by the first view of their charms. But doctrine and instruction have succeeded in teaching the mind, if not to refrain altogether, yet to pause and consider consequences; and so have stripped the Pleasures of their wings. And this redounded greatly to the honour of the Muses—for as soon as it appeared by some examples that Philosophy could induce a contempt of Pleasures, it was at once regarded as a sublime thing, which could so lift the soul from earth, and make the cogitations of man (which live in his head) winged and ethereal. Only the mother of the Sirens still goes on foot and has no wings; and by her no doubt are meant those lighter kinds of learning which are invented and applied only for amusement; such as those were which Petronius held in estimation; he who being condemned to die, sought in the very waiting-room of death for matter to amuse him, and when he turned to books among other things for consolation, would read (says Tacitus) none of those which teach constancy of mind, but only light verses. Of this kind is that of Catullus,

> Let's live and love, love, while we may;
> And for all the old men say
> Just one penny let us care;

and that other,—

> Of Rights and Wrongs let old men prate, and learn
> By scrupulous weighing in fine scales of law
> What is allowed to do and what forbid.

For doctrines like these seem to aim at taking the wings away from the Muses' crowns and giving them back to the Sirens. The Sirens are said to live in islands; because Pleasures commonly seek retiring-places aloof from the throngs of men. As for the song of the Sirens, its fatal effect and various artifice, it is everybody's theme, and therefore needs no interpreter.

But that circumstance of the bones being seen from a distance like white cliffs, has a finer point: implying that the examples of other men's calamities, however clear and conspicuous, have little effect in deterring men from the corruptions of pleasure.

The parable concerning the remedies remains to be spoken of: a wise and noble parable, though not at all abstruse. For a mischief so fraught with cunning and violence alike, there are proposed three remedies; two from philosophy, the third from religion. The first method of escape is to resist the beginnings, and sedulously to avoid all occasions which may tempt and solicit the mind. This is the waxing up of the ears, and for minds of ordinary and plebeian cast—such as the crew of Ulysses—is the only remedy. But minds of a loftier order, if they fortify themselves with constancy of resolution, can venture into the midst of pleasures; nay and they take delight in thus putting their virtue to a more exquisite proof; besides gaining thereby a more thorough insight—as lookers on rather than followers—into the foolishness and madness of pleasures: which is that which Solomon professes concerning himself, when he closes his enumeration of the pleasures with which he abounded in these words: *Likewise my wisdom remained with me.* Heroes of this order may therefore stand unshaken amidst the greatest temptations, and refrain themselves even in the steep-down paths of pleasures; provided only that they follow the example of Ulysses, and forbid the pernicious counsels and flatteries of their own followers, which are of all things most powerful to unsettle and unnerve the mind. But of the three remedies, far the best in every way is that of Orpheus; who by singing and sounding forth the praises of the gods confounded the voices of the Sirens and put them aside: for meditations upon things divine excel the pleasures of the sense, not in power only, but also in sweetness.

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